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JOSEPHUS

IX

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JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

IN NINE VOLUMES

IX

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, BOOKS
XVIII-XX

GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-IX



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CONTENTS OF VOLUME IX

	PAGE
PREFATORY NOTE	ix
LIST OF JOSEPHUS' WORKS	xi
THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES—	
Book XVIII	2
Book XIX	212
Book XX	390
APPENDIX A. AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS.	534
APPENDIX B. SELECTED LITERATURE ON QUI- RINIUS' ASSESSMENT (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 1)	556
APPENDIX C. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE PHARISEES AND THE SADDUCEES (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 12-17)	558
APPENDIX D. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE ESSENES (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 18-22)	561
APPENDIX E. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE FOURTH PHILOSOPHY (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 23-25)	564
APPENDIX F. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE SAMARITANS (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 29-30, 85-87, etc.)	565

CONTENTS OF VOLUME IX

	PAGE
APPENDIX G. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE ROMAN PROCURATORS (EXCEPT PONTIUS PILATE) (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 31-35, etc.)	566
APPENDIX H. SELECTED LITERATURE ON PARTHIAN AFFAIRS (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 39-52, etc.)	567
APPENDIX I. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE INCIDENT OF THE EMPEROR'S STANDARDS (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 55-59)	569
APPENDIX J. SELECTED LITERATURE ON PONTIUS PILATE, ESPECIALLY HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE PROCURATORSHIP (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 60-62, 85-89)	571
APPENDIX K. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE <i>TESTIMONIUM FLAVIANUM</i> (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 63-64)	573
APPENDIX L. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS BY TIBERIUS (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 65-84)	576
APPENDIX M. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE DEATH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 116-119)	577
APPENDIX N. SELECTED LITERATURE ON AGRIPPA I (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 143 ff.)	578
APPENDIX O. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE EMPEROR GAIUS' DEALINGS WITH THE JEWS (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 257 ff.)	580
APPENDIX P. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE SOURCES OF BOOK XIX	582

CONTENTS OF VOLUME IX

	PAGE
APPENDIX Q. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE CITIZENSHIP OF THE ALEXANDRIAN JEWS AND ON CLAUDIUS' EDICT (<i>Ant.</i> xix. 280-285)	583
APPENDIX R. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE CONVERSION OF KING IZATES AND THE ADIA- BENIANS TO JUDAISM (<i>Ant.</i> xx. 17-96).	586
APPENDIX S. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE HIGH PRIESTS DURING THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA (<i>Ant.</i> xviii. 26 ff. and especially xx. 224-251)	587
GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-IX	589
TABLE OF THE HERODIAN FAMILY AS PRESENTED IN BOOK XVIII. 130-140	<i>at end</i>
MAPS	<i>at end</i>
GALILEE AND SURROUNDING DISTRICT (c. 40 B.C.— A.D. 70)	
CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PALESTINE (c. 40 B.C.— A.D. 70)	
THE MIDDLE EAST IN JOSEPHUS' WRITINGS, ESPE- CIALLY <i>ANT.</i> XVIII-XX	

PREFATORY NOTE

THE text of this volume, as of the previous volumes of this version of Josephus, is substantially that of Niese in his *editio maior*, but with a number of changes suggested by other scholars. The manuscript tradition for the last ten books of the *Antiquities* is discussed at length by Niese in the third volume of his edition, pp. iii-lvii, and summarized briefly by Ralph Marcus in the prefatory note to the sixth volume of this series. In translating these books I have, in a number of places, adopted felicitous renderings found in the rough draft left by Dr. Thackeray. Whiston's version may contain many inaccuracies, but it often is hard to improve upon for sheer verve of style, and I have not hesitated in several places to adopt his phraseology. In composing the commentary, I have learned much, especially as to bibliography, from the notes of the late Prof. Ralph Marcus in his personal copy of Josephus, which Mrs. Marcus has been kind enough to place at my disposal.

The text, translation, and commentary of this edition were submitted to the printer in September, 1960. Scholarship after this date has elucidated several points in the commentary; for references see my critical bibliography, *Scholarship on Philo and Josephus* (1937-1962), published this year under the auspices of Yeshiva University.

PREFATORY NOTE

In a number of textual matters I have received assistance from Prof. Hans Petersen and from the editors of the Loeb Library. In the translation I owe much to the suggestions of my mentor, Prof. James A. Notopoulos, and the editors. Rabbi Isaiah Molotin has elucidated several passages for me from his fund of Talmudic knowledge. Finally, in the preparation of the index,* I have been aided greatly by Nathan H. Epstein, Julian Plante, Fred Schreiber, Emanuel White, and, above all, my wife Rivkah. To all of them I am sincerely grateful.

LOUIS H. FELDMAN

13 *August* 1963

* The index, covering all the works of Josephus, has been compiled independently of those at the end of volumes I and III of this series, as well as of that of Niese in his *editio maior*, but it has been checked against all of these.

LIST OF JOSEPHUS' WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES
IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME

- I. THE LIFE. AGAINST APION
- II. THE JEWISH WAR, Books I-III
- III. THE JEWISH WAR, Books IV-VII
- IV. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books I-IV
- V. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books V-VIII
- VI. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books IX-XI
- VII. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books XII-XIV
- VIII. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books XV-XVII
- IX. JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, Books XVIII-XX

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

VOL. IX

B

ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

BIBLION IH

(i. 1) Κυρίνιος¹ δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκὼς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὁδεύσας ὑπάτος γενέσθαι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀξιόματι μέγας σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ

¹ Κυρήνιος AMWE Eusebius : Cyrenius ut vid. Lat.

^a Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, after having been consul in 12 B.C., had distinguished himself by leading a successful expedition against the wild Homanadenses in Asia Minor near Galatia (see Tacitus' report, *Ann.* iii. 48, of Tiberius' eulogy at Quirinius' funeral). Luke ii. 2 says that Quirinius was governing Syria at the time that the census took place in which Joseph and Mary went up to Bethlehem; and some authorities, notably W. Ramsay (*Was Christ Born at Bethlehem: A Study in the Credibility of Luke*, 1898, pp. 229-283), attempt to vindicate Luke by arguing that Quirinius was governor of Syria before 4 B.C. as well as at the time (A.D. 6) here cited by Josephus. But L. R. Taylor, "Quirinius and the Census of Judaea," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* liv, 1953, pp. 120-133, argues convincingly that at the time of the Homanadensian War Quirinius was more probably governor of Galatia (so also R. K. Sherck, *The Legates of Galatia (Johns Hopkins Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sc., Ser. 69, 1951, pp. 21-24, who cites abundant bibliography)*). In any case, our list of the governors of Syria for the period before the birth of Jesus,

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

BOOK XVIII

(i. 1) QUIRINIUS,^a a Roman senator who had proceeded through all the magistracies to the consulship and a man who was extremely distinguished in other respects, arrived ^b in Syria, dispatched by Caesar ^c to be governor ^d of the nation and to make an assess-

Assessment
of property
in Judaea
by
Quirinius.

which seems complete, does not have the name of Quirinius ; and Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 19, interestingly enough, says that the enrolment mentioned in Luke took place under Saturninus (see the discussion by T. Corbishley, "Quirinius and the Census: Re-study of the Evidence," *Klio* xxix [= Neue Folge, xi], 1936, pp. 91-92). Luke ii. 2 can be vindicated only if we translate with F. M. Heichelheim ("Roman Syria," in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv, 1938, pp. 160-161), "This census was the first before that under the prefectureship of Quirinius in Syria."

^b The translation "arrived with a small retinue" is unlikely. I take *σὺν ὀλίγοις* with *μέγας* to mean "one among few," i.e. "extremely."

^c Augustus.

^d *Legatus Augusti pro praetore.* J. A. O. Larsen, "Tituli Asiae Minoris, II, 508," *Class. Philol.* xxxviii, 1943, pp. 188-189, observes that the word *δικαιοδότης* is found only here and in inscriptions from Lycia in the sense of "governor." He plausibly suggests that the word was not so much a title for a governor as an honorary appellation, much like *soter* or *euergetes*. It would emphasize the high regard with which the governor was held as an honest judge, the duties of the governor (in Lycia, at least) being largely judicial.

- 2 τιμητῆς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος, Κωπώνιος τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται τάγματος τῶν ἱππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσία. παρῇν δὲ καὶ Κυρίνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γενομένην ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα.
- 3 οἱ δὲ καίπερ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν δεινῷ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασιν ὑποκατέβησαν τοῦ μὴ¹ εἰς πλεόν ἐναντιοῦσθαι πείσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰωαζάρου,² Βοηθοῦ δὲ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡττηθέντες τοῦ Ἰωαζάρου τῶν λόγων
- 4 ἀπετίμων τὰ χρήματα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες. Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ³ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γάμαλα⁴ Σάδδωκον⁵ Φαρισαῖον προσλαβόμενος ἠπείγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τὴν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀντι-

¹ μὴ] A : om. MWE.

² Iozaro Lat.

³ Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ] A : Γαυλανίτης δέ τις ἀνὴρ Ἰούδας MWE.

⁴ A : Γαμάλα MW : Γαμάλας Eus. : Γάβαλα E.

⁵ Σάδδωκον A : Σάδουκον M : Σάδδουκον WE Exc. Peirese. : Saddocum Lat. : Σαδῶκ Zonaras : Σάδδωκον et Σάδδοχον Eusebii codd.

^a First procurator of Judaea. Cf. the parallel passage in *B.J.* ii. 117, which adds that his powers included the infliction of capital punishment. The Mishnah, *Middot* i. 3, mentions a Gate of Kiponus as one of the five gates of the temple. It has been speculated by M. Simon, in the Soncino translation *ad loc.*, that this gate may have been named after Coponius.

^b See *Ant.* xvii. 355.

ment of their property. Coponius,^a a man of equestrian rank, was sent along with him to rule over the Jews with full authority. Quirinius also visited Judaea, which had been annexed to Syria, in order to make an assessment of the property of the Jews and to liquidate the estate of Archelaus.^b Although the Jews were at first shocked to hear of the registration of property, they gradually condescended, yielding to the arguments of the high priest Joazar,^c the son of Boethus, to go no further in opposition. So those who were convinced by him declared, without shilly-shallying, the value of their property. But a certain Judas,^d a Gaulanite^e from a city named Gamala,^f who had enlisted the aid of Saddok, a Pharisee, threw himself into the cause of rebellion. They said that the assessment carried with it a status amounting to

The revolt inspired by Judas the Gaulanite and Saddok the Pharisee.

^c In *Ant.* xvii. 339, we learn that Archelaus accused Joazar of conspiring against him, and subsequently deposed him from the high priesthood.

^d In the parallel passage in *B.J.* ii. 118 (see Thackeray's note) and in *Ant.* xviii. 23, Josephus refers to Judas as the founder of the Fourth Philosophy. In Acts v. 37 he is mentioned by Gamaliel as having incited the Jews in the days of the census. See also *Ant.* xx. 102. J. S. Kennard, "Judas of Galilee and His Clan," *Jewish Quart. Rev.* xxxvi, 1945-46, pp. 281-286, plausibly identifies this Judas with the Judas who seized the opportunity to aspire to sovereignty in Galilee (*B.J.* ii. 56).

^e Gaulanitis is east of the Jordan and of the Sea of Galilee. In *B.J.* ii. 118 Judas is called a Galilaean.

^f A city in lower Gaulanitis on the Transjordanian side of the Sea of Galilee (not to be confused with the city by the same name in Upper Galilee), so called because it is situated on a hill shaped like a camel (Hebrew *gamal*). It is near the site of modern *Jamle*. See F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 1938, p. 325; and A. Schlatter, "Die hebräischen Namen bei Josephus," *Beitr. z. Ford. christl. Theol.* xvii. 3-4, 1913, p. 35.

κρυς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες καὶ τῆς ἐλευ-
 5 θερίας ἐπ' ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος· ὡς
 παρασχὸν μὲν κατορθοῦν εἰς τὸ εὐδαιμον ἀνακει-
 μένης τῆς κτήσεως,¹ σφαλεῖσιν δὲ τοῦ ταύτης περι-
 όντος² ἀγαθοῦ τιμὴν καὶ κλέος ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ
 μεγαλόφρονος, καὶ τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ ἐπὶ συμ-
 πράξει τῶν βουλευμάτων εἰς τὸ κατορθοῦν συμπο-
 θυμῆσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ μεγάλων ἐρασταὶ³ τῇ διανοίᾳ
 καθιστάμενοι μὴ ἐξαφίονται φόνου⁴ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.
 6 καὶ ἡδονῇ γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὧν λέγοιεν ἐδέχοντο οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι, προὔκοπτεν ἐπὶ μέγα ἢ ἐπιβουλῇ⁵ τοῦ
 τολμήματος,⁶ κακόν τε οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ μὴ φύέντος ἐκ
 τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἀνε-
 7 πλήσθη τὸ ἔθνος· πολέμων τε ἐπαγωγαῖς οὐχ οἷων⁷
 τε⁸ ἄπαυστον τὴν βίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀποστερήσεσι⁹
 φίλων, οἱ καὶ ἐπελαφρύνοιεν τὸν πόνον, ληστηρίων
 τε μεγάλων ἐπιθέσεσιν καὶ διαφθοραῖς ἀνδρῶν τῶν

¹ φύσεως Exc.

² A: παρίόντος MW.

³ A¹: ἐργασταὶ ex corr. A: ἐργάται MW Exc.

⁴ codd. Exc.: πόνου Hudson.

⁵ ἐπιβολῇ E ed. pr. Exc.

⁶ προὔκοπτεν . . . τολμήματος] in magnum malum seditio
 illorum et audacia prorumpebat Lat.

⁷ οὐχ οἷων] Bekker: οὐχ οἶον MW: οὐ . . . χ' ὧν (corr. ex
 οὐχ . . . ὧν) A.

⁸ τε] MW Exc.: τὸ A¹: τε οὐκ Hudson.

⁹ Bekker: ἀποστερήσιν codd.

^a H. St. J. Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, 1919, p. 73, notes that the Greek is modelled on Thucydides i. 122: defeat "brings nothing else than downright slavery" (ἀντι-
 κρυς δουλείαν). One may add that in the next passage, §§ 5-8, one is reminded so much of Thucydides iii. 82-84 (which has a similar context—the analysis of the psychology of civil war) that H. Drüner, *Untersuchungen über Josephus*, 1896, pp. 1-34, esp. p. 12, and Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the*

downright slavery,^a no less, and appealed to the nation to make a bid for independence. They urged that in case of success the Jews would have laid the foundation of prosperity, while if they failed to obtain any such boon, they would win honour and renown for their lofty aim; and that Heaven would be their zealous helper to no lesser end than the furthering of their enterprise until it succeeded—all the more if with high devotion in their hearts they stood firm and did not shrink from the bloodshed^b that might be necessary. Since the populace, when they heard their appeals, responded gladly, the plot to strike boldly made serious progress; and so these men sowed the seed of every kind of misery, which so afflicted the nation that words are inadequate. When wars are set afoot that are bound to rage beyond control, and when friends are done away with who might have alleviated the suffering, when raids are made by great hordes of brigands and men of the highest standing are assassinated, it is supposed to be

Historian, 1929, pp. 110-114, have argued that *Ant.* xvii-xix is the work not of Josephus but of an assistant who was steeped in Thucydides. But cf. H. Petersen, "Real and Alleged Literary Projects of Josephus," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lxxix, 1958, p. 261 n. 5, who argues cogently against this hypothesis, noting that many Thucydidean reminiscences are found in the earlier books of the *Antiquities*, and that we can account for the greater preponderance of Thucydidean phrases in these books by assuming that Josephus was, while writing xvii-xix, making an intensive study of Thucydides (so also G. C. Richards, "The Composition of Josephus' *Antiquities*," *Class. Quart.* xxxiii, 1939, p. 39) to improve his own style.

^b I have adopted the reading of the mss., since, as can be seen from § 8, the Fourth Philosophy did not shrink from murder to attain its aims. Hudson's emendation, *πόνου*, gives "did not shrink from the hardship that great aims require."

- πρώτων, δόξα μὲν τοῦ ὀρθουμένου τῶν κοινῶν,
 8 ἔργῳ δὲ οἰκείων κερδῶν ἐλπίσιν. ἐξ ὧν στάσεις
 τε ἐφύησαν δι' αὐτὰς¹ καὶ φόνος πολιτικός, ὃ μὲν
 ἐμφυλίοις σφαγαῖς μανία τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τε ἀλ-
 λήλους καὶ αὐτοὺς χρωμένων ἐπιθυμία τοῦ μὴ
 λείπεσθαι τῶν ἀντικαθεστηκότων, ὃ δὲ τῶν πολε-
 μίων, λιμός τε εἰς ὑστάτην ἀνακείμενος ἀναισχυντίαν,
 καὶ πόλεων ἀλώσεις καὶ κατασκαφαί, μέχρι δὴ καὶ
 τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνείματο πυρὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἦδε
 9 ἡ στάσις. οὕτως ἄρα ἡ τῶν πατρίων καίνισις² καὶ
 μεταβολὴ μεγάλας ἔχει ῥοπὰς τοῦ ἀπολουμένου
 τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν, εἴ γε καὶ Ἰούδας καὶ Σάδδωκος
 τετάρτην φιλοσοφίαν ἐπέισακτον ἡμῖν ἐγείραντες
 καὶ ταύτης ἐραστῶν εὐπορηθέντες πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν
 θορύβων τὴν πολιτείαν ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τῶν αὖθις
 κακῶν κατειληφότων ρίζας ἐφυτεύσαντο τῷ ἀσυν-
 10 ἦθει πρότερον φιλοσοφίας τοιαῦδε· περὶ ἧς ὀλίγα
 βούλομαι διελθεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐ-
 τῶν³ σπουδασθέντι τοῖς νεωτέροις ὁ φθόρος τοῖς
 πράγμασι συνέτυχε.
- 11 (2) Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσοφαίαι τρεῖς ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ
 ἀρχαίου τῶν πατρίων, ἥ τε τῶν Ἑσσηνῶν καὶ ἡ
 τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, τρίτην δὲ ἐφιλοσόφουν οἱ Φα-
 ρισαῖοι λεγόμενοι. καὶ τυγχάνει μέντοι περὶ αὐτῶν
 ἡμῖν εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ

¹ δι' αὐτὰς] om. E.

² E: κένωσις, i. marg. γρ κοίνωσις A: κενώσεις MW
 Exc.: novitas Lat.

³ αὐτὴν Holwerda.

the common welfare that is upheld, but the truth is that in such cases the motive is private gain. They sowed the seed from which sprang strife between factions and the slaughter of fellow citizens. Some were slain in civil strife, for these men madly had recourse to butchery of each other and of themselves from a longing not to be outdone by their opponents ; others were slain by the enemy in war. Then came famine, reserved to exhibit the last degree of shamelessness, followed by the storming and razing of cities until at last the very temple of God was ravaged by the enemy's fire through this revolt. Here is a lesson that an innovation and reform in ancestral traditions weighs heavily in the scale in leading to the destruction of the congregation of the people.^a In this case certainly, Judas and Saddok started among us an intrusive fourth school of philosophy ; and when they had won an abundance of devotees, they filled the body politic immediately with tumult, also planting the seeds of those troubles which subsequently overtook it, all because of the novelty of this hitherto unknown philosophy that I shall now describe. My reason for giving this brief account of it is chiefly that the zeal which Judas and Saddok inspired in the younger element meant the ruin of our cause.^b

(2) The Jews, from the most ancient times, had three philosophies pertaining to their traditions, that of the Essenes, that of the Sadducees, and, thirdly, that of the group called the Pharisees. To be sure, I have spoken about them in the second book of the

The three
ancient
Jewish
philoso-
phies.

^a Or " the destruction of those who handle it."

^b The text is difficult to construe. Prof. Petersen, in a private communication, translates : " especially since, precisely because of the popularity accorded them, destruction has befallen the succeeding generations."

πολέμον, μνησθήσομαι δ' ὁμως καὶ νῦν αὐτῶν ἐπ' ὀλίγον.

- 12 (3) Οἱ τε γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι τὴν δίαιταν ἐξευτελίζουσιν οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδόντες, ὧν τε ὁ λόγος κρίνας παρέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν ἔπονται τῇ ἡγεμονία περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τὴν φυλακὴν ὧν ὑπαγορεύειν¹ ἠθέλησεν. τιμῆς γε τοῖς ἡλικίᾳ προήκουσιν παραχωροῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀντιλέξει τῶν
- 13 εἰσηγηθέντων θράσει² ἐπαιρόμενοι.³ πράσσεσθαί τε εἰμαρμένῃ τὰ πάντα ἀξιοῦντες οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς⁴ ὁρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται

¹ ἀπαγορεύειν E: προαγορεύειν ed. pr.

² θράσει] E (spatio vacuo ante θράσει relicto): ταῦτα οἱ θράσει codd.: ταῦτα θράσει ed. pr.: ταῦτα ἢ θράσει coni. Niese.

³ οὐδ' . . . ἐπαιρόμενοι] ita ut nec contrarium quiddam aliquando respondeant Lat.

⁴ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς] E: ἀπ' αὐτῆς codd.

^a B.J. ii. 119-166. Josephus here neglects to refer to his brief discussion of the three philosophies in *Ant.* xiii. 171-173. As Marcus states in his note on *Ant.* xiii. 171, Josephus presents the three sects in such a way as to make them more intelligible to Greek readers. Thus he elsewhere compares the Pharisees to Stoics (*Vita* 12) and the Essenes to the Pythagoreans (*Ant.* xv. 371).

^b Josephus perhaps thus intends to indicate a similarity between the Pharisees and the Stoics (*cf.* note on § 11), and to present a contrast with the Sadducees, who, we are told by the Rabbis, used silver and gold vessels all their lives—"not because they were ostentatious [lit. "of arrogant disposition"]; but the Sadducees said, 'It is a tradition amongst the Pharisees to afflict themselves in this world; yet in the world to come they will have nothing.'" (*Abot de-Rabbi Natan* v, trans. by J. Goldin.)

^c Whiston's translation, "they follow the guidance of reason," which many scholars have adopted, is probably wrong, since, as Thackeray remarks (*Selections*, p. 158 n. 4), λόγος would seem to have the same meaning here and in the

Jewish War,^a but nevertheless I shall here too dwell on them for a moment.

(3) The Pharisees simplify their standard of living, making no concession to luxury.^b They follow the guidance of that which their doctrine^c has selected and transmitted as good, attaching the chief importance to the observance of those commandments which it has seen fit to dictate to them. They show respect and deference to their elders, nor do they rashly presume to contradict their proposals. Though they postulate that everything is brought about by fate,^d still they do not deprive the human will of the pursuit of what is in man's power,^e since it was God's

(i) The Pharisees.

opening sentences (§§ 16-18) presenting the doctrines of the Sadducees and the Essenes. G. F. Moore, "Fate and Free Will in the Jewish Philosophies according to Josephus," *Harr. Theol. Rev.* xxii, 1929, p. 374, is, therefore, on dubious ground when he says that Josephus is here speaking of the reasonable living of the Pharisees and that this is one of the respects in which the reader is expected to see a similarity between them and the Stoics (*Vita* 12).

^a As Marcus, in his note on the parallel passage, *Ant.* xiii. 172. remarks, fate (εἰμαρμένη) is the Greek equivalent of what we should call Providence. So also G. F. Moore, *op. cit.* p. 379, who notes that for εἰμαρμένη in the definition of the Greek philosophical schools, especially the Stoic, there was no equivalent word in Hebrew—and no corresponding conception.

^b The same point about the balance between fate and free will is made in *Ant.* xiii. 172. A similar point of view, reflecting Pharisaic belief, is found in the Talmudic sayings "Everything is foreseen, yet freedom of choice is given" (*Abot* iii. 19) and "All is in the hands of Heaven except the fear of Heaven" (*Berachot* 33 b). The same point is illustrated in the following: "The angel appointed over conception is named Lailah. He takes a seminal drop, sets it before the Holy One blessed be He, and asks, 'Sovereign of the Universe! What is to become of this drop? Is it to develop into a person strong or weak, wise or foolish, rich or poor?' But

- δοκῆσαν τῷ θεῷ κρᾶσιν¹ γενέσθαι² καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης
 βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἐθελῆσαν³ προσ-
 14 χωρεῖν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας. ἀθάνατόν τε ἰσχὺν
 ταῖς ψυχαῖς πίστις αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δι-
 καιώσεις τε καὶ τιμὰς οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιτή-
 δευσις ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονεν, καὶ ταῖς μὲν εἰργμὸν
 αἰδίδιον προτίθεσθαι,⁴ ταῖς δὲ ῥαστώνην τοῦ ἀνα-
 15 βιοῦν. καὶ δι' αὐτὰ τοῖς τε δήμοις πιθανώτατοι
 τυγχάνουσιν καὶ ὅποσα θεῖα εὐχῶν τε ἔχεται⁵ καὶ
 ἱερῶν ποιήσεως ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνουσιν
 πρρασόμενα. εἰς τοσόνδε ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς αἱ πόλεις
 ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐπιτηδεύσει τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι κρείσσονος
 εἶν τε τῇ διαίτῃ τοῦ βίου καὶ λόγοις.
- 16 (4) Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συνα-
 φανίζει τοῖς σώμασι, φυλακῇ δὲ οὐδαμῶς τινων

¹ MWE: κρίσιν A.

² δοκῆσαν. . . γενέσθαι] iudicium dei futurum esse sentiunt Lat.

³ τὸ ἐθελῆσαν] E: τῷ θελήσαντι MW: τῷ ἐθελήσαντι A: τῷ θελήσονται conl. Niese.

⁴ Ernesti: προστίθεσθαι codd. E.

⁵ A: ἔπεται MW.

no mention is made of its becoming wicked or righteous" (*Niddah* 16 b). Cf. also Ecclesiasticus xv. 11-17 and Psalms of Solomon ix. 7-9.

^a This difficult passage is thus translated by Thackeray (*Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxv, 1932, p. 93): "While maintaining that all things are brought about by Fate, they yet do not deprive the human will of the impulse to do them, it having pleased God that there should be a coalition between Fate's council-chamber and such men as choose to associate with it, with virtuous or vicious intent."

good pleasure that there should be a fusion and that the will of man with his virtue and vice should be admitted to the council-chamber of fate.^a They believe that souls have power to survive death and that there are rewards and punishments under the earth ^b for those who have led lives of virtue or vice : eternal imprisonment is the lot of evil souls, while the good souls receive an easy passage to a new life.^c Because of these views they are, as a matter of fact, extremely influential among the townsfolk ; and all prayers ^d and sacred rites of divine worship are performed according to their exposition. This is the great tribute that the inhabitants of the cities, by practising the highest ideals both in their way of living and in their discourse, have paid to the excellence of the Pharisees.

(4) The Sadducees hold that the soul perishes along with the body. They own no observance of any sort (ii) The Sadducees.

^b Again Josephus is using a phrase for the sake of his Greek audience. S. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, ii², 1952, pp. 344-345 n. 46, points, however, to *B.J.* iii. 373-375, where Josephus says that the souls of the righteous are allotted the most holy place in heaven.

^c Thackeray, *Selections*, p. 159, gives a cross-reference to *B.J.* iii. 374 ("their souls . . . are allotted the most holy place in heaven, whence in the revolution of the ages, they return to find in chaste bodies a new habitation"), in which Josephus harangues his men on the evil of suicide. This passage in *B.J.*, says Thackeray, contains a reference to metempsychosis. But our passage, the passage in *B.J.*, and the one in *Contra Ap.* ii. 218 which Thackeray cites in his note on *B.J.* iii. 374, refer not to metempsychosis, which was not a tenet of the Pharisees, but to the belief in resurrection, which was a central doctrine of the Pharisees. Cf. 2 Macc. vii. 9, which employs ἀναβίωσις, the noun corresponding to the verb ἀναβιώω (the word used by Josephus in our passage) in a clear reference to resurrection.

^d Or "vows."

- μεταποιήσις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν νόμων· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς διδασκάλους σοφίας, ἣν μετίασιν, ἀμφιλογεῖν ἀρε-
 17 τὴν ἀριθμοῦσιν. εἰς ὀλίγους δὲ ἄνδρας οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀφίκετο, τοὺς μέντοι πρῶτους τοῖς ἀξιώμασι, πρᾶσσεται τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν· ὅποτε γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρχὰς παρέλθοιεν, ἀκουσίως μὲν καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκας, προσχωροῦσι δ' οὖν οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος λέγει διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄλλως ἀνεκτοὺς γενέσθαι τοῖς πλήθεσιν.
- 18 (5) Ἑσσηνοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν θεῷ καταλείπειν φιλεῖ τὰ πάντα ὁ λόγος, ἀθανατίζουσιν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τοῦ δικαίου τὴν πρόσοδον.¹

¹ πρόοδον conī. Post.

^a The Sadducees accepted the written but not the oral Law, whereas the Pharisees accepted both. The Sadducees, however, it should be remarked, had their own traditions, as we can see from such passages as Mishnah, *Makkot* i. 6; but these were *gezerot* (decrees) and not based on the oral Law.

^b D. Daube, "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," *Heb. Union Coll. Ann.* xxii, 1949, p. 243, remarks that the Sadducees had evidently taken over from the Hellenistic schools of philosophy the ideal of working out any problems by unfettered argument and counter-argument. But there is no indication of any contact between the Sadducees and the Hellenistic schools; and, in any case, even a cursory examination of the Talmud will reveal that the Pharisees were no whit inferior to the Sadducees in skill of disputation. What Josephus means when he says that the Sadducees are very argumentative is that they, as he puts it in *B.J.* ii. 166, "are, even among themselves, rather boorish in their behaviour, and in their intercourse with their peers are as rude as to aliens."

^c Cf. the remark of the Sadducee to his son in the Babylonian Talmud, *Yoma* 19 b: "My son, although we are Sadducees, we are afraid of the Pharisees." That the wives of the Sadducees followed the Pharisaic rulings with respect to the laws of menstruation is indicated in *Niddah* 33 b.

^d A much fuller discussion of the Essenes is found in *B.J.*

apart from the laws ^a ; in fact, they reckon it a virtue to dispute with the teachers of the path of wisdom that they pursue.^b There are but few men to whom this doctrine has been made known, but these are men of the highest standing. They accomplish practically nothing, however. For whenever they assume some office, though they submit unwillingly and perforce, yet submit they do to the formulas of the Pharisees, since otherwise the masses would not tolerate them.^c

(5) ^d The doctrine of the Essenes is wont to leave (iii) The
Essenes. everything in the hands of God. They regard the soul as immortal and believe that they ought to strive especially to draw near to righteousness.^e They

ii. 120-161. Most of the points peculiar to the present exposition—the number of the Essenes, their employment in agriculture, their attitude toward sacrifices and slavery, their exclusion from the temple—are also found in Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 75-91, upon whom Josephus may have drawn. Cf. M. Smith, "The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and the Philosophumena," *Heb. Union Coll. Ann.* xxix, 1958, pp. 278-279, and literature cited there.

^e The meaning of *πρόσδοον* presents a problem. Whiston renders the passage thus : " that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for." Thackeray, *Selections*, p. 160, also translates " rewards " and in a footnote cites the literal meaning, " revenue." Prof. Post suggests that it may mean " an income " of righteousness ; and one is reminded of the list of the ten good deeds (*Shabbat* 127 a) of which, according to Pharisaic doctrine, a man enjoys the fruits in this world, while the stock remains for him for the world to come. But J. Strugnell, " Flavius Josephus and the Essenes : *Antiquities* xviii. 18-22," *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.* lxxxvii, 1958, p. 109, rightly questions such an interpretation since this motive of conduct seems odd for Essene belief. Moreover, the meaning " returns " or " revenues " occurs mostly in the plural, though Thucydides, of whom, as has been noted, Josephus is fond as a model particularly in these later books, does occasionally (ii. 97 and iii. 13) use it in the singular. The

19 εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν¹ διαφορότητι ἀγνείων, ᾧ νομίζοιεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εἰργόμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ² τεμενίσματος ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν. βέλτιστοι δὲ ἅλλως

¹ ἐπιτελοῦσι] codd. : οὐκ ἐπιτελοῦσι E : non celebrant Lat.

² κοινοῦ] i. marg. γρ τοῦ καινοῦ A.

singular is more commonly used in the sense of "approach" or "admission" (cf. Psalm i. 6 : ὁδὸν δικαίων, "the way of the righteous"). The phrase should, strictly speaking, be πρόσ-οδον πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον, but here, as Prof. Petersen reminds me, the mere genitive is more easily explained, since the preposition dropped is also part of the compound noun. If Strugnell's hypothesis equating the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls with the Essenes is correct, the meaning "approach" is further strengthened by the close parallels which he cites (p. 109), 1 QH vii. 14 and 1 QS iv. 21. Another possible interpretation is "the approach of the righteous one," and would refer to the strong Messianic aspirations of the Essenes (cf. also the crucial importance of the "Teacher of Righteousness" in the Dead Sea sect). If we emend to πρόοδον, the meaning would be "the advance [or "progress"] of righteousness."

^a Though the Epitome and the Latin version have the negative—a reading adopted by E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, ii⁴, 1907, p. 663 n. 50 ; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, 1925, p. 397 n. 4 ; and M. Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu*, 1905, p. 156, among others—the manuscripts omit it. Those who insert the negative cite Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 75, who says that the Essenes "have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God not by offering sacrifices of animals but by resolving to sanctify their minds." As R. Marcus, "Pharisees, Essenes, and Gnostics," *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.* lxxiii, 1954, p. 158, notes, this does not mean that the Essenes disapproved of animal sacrifices ; it means merely that this was not central in their pursuit of piety. Strugnell, *op. cit.* p. 114, suggests two possible translations. The first is: "Although the Essenes send ἀναθήματα to the temple, they do not sacrifice [*sc.* "there," rather than *sc.* "at all"] because of a difference about the ἀγνείαι that should be used." The

send votive offerings to the temple, but perform their sacrifices ^a employing a different ritual of purification.^b For this reason they are barred from those precincts of the temple ^c that are frequented by all the people and perform their rites by themselves. Otherwise

alternative version, which he prefers, is the basis of my own. If the Dead Sea sect is to be identified with the Essenes, it is difficult to insert οὐκ, since, as Strugnell remarks (p. 113), the Qumrân texts and archaeological evidence suggest that sacrifice was practised, though we do not know where it took place. It is, moreover, difficult to accept J. M. Baumgarten's suggestion ("Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumrân) Scrolls," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xlv, 1953, p. 155) that the reference in our passage is to spiritualized sacrifices, since the phrase is never found elsewhere in this sense.

^b Before sundown the Pharisees would render unclean the priest who was to burn the red heifer (Num. xix. 2 ff.) so that the Sadducees might not say that the ceremony could be performed only by those who had waited until sundown before becoming clean (cf. Lev. xxii. 7). Z. Frankel, "Die Essäer nach talmudischen Quellen," *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Jud.* ii, 1853, p. 65, says that the Essenes must have followed the Sadduceean point of view; hence they lacked the means of purifying themselves, since the ashes of the red heifer, mixed with water, were utilized for purifying one who had touched a corpse (Num. xix. 11-13). Since they regarded the water of purification that was in use as unclean, they had to seek other means of purification, and hence did not frequent the temple.

^c L. Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte*, Part 1, 1922, pp. 99-100, cites a parallel in the Zadokite sect, the adherents of which found fault with their opponents for not showing sufficient holiness in their attitude toward the holy city of Jerusalem; their first step was to hold themselves aloof from the temple so as not to share in the defilement. S. Zeitlin, "The Essenes," *Hadoar Jubilee Vol.*, 1957 [in Hebrew], p. 49, suggests that the reason why the Essenes did not send sacrifices to the temple was that they protested against the selection of Simon the Hasmonaeon as high priest (since he was not of the family of Zadok); but this statement

ἄνδρες¹ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ πᾶν πονεῖν ἐπὶ γεωργία
 20 τετραμμένοι. ἄξιον δ' αὐτῶν θαυμάσαι παρὰ πάν-
 τας τοὺς ἀρετῆς μεταποιουμένους τόδε διὰ τὸ² μη-
 δαμῶς ὑπάρξαν Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων τισίν, ἀλλὰ
 μηδ' εἰς ὀλίγον, ἐκείνοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ συνελθὸν ἐν
 τῷ³ ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι μὴ κεκωλῦσθαι· τὰ χρήματά τε
 κοινὰ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς,⁴ ἀπολαύει δὲ οὐδὲν ὁ πλούσιος
 τῶν οἰκείων μειζόνως ἢ ὁ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν κεκτημένος·
 καὶ τάδε πράσσουσιν ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τετρακισχίλιοι
 21 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. καὶ οὔτε γαμετὰς εἰσάγονται
 οὔτε δούλων ἐπιτηδεύουσιν κτῆσιν, τὸ μὲν εἰς ἀδι-
 κίαν φέρειν ὑπειληφότες, τὸ δὲ στάσεως ἐνδιδόναί
 ποιήσιν,⁵ αὐτοὶ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ζῶντες διακονία⁶ τῇ
 22 ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἐπιχρῶνται. ἀποδέκτας δὲ τῶν προσ-
 ὄδων χειροτονοῦντες καὶ ὅποσα ἡ γῆ φέροι ἄνδρας
 ἀγαθοὺς, ἱερεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσῃ⁸ σίτου τε καὶ βρω-

¹ AW : om. M Lat. : ἄνδρες (= οἱ ἄνδρες) conl. Post.

² τόδε διὰ τὸ] A : τὸ δίκαιον MWE : γρ τὸ δίκαιον μηδαμῶς
i. marg. A.

³ ἐν τῷ] fort. spuria conl. Niese.

⁴ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς] A : αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν MW : αὐτοῖς εἶναι E.

⁵ πρόφασιν Naber.

⁶ διακονία] E : ἐπὶ διακονία codd. : ἐπιδιακονία conl. Niese.

⁷ δὲ ἐπὶ] E : διὰ MW : τε διὰ A : litt. τε διὰ π i. ras. an-
gustius m. 2 A.

⁸ E : ποιήσιν codd.

rests on the doubtful identification of the Essenes with the Hasidim of Maccabaeian times. Our passage, however, speaks of the Essenes as being excluded and not as excluding themselves (εἰργόμενοι is always passive and never middle in Josephus : so R. Marcus, "Pharisees, Essenes, and Gnostics," *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.* lxxiii, 1954, p. 158, and Thackeray-Marcus, *Lexicon to Josephus*, s.v.).

^a The text is difficult. Whiston translates : "It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed in justice [reading τὸ δίκαιον] all other men that addict themselves to virtue, to such a degree as has never appeared among any

they are of the highest character, devoting themselves solely to agricultural labour. They deserve admiration in contrast to all others who claim their share of virtue because such qualities as theirs were never found before among any Greek or barbarian people, nay, not even briefly, but have been among them in constant practice and never interrupted since they adopted them from of old. Moreover, they hold their possessions in common,^a and the wealthy man receives no more enjoyment from his property than the man who possesses nothing. The men who practise this way of life number more than four thousand.^b They neither bring wives into the community nor do they own slaves, since they believe that the latter practice contributes to injustice and that the former opens the way to a source of dissension.^c Instead they live by themselves and perform menial tasks for one another. They elect by show of hands good men to receive their revenues and the produce of the earth and priests ^d to prepare bread and other food.^e Their

other men. . . . This is shown by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer anything to hinder them from having all things in common."

^b The same number is given by Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 75.

^c Cf. Proverbs xxv. 24: "It is better to dwell in a corner of the housetop than in a house in common with a contentious woman." The depreciation of women is also found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as indicated by Strugnell, p. 110.

^d Those who see a dual leadership in the Qumrân sect (cf. Strugnell, pp. 110-111), one priestly, the other non-priestly, may discern here a parallel, which, to be sure, depends on adopting the reading of the Epitome (though it may perhaps be deduced from the manuscript A).

^e Variant "good men, priests, to receive their revenues and the produce of the earth and to prepare bread and other food."

μάτων.¹ ζῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν παρηλλαγμένως, ἀλλ' ὅτι
 μάλιστα ἐμφέροντες² Δακῶν³ τοῖς Κτίσταις⁴ λεγο-
 μένοις.⁵

- 23 (6) Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν φιλοσοφιῶν ὁ Γαλιλαῖος
 Ἰούδας ἡγεμὼν κατέστη,⁶ τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα
 γνώμη τῶν Φαρισαίων ὁμολογοῦσι,⁷ δυσνίκητος⁸
 δὲ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἔρως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἡγεμόνα
 καὶ δεσπότην τὸν θεὸν ὑπειληφόσιν. θανάτων τε
 ἰδέας ὑπομένειν παρηλλαγμένας ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθενται
 καὶ συγγενῶν τιμωρίας καὶ φίλων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα

¹ προχειρίζονται post βρωμάτων add. E.

² ἐμφέροντες] ἐμπερῶς E : ἐμπερεῖς ὄντες Bekker.

³ Δακῶν] i. marg. οὕτως εὔρον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις m. 1 A : Σαδ-
 δουκαίων Dupont-Sommer : αὐτῶν Carnignac (Vetus Tes-
 tamentum, vii, 1957, pp. 318-319).

⁴ Ortelius : Πολισταῖς Scaliger : πλείστοις codd.

⁵ ἄνδρας . . . λεγομένοις] sacerdotes autem optimos viros
 eligunt, cibus illis simplex est, habitus insumptuosus et mun-
 dus Lat. ⁶ ἧς οἱ τρόφιμοι ante τὰ add. E.

⁷ codd. E : ὁμολογούσῃ Niese.

⁸ δυσνίκητος] Bekker : δυσκίνητος codd. E : immobilem im-
 mutabilemque Lat.

^a "Founders." The manuscript reading, "from the so-
 called majority of the Dacians," does not yield sense. Or-
 telius' brilliant emendation, which is here adopted, is based
 upon a passage of Posidonius in Strabo vii. 296, which men-
 tions a tribe named the Ctistae who lived without wives.
 Scaliger's emendation, Πολισταῖς, adopted by Thackeray,
Selections, p. 160, though close to the manuscript reading,
 cannot be accepted since this word is rejected by the gram-
 marian Pollux and is nowhere attested in extant Greek
 writings. It is true that Josephus has just said (§ 20) that
 righteousness such as the Essenes possess is not to be found
 among any of the Greeks or the barbarians; but the com-
 parison in § 22 seems to be to such aspects of their life as their
 avoidance of wives and slaves and their communal sharing of
 goods. A. Dupont-Sommer, "On a Passage of Josephus
 Relating to the Essenes (*Antiq.* xviii. 22)," *Jour. of Sem.*

manner of life does not differ at all from that of the so-called Ctistae^a among the Dacians, but is as close to it as could be.

(6) As for the fourth of the philosophies,^b Judas the Galilaean^c set himself up as leader of it. This school agrees in all other respects with the opinions of the Pharisees, except that they have a passion for liberty that is almost unconquerable, since they are convinced that God alone is their leader and master. They think little of submitting to death in unusual forms and permitting vengeance to fall on kinsmen and friends if only they may avoid calling any man

The fourth sect established by Judas the Galilaean.

Stud. i, 1956, pp. 361-366, suggests that the manuscript reading, πλείστοις, be kept, since he sees a parallel in the familiar designation of the members of the Qumrân community as *ha-rabim*, "the many" (the Hebrew lacks a superlative form); the meaning would then be that the various Essene groups closely conformed to the Qumrân community, which served as the model for all. The Qumrân sectarians called themselves "sons of Zadok"; and Dupont-Sommer suggests (p. 364) emending Δακῶν to Σαδῶκ, or, preferably, Σαδδουκαίων. The meaning would then be "conforming as much as possible to those of the Sadducees [to be distinguished from the classical Sadducees] who are called the Many." The corruption, however, of Σαδδουκαίων into Δακῶν is palaeographically very difficult to accept.

^b It should be noted that the identification of the Fourth Philosophy with the Zealots, which scholars so often assume, is not found in Josephus here or in the account in *B.J.* iv. 121 ff. So G. F. Moore, in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxii, 1929, p. 373.

^c Cf. the Galilaean heretic (Mishnah, *Yadaim* iv. 8 : he is called a Sadducee, but S. Lieberman, "Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources," *Proc. of the Am. Acad. for Jewish Res.* xx, 1951, pp. 401-402, rightly, as we can see from the attitude of the "Sadducee" toward the state, assumes that the word is here used in the generic sense of heretic) who protests against the Pharisaic practice of including the name of the ruler on bills of divorce.

- 24 ἄνθρωπον προσαγορεύειν δεσπότην. ἑωρακόσιν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ ἀμετάλλακτον αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ¹ τοιούτοις ὑποστάσεως² περαιτέρω διελθεῖν παρέλιπον· οὐ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ εἰς ἀπιστίαν ὑποληφθῇ τι τῶν λεγομένων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τοῦναντίον δὲ μὴ ἐλασσόνως τοῦ ἐκείνων καταφρονήματος δεχομένου τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν τῆς ἀλγηδόνης ὁ λόγος ἀφηγῆται.
- 25 ἀνοίᾳ τε τῇ ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο νοσεῖν τὸ ἔθνος Γεσσίου Φλώρου, ὃς ἡγεμὼν ἦν, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἀπονοήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀποστήναι Ῥωμαίων. καὶ φιλοσοφεῖται μὲν Ἰουδαίοις τοσάδε.
- 26 (ii. 1) Κυρίνιος δὲ τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα ἀποδόμενος ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἀποτιμήσεων πέρας ἔχουσῶν, αἱ ἐγένοντο τριακοστῷ καὶ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίου ἐν Ἀκτίῳ ἦτταν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, Ἰωάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστασιασθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πληθύος ἀφελόμενος τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς τιμῆς Ἀνανον τὸν
- 27 Σεθι³ καθίσταται ἀρχιερέα. Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος τετραρχίαν ἐκάτερος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρειληφό-

¹ Ernesti : ὑπὸ codd. E.

² ἐνστάσεως E.

³ A : Σὲς MW : Σὲθ ed. pr. : τὸν Σεθι om. Lat.

^a Named procurator of Judaea in 64 or 65 by Nero. For an account of his cruelty and rapacity see *B.J.* ii. 277-279 and *Ant.* xx. 252-258.

^b Augustus'. The census can thus be dated as having taken place in A.D. 6.

^c 2 Sept. 31 B.C. On dating from the Battle of Actium see *B.J.* i. 398, where Josephus dates according to Actiads, the games at Actium that were celebrated every four years.

^d Cf. § 3.

^e High priest from A.D. 6 to 15, when he was deposed by

master. Inasmuch as most people have seen the steadfastness of their resolution amid such circumstances, I may forgo any further account. For I have no fear that anything reported of them will be considered incredible. The danger is, rather, that report may minimize the indifference with which they accept the grinding misery of pain. The folly that ensued began to afflict the nation after Gessius Florus,^a who was governor, had by his overbearing and lawless actions provoked a desperate rebellion against the Romans. Such is the number of the schools of philosophy among the Jews.

(ii. 1) Quirinius had now liquidated the estate of Archelaus; and by this time the registrations of property that took place in the thirty-seventh year after Caesar's^b defeat of Antony at Actium^c were complete. Since the high priest Joazar^d had now been overpowered by a popular faction, Quirinius stripped him of the dignity of his office and installed Ananus^e the son of Seth^f as high priest. ^g Meanwhile, Herod^h and Philip had received and were taking in

the procurator Valerius Gratus (§ 34). He is to be identified with the high priest Annas of the New Testament (Luke iii. 2; John xviii. 13, 24; Acts iv. 6) before whom Jesus was delivered for his first hearing. Five of his sons became high priests (*Ant.* xx. 198), and his son-in-law (so John xviii. 13) Joseph surnamed Caiaphas (Luke iii. 2) likewise attained this office. The family of Ananus was well known for its large size, wealth, and power (so Bab. Talmud, *Pesahim* 57 a; Tosefta *Menahot* xiii. 18). Their greed in particular is bitterly attacked by the Rabbis (Mishnah *Keritot* i. 7), and the family's wealth appears to have been destroyed by the zealots (Jerus. *Peah* ii. 16 c and *Sifre Deut.* xiv. 22). See J. Gutmann, "Ananos," *Ency. Jud.* ii, 1928, pp. 765-766.

^f Sethi in the Greek text.

^g §§ 27-28 are paralleled by *B.J.* ii. 167-168.

^h Herod Antipas.

τες καθίσταντο. καὶ Ἡρώδης Σέπφωριν τειχίσας
 πρόσχημα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου παντὸς ἡγόρευεν¹ αὐτὴν
 Αὐτοκρατορίδα· Βηθαραμφθᾶ² δέ, πόλις καὶ αὐτὴ
 τυγχάνει, τείχει περιλαβὼν³ Ἰουλιάδα ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτο-
 28 κράτορος προσαγορεύει τῆς γυναικός. Φίλιππος δὲ
 Πανεάδα⁴ τὴν πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατα-
 σκευάσας ὀνομάζει Καισάρειαν, κώμην δὲ Βηθσαϊ-
 δὰ πρὸς λίμνη τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι πόλεως παρασχὼν
 ἀξίωμα πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει
 Ἰουλιά⁵ θυγατρὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ὁμώνυμον ἐκάλεσεν.
 29 (2) Κωπωνίου δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν διέποντος, ὃν ἔ-
 φην Κυρινίῳ συνεκπεμφθῆναι, τάδε πράσσεται. τῶν
 ἀζύμων τῆς ἐορτῆς ἀγομένης, ἣν πάσχα καλοῦ-
 μεν, ἐκ μέσης νυκτὸς ἐν ἔθει τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἦν

¹ ἡγεν AE: i. marg. γρ ἡγόρευεν A: προσηγόρευεν L. Dindorf: ἡγαγεν MW: ἀνῆκεν Dindorf: appellat Lat.

² Βηθαραμφὰ E: Betharamtha Lat.

³ περιβαλὼν E.

⁴ AW: Παναιάδα A¹M: Paniadam Lat.

⁵ MW: Ἰουλίαν AE.

^a In upper Galilee, probably to be identified with modern *Saffuriyah*. Cf. *Vita* 30 and *passim*. See Schürer ii⁴. 209-213.

^b "Imperial" (city), perhaps "capital" (city). Since Αὐτοκράτωρ is the Greek equivalent of Imperator, one of Augustus' titles, the name Αὐτοκρατορίς (Latin Imperatoria) probably honours Augustus. Otherwise, "he made it autonomous"; but see Schürer ii. 211 n. 496, who rightly remarks that the subsequent history makes it probable that already at that time the rest of Galilee was subordinate to it.

^c Biblical Beth-haram (Josh. xiii. 27), east of the Jordan,

hand their respective tetrarchies. Herod fortified Sepphoris ^a to be the ornament of all Galilee, and called it Autocratoris.^b He also threw a wall about another city, Betharamphtha,^c which he called Julias ^d after the name of the emperor's wife. Philip too made improvements at Paneas,^e the city near the sources of the Jordan, and called it Caesarea.^f He also raised the village of Bethsaïda ^g on Lake Gennesaritis ^h to the status of city by adding residents and strengthening the fortifications. He named it after Julia, the emperor's daughter.

Cities built
by Herod
and Philip.

(2) During the administration of Judaea by Coponius, who, as I have said, had been dispatched with Quirinius, an event occurred which I shall now describe. When the Festival of Unleavened Bread, which we call Passover, was going on, the priests were accustomed to throw open the gates of the tem-

The
Samaritans
scatter
human
bones in
porticoes of
the temple.

Talmudic Bethramtha, in Eusebius Bethramtha. See Schürer ii. 213-216.

^a On Julia (or Livia), the wife of Augustus, see *Ant.* xvi. 139. Eusebius, *Onom. Sac.* (ed. Larson and Parthey), pp. 112-113, calls the city Livias. A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1937, p. 275, suggests that Herod originally renamed the city Livias in honour of Livia, and that later (A.D. 14), when Livia was adopted into the Julian gens, he changed its name to Julias. This remained the name in official use during the first century; ultimately it was again replaced by Livias.

^e Originally the name of a cave sacred to Pan on a mountain near by.

^f Caesarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 13, Mark viii. 27), modern *Banias*. Cf. Schürer ii. 204-208.

^g East of the Jordan, slightly north of the Sea of Galilee, perhaps to be identified with the Bethsaïda of the New Testament. Schürer ii. 208 notes that since Julia was banished in B.C. 2, the foundation of Julias-Bethsaïda must have preceded that date.

^h The Sea of Galilee.

- 30 ἀνοιγνύναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς πυλῶνας. καὶ τότε οὖν ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον γίνεται ἡ ἀνοιξις αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες Σαμαρεῖται κρύφα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐλθόντες διάρριψιν ἀνθρωπέων ὁσῶν ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς καὶ διὰ παντὸς¹ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἤρξαντο^{2*3} μὴ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοιούτοις νομίζοντες τά τε ἄλλα διὰ φυλακῆς μεί-
- 31 ζονος ἦγον τὸ ἱερόν.⁴ καὶ Κωπώνιος μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, διάδοχος δ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραγίνεται Μᾶρκος Ἀμβίβουλος,⁵ ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Σαλώμη ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου ἀδελφὴ μετασταῖσα Ἰουλίᾳ μὲν Ἰάμνειαν τε καταλείπει καὶ τὴν

¹ καὶ διὰ παντὸς] διὸ καὶ πάντας Hudson.

² εἶρξαντο Hudson: εἶρξαν Bekker: εἰργάσαντο coni. Post.

³ lacunam post ἱεροῦ indicavit Niese ed. min.; post ἤρξαντο indicavi.

⁴ διάρριψιν . . . ἱερόν] et per templi cunctas porticus et per totum phanum ossa iaciunt mortuorum; et ex illo coepit in templo custodia maior sacerdotibus exerceri Lat.

⁵ coni. Niese: Ἀμβιβούχος MW Zon.: Ἀμβιβοούχος E (cod. Laur.): om. Lat.: Ἀμβιούιος Casaubonus ad Baron. p. 205, 1.

^a The five gates of the temple mount (Mishnah *Middot* i. 3). On holidays the people remained on the temple mount and did not enter the temple proper (cf. Bab. *Chagigah* 26 a).

^b Beginning at midnight. Cf. Mishnah *Yoma* i. 8, which states that on all three festivals (Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles), after the first watch of the evening the priests would begin to prepare the temple for the coming day's service. By the cock's crow, we are told, the temple area was full of people, though we are not told precisely when the gates of the temple were opened. On Passover, the people were busy in their homes eating the paschal lamb, which they had until midnight to consume; hence it would appear that they started to gather in the temple area after midnight.

ple^a after midnight.^b This time, when the gates were first opened, some Samaritans, who had secretly entered Jerusalem, began to scatter human bones in the porticoes and throughout the temple.^c As a result, the priests, although they had previously observed no such custom, excluded everyone from the temple, in addition to taking other measures for the greater protection of the temple.^d ^e Not long afterwards Coponius returned to Rome. His successor in office was Marcus Ambivulus,^f during whose administration Salome, the sister of King Herod, died. To Julia^g she bequeathed Jamnia and its territory, together

Succession
of Roman
procurators
and of
high
priests.

^c There appears to be a lacuna in the text.

^d The passage, as it stands in the mss., presents difficulties, and a few commentators have suggested that there is a lacuna. J. Carcopino, "Encore le rescrit impérial sur les violations de sépulture," *Rev. hist.* clxvi, 1931, p. 90, in an effort to bring the passage into line with *B.J.* ii. 117, reads: *διάρρησιν . . . ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς ποιοῦνται καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ. καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ὁσὰ νεκρῶν μετακινήσαντες* [correct to *μετακινήσαντας*?] *ἀποκτείνειν ἤρξαντο*, i.e., the Romans began to condemn to death those who dispersed the bones. Carcopino would then connect this incident with the Greek inscription, dating from the last years of Augustus or somewhat later, found in Palestine (published by F. Cumont in *Rev. hist.* clxiii, 1930, pp. 241-266). This inscription is an edict against transferring buried bodies to another place, the penalty for violation being death. H. Riesenfeld, "The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings," *Uppsala Univ. Arsskrift*, no. 11, 1948, pp. 36-37, noting that the vision of Ezekiel in the valley of dry bones (chap. xxxvii) is the assigned reading from the prophets on [the intermediate Sabbath of] Passover, stresses the Messianic character of the belief in resurrection and its association with Passover.

^e §§ 31-32 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 167-168.

^f Also spelled "Ambibulus," "Ambivius." Procurator c. A.D. 9-12. Otherwise unknown.

^g Livia, wife of Augustus. See above, § 27.

τοπαρχίαν πᾶσαν, τὴν τ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Φασαηλίδα
καὶ Ἀρχελαΐδα, ἔνθα φοινίκων πλείστη φύτευσις καὶ
32 καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄριστος. διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον
Ἄννιος¹ Ρούφος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καίσαρ,
δεύτερος μὲν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος ἑπτὰ
δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη, πρὸς οἷς μῆνες
ἕξ ἡμέραι δυοῖν πλείονες, τούτου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου
33 ἑβδομηκονταεπτὰ. διαδέχεται δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν Τιβέριος Νέρων γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίας
υἱὸς ὢν, τρίτος ἤδη οὗτος αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ πεμ-
πτὸς² ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρῆν Ἰουδαίοις ἑπαρχος διάδοχος
34 Ἀννίῳ Ρούφῳ³ Οὐαλέριος Γράτος· ὃς παύσας ἱερᾶ-
σθαι⁴ Ἀνανον⁵ Ἰσμάηλον ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει τὸν
τοῦ Φαβί,⁶ καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺν μεταστήσας
Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν ἀπο-
δείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα. ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ διαγενομένου καὶ
τόνδε παύσας Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθου⁷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύ-
35 νην παραδίδωσιν. οὐ πλείων δὲ καὶ τῷδε ἐνιαυτοῦ
τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος ὁ

¹ Ἀννίσιος E : Ἄννισος cod. Busb.

² πέμπτος M : quintus Lat.

³ Ἀννίῳ Ρούφῳ] A : Ἀννίου Ρούφου MW : Ἀννίου Ρού-
φου E.

⁴ ἀρχιερεῖσθαι Eus. Dem. Evang.

⁵ Ἀναν Ζον. : Ἀνανον Eusebii hist. codd. plerique :
Annan Lat. (cod. A).

⁶ E Eus. Hist. Eccles. : Φαβί A : Φαβῆ M : Iabi Lat. :
Φήβα Eus. Dem. : Βιοβῆ Iosephi Hypom. (Fabricius cod.
Pseudep. Vet. Test.).

⁷ Καθίμου Eus. Dem. : Καθήμου Ios. Hypom. ap. Fabric.

with Phasaëlis, which lay in the plain, and Archelaïs,^a where palms are planted in very great numbers and the dates are of the highest quality.^b Ambivulus' successor was Annius Rufus,^c whose administration was marked by the death of Caesar,^d the second emperor of the Romans, who had ruled for fifty-seven years, six months, and two days. Antony had shared authority with him for fourteen years of this period. He was seventy-seven years old when he died. Caesar's successor in authority was the third emperor, Tiberius Nero, the son of his wife Julia. He dispatched Valerius Gratus^e to succeed Annius Rufus as procurator over the Jews. Gratus deposed Ananus from his sacred office, and proclaimed Ishmaël, the son of Phabi,^f high priest. Not long afterwards he removed him also and appointed in his stead Eleazar, the son of the high priest Ananus.^g A year later he deposed him also and entrusted the office of high priest to Simon, the son of Camith.^h The last-mentioned held this position for not more than a year

^a Jamnia was in Philistia along the coast, Phasaëlis and Archelaïs (*cf. Ant. xvii. 340*) in the Jordan valley.

^b Pliny the Elder (*Hist. Nat. xiii. 44*) also mentions the fame of the dates of Archelaïs.

^c Procurator A.D. 12-15. Otherwise unknown.

^d Augustus, whose rule is here reckoned from the death of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. to his own death in A.D. 14. The period of his reign as given here is about a month too long, as noted in Thackeray's note on the parallel passage, *B.J. ii. 168*.

^e Procurator A.D. 15-26. Otherwise unknown.

^f High priest A.D. 15-16 but otherwise unknown. Probably not to be identified with the Ishmael ben Phabi (*Ant. xx. 179*) who was appointed high priest by Agrippa II in A.D. 59.

^g High priest A.D. 16-17. Otherwise unknown.

^h High priest A.D. 17-18. Otherwise unknown.

Καϊάφας¹ διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ Γράτος μὲν ταῦτα πράξας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανεχώρει ἔνδεκα ἔτη δια-
τρίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, Πόντιος δὲ Πιλάτος διάδοχος
αὐτῷ ἦκεν.

- 36 (3) Ἡρώδης δὲ ὁ τετράρχης, ἐπὶ μέγα γὰρ ἦν τῷ
Τιβεριῷ φιλίας προελθών,² οἰκοδομεῖται πόλιν ἐπ-
ώνυμον αὐτῷ Τιβεριάδα τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐπικτίσας
αὐτὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ λίμνῃ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι.³
θερμά τε οὐκ ἄπωθὲν ἐστὶν ἐν κώμῃ, Ἀμμαθοὺς⁴
37 ὄνομα αὐτῇ. σύγκλυδες⁵ δὲ ᾤκισαν,⁶ οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ
καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ἦν, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ
γῆς ἀναγκαστοὶ καὶ πρὸς βίαν εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν
ἀγόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει. ἐδέξατο δὲ
αὐτοῖς συνοίκους καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐπισυναγο-
μένους ἄνδρας ἀπόρους, ἔστι δ' οὓς μηδὲ σαφῶς
38 ἐλεύθερους, πολλά τε αὐτοὺς καπὶ πολλοῖς ἡλευ-
θέρωσεν καὶ εὐηργέτησεν ἀνάγκασμα τοῦ μὴ ἀπο-
λείπειν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιθείς, κατασκευαῖς τε οἰκήσεων

¹ Καϊάφας] codd. E Lat. (cf. Ant. xviii. 95 et I. Lévy, ap. Mélanges R. Dussaud ii, 1939, p. 542): καὶ Καϊάφας Eus.

² E: προσελθών codd.: perveniens Lat.

³ AW: Γεννησαρίτιδι ME: Genesar Lat.

⁴ AM: Ἀμμαοὺς W: Ἀμαθοὺς E: Amathus Lat.

⁵ συνήλυδες L. Dindorf.

⁶ Niese: ᾤκησαν codd. E: i. marg. (ad ᾤκησαν?) ταύτην A.

^a Son-in-law of Ananus. High priest A.D. 18-36. Luke's mention (iii. 2) of both Annas (Ananus) and Caiaphas as high priests has led many commentators to think that Annas was the power behind his son-in-law. He is said to have presided over the Sanhedrin (Matt. xxvi. 57) at the trial of Jesus. He is also mentioned by John (xi. 49, xviii. 13, 24, 28), but not by Mark and Luke, in connexion with Jesus' crucifixion.

^b Or "withdrew," "returned."

and was succeeded by Joseph, who was called Caïaphas.^a After these acts Gratus retired ^b to Rome, having stayed eleven years in Judaea. It was Pontius Pilate who came as his successor.^c

(3) ^d The tetrarch Herod, inasmuch as he had gained a high place among the friends of Tiberius, had a city built, named after him Tiberias, which he established in the best region of Galilee on Lake Gennesaritis. There is a hot spring not far from it in a village called Ammathus.^e The new settlers were a promiscuous rabble, no small contingent being Galilaean, with such as were drafted from territory subject to him and brought forcibly to the new foundation. Some of these were magistrates. Herod accepted as participants even poor men who were brought in to join the others from any and all places of origin. It was a question whether some were even free beyond cavil. These latter he often and in large bodies liberated and benefited (imposing the condition that they should not quit the city), by equipping houses at his own expense and adding new

Building of
Tiberias by
Herod the
tetrarch.

^c A.D. 26. R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus*, 1931, p. 17, rejects this date, asserting, on the basis of the Maximinian *Acta Pilati*, that the crucifixion took place in 21 and that Pilate became procurator about the year 18. This dating is successfully challenged by P. L. Hadley, "Pilate's Arrival in Judaea," *Jour. of Theol. Stud.* xxxv, 1934, pp. 56-57, who, in examining the extant procuratorial coins, notes that the coin-type that emerges in 17-18 is still supreme in 24-25, whereas the coins of the years 29-32 are of an entirely different type, thus indicating, he believes, the advent of a new procurator between 25 and 29.

^d § 36 is parallel with *B.J.* ii. 168.

^e Between Tiberias and Gadara. The name is probably derived from the Hebrew *hamath* (= warm [springs]). It is mentioned several times in the Talmud (*e.g.* *Moed Katan* 18 a) but is not to be confused with Emmaus in Judaea.

τέλεσι τοῖς¹ αὐτοῦ καὶ γῆς ἐπιδόσει,² εἰδὼς παρά-
νομον τὸν οἰκισμὸν ὄντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουδαίους
πατρίου διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ μνήμασιν, ἃ πολλὰ τῇδε ἦν,
ἀνηρημένοις τὴν ἰδρυσιν τῇ Τιβεριάδι γενέσθαι·
μιαροὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας εἶναι τοὺς οἰκήτορας
ἀγορεύει ἡμῖν τὸ νόμιμον.

- 39 (4) Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Φραάτης ὁ Παρθυαίων βα-
σιλεὺς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ
γενομένης ὑπὸ Φραατάκου³ τοῦ υἱέος κατὰ τοιαύτην
40 αἰτίαν. Φραάτης παίδων αὐτῷ γενομένων γνησίων
Ἰταλικῆς παιδείσκης (ἥρα),⁴ ὄνομα αὐτῇ Θεσμοῦσα.⁵
ταύτῃ ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου⁶ Καίσαρος μετ' ἄλλων δωρεῶν
ἀπεσταλμένη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παλλακίδι ἐχρήτο,
καταπλαγεῖς δὲ⁷ τῷ πολλῷ τῆς εὐμορφίας προϊ-
όντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ παιδὸς αὐτῇ τοῦ Φραατάκου⁸

¹ τέλεσι τοῖς] Bekker: τελείαις τῆς codd.: ex (propriis) opibus Lat.

² Bekker: ἀποδόσει codd. E.

³ A: Φραατάκτου MW: Φραάτου cod. Busb. E: fratre cod. Alat.

⁴ coni. Petersen.

⁵ A: Θερμούσα MW: Θεὰ Μοῦσα Gutschmid: Φορμούσα (= Formosa) Naber: Θέλπουσα coni. Petersen.

⁶ Σεβαστοῦ Bucherius: τοῦ νέου Gutschmid.

⁷ δὲ post προϊόντος ponunt Richards et Shutt (Class. Quart. xxxi, 1937, p. 176).

⁸ τοῦ Φραατάκου] A: Φραατάκτου MW: ἐκ Φραάτου E: Fraatre Lat.: ἐκ <Φραάτου> Φραατάκτου Nicklin (Class. Rev. xxvii, 1913, p. 264): [ἐκ] Φραατάκου Mathieu-Herrmann.

^a Num. xix. 11-16.

^b Why does Josephus devote so much space to Parthian affairs? One major reason seems to be the size and importance of the Jewish community of Babylonia, which was (§ 313) subject to the Parthians. Thus the account of the

gifts of land. For he knew that this settlement was contrary to the law and tradition of the Jews because Tiberias was built on the site of tombs that had been obliterated, of which there were many there. And our law ^a declares that such settlers are unclean for seven days.

(4) ^b In the interval occurred the death of Phraates, the king of the Parthians. ^c He was the victim of a scheme promoted by his son Phraataces, whose motive sprang from the following circumstance. ^d Phraates, who already had legitimate children, was in love with ^e a young Italian slave girl named Thesmusas, ^f who had been sent to him along with other gifts by Julius Caesar. ^g At first he treated her as a concubine, but he was so smitten by her abundant charm of face and figure that with time, after she had borne a son

Story of
Phraataces
and Thes-
musas.

dynastic troubles of the Parthians culminates in the assumption of the kingship by Artabanus III (§ 48), who plays a prominent role (§§ 325 ff.) in the story of the two daring Jewish brothers, Asinaeus and Anilaeus, who established an independent state in Babylonia.

^a On Josephus' reliability as a source for Parthian history see N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, 1938, p. xxix, who notes how often Josephus' account has been confirmed from numismatic or other written sources; and E. Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus*, 1904.

^b Cf. Dio Cass. lv. 10a. 4.

^c Something like "was living with" or "fell in love with" is required by the context, but the Greek text appears to have a lacuna.

^f After Thesmusas became queen, her name, as the coins attest (see P. Gardner, *Parthian Coinage*, 1887, p. 46) was changed to Thea Musa. But since she is introduced not as the queen but as the royal concubine, her name would hardly be expected to bear the epithet "goddess." In § 42 the unanimous tradition of the mss. is in favour of Thesmusas, and this seems preferable here as well.

^g Augustus.

- γενομένου γαμετήν τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀποφαίνεται
 41 καὶ τιμίαν ἦγεν.¹ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν² οἷς εἶποι πιθανὴ τῷ
 βασιλεῖ γεγονυῖα καὶ σπεύδουσα τῷ παιδί τῷ αὐτῆς
 γενέσθαι τὴν Πάρθων ἡγεμονίαν ἑώρα μὴ ἄλλως
 γενησομένην μὴ ἀποσκευῆς αὐτῇ μηχανηθείσης τῶν
 42 γνησίων τοῦ Φραάτου παίδων. πείθει οὖν αὐτὸν
 ἐκπέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐφ' ὁμηρεῖα³ τοὺς γνησίους
 παῖδας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν εὖπορον
 Φραάτῃ τοῖς Θεσμούσης ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ῥώμης ἐξεπέμποντο. Φραατάκης δὲ μόνος ἐπὶ
 τοῖς πράγμασι τρεφόμενος δεινὸν ἡγεῖτο καὶ ἅμα
 χρόνιον τοῦ πατρὸς διδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν,
 ὥστε ἐπεβούλευε τῷ πατρὶ συμπράξει τῆς μητρός,
 43 ἥ δὲ καὶ συνιέναι λόγος εἶχεν αὐτόν. καὶ δι' ἀμφο-
 τερα μισηθεὶς οὐδὲν ἡσρόνως τῆς πατροκτονίας τὸ
 μύσος τοῦ⁴ μητρὸς ἔρωτος⁵ τιθεμένων τῶν ὑπηκόων,
 στάσει περιελαθεὶς πρότερον ἢ φῦναι μέγας ἐξέπεσε

¹ ἦγεν] ἦγεν. ἡ δὲ Dindorf.

² πᾶσιν] codd. : πᾶσι δ' E.

³ Gutschmid : ὁμηρεῖαν codd. E.

⁴ τοῦ] codd. : τοῦ τῆς E : τὸν τῆς Bekker : τοὺς Gutschmid.

⁵ ἔρωτα Bekker : ἔρωτας Gutschmid.

^a The reading ἐκ Φραάτου is a gloss (so H. Van Herwerden, "Commentationes Flavianae Duae," *Mnemosyne*, xxi, 1893, p. 232). Debevoise, p. 143 n. 2, identifies Phraataces as probably the Aphrahat the son of Aphrahat who ruled over Seleucia and Ctesiphon of Beth Aramaya, as stated by Mar Mari in *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, ed. P. Bedjan, i, 1890, 68, § 7.

^b Other reasons why Phraates dispatched his four legitimate sons to Rome were to be pledges of friendship (so Augustus, *Res Gestae* 32; Vell. Pat. ii. 94; Suet. *Aug.* 21; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 1) and to prevent his being deposed, since he realized that no revolution could gain the backing of the

Phraataces,^a he declared this wench to be his wedded wife and held her in honour. When she reached the point where the king concurred in anything that she proposed, she, eager to procure for her son the rule over the Parthians but realizing that this could happen only if she could first contrive to get rid of the legitimate children of Phraates, persuaded him to send his legitimate children away to Rome as hostages. And so they were sent off to Rome, inasmuch as Phraates did not find it easy to gainsay the dictates of Thesmusa.^b But Phraataces, who alone was being groomed for the throne, considered it an unsafe as well as a tedious proceeding to receive the throne by his father's award. Hence he plotted against his father with the assistance of his mother, with whom, indeed, according to report, he also had sexual relations.^c He was detested on both counts, for his subjects considered the incest with his mother no less abominable than the murder of his father, so that before he gathered much strength he was caught up

Parthians unless it were allied with an Arsacid (so Strabo xvi. 748; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 1).

^c Starting in A.D. 2 Thesmusa appears on Parthian coins together with Phraataces. Debevoise, p. 149, sees a possible connexion between the marriage of Phraataces and Thesmusa and other changes then taking place in Zoroastrianism, whereby customs long confined solely to the Magi (next-of-kin marriages was one of these) were being extended to the people generally. But this conjecture is doubtful since the reaction of the Parthians to this incident is one of horror. H. Lewy, "The Genesis of the Faulty Persian Chronology," *Jour. of the Am. Orient. Soc.* lxiv, 1944, p. 211 n. 132, compares the story of the marriage of Phraataces and Thesmusa with the account of the marriage of Darius I (a more distant relative, to be sure, of his predecessor Cambyses) to Cambyses' sister-wife Atossa and her sister Artystone (Herodotus iii. 88, vii. 69 and 72).

- 44 τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οὕτως θνήσκει. συμφρονήσαντες δὲ οἱ γενναιότατοι Πάρθων, ὡς ἀβασιλεύτοις μὲν ἀμήχανον πολιτεύεσθαι, δέοι δὲ βασιλεύοντος¹ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀρσακιδῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἑτέροις ἄρχειν νόμιμον, ἀπέχρη δὲ πολλάκις καὶ μέχρι νῦν περιυβρίσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκ τε γάμων τῆς Ἰταλικῆς παλλακίδος καὶ γενέσεων, Ὀρώδην² ἐκάλουν πρεσβεύσαντες ὄντ'³ ἄλλως μὲν ἐπίφθονον τῷ πλήθει καὶ ὑπαίτιον καθ' ὑπερβολὰς ὠμότητος, πάνυ γὰρ ἦν σκαιὸς καὶ δυσδιάθετος εἰς ὀργήν, ἕνα
45 δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ συστάντες ἀποκτείνουσιν, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ τραπέζαις, μαχαιροφορεῖν γὰρ ἔθος ἅπασιν, ὡς δ' ὁ πλείων κατέχει λόγος, εἰς θήραν προαγαγόντες.
46 πρεσβεύσαντες δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἡτοῦντο βασιλέα τῶν ὁμηρευόντων, καὶ πέμπεται Βονώνης προκριθεὶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν· ἐδόκει γὰρ χωρεῖν τὴν τύχην, ἣν αὐτῷ δύο μέγισται τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἡγεμονίαι
47 προσέφερον, ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἀλλοτρίᾳ. ταχεῖα δ' ἀνατροπὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὑπείσιν ἅτε καὶ φύσει σφαλεροὺς ὄντας πρὸς τε τὴν ἀναξιοπάθειαν, ἀνδραπόδω γὰρ ἀλλοτρίῳ⁴ ποιήσιν τὸ προστασσύμενον οὐκ ἡξίου,⁵

¹ δέοι δὲ βασιλεύοντος] Gutschmid : οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος codd. : οἱ δὲ βασιλεύοντες ed. pr.

² M : Ὀρώδην, Ὁ i. ras. A : Ὀρώδην W : Ἡρώδην E Lat. ὄντ'] Dindorf : εἰς δάν A : ἦν (ἦν W) δ' ἂν MW : ἦν δ' E : εἰς Δάας Gutschmid.

⁴ ἀνδραπόδω γὰρ ἀλλοτρίῳ] Niese : ἀνδραπόδων γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων codd.

⁵ οὐκ ἡξίου] Hudson : ἡξίου codd. : ἀπηξίου Cocceji.

in a civil war, banished from the throne, and so died.^a Those of the Parthians who were of the highest birth were of one mind that no form of government but the monarchical was manageable, and that it was necessary that the occupant of the throne should belong to the lineage of the Arsacidæ, since custom did not permit others to rule. But they had had enough, over and over again till now, of the upstart degradation to which the throne had been subjected by the marriage with the Italian concubine and by her offspring. The elders therefore sent envoys and offered the throne to Orodes, who, though the populace had no friendly eye for him among other reasons because he had some responsibility for acts of extreme cruelty, being indeed utterly gauche and viciously prone to anger, was still a member of this family. He, however, was slain ^b by a concerted attack, according to one version, amidst drinking and feasting,^c for it is customary for everyone to carry a sword at such affairs. But according to the generally received account, they lured him into a hunting party. When they sent envoys to Rome and asked release of one of the hostages as their king, Vonones was chosen in preference to his brothers and was sent. For he seemed to be worthy of the lot that was conferred upon him by the two greatest empires under the sun, one his own, one foreign. But a speedy reversal of sentiment began to affect the barbarians, for they are by nature fickle, when they saw the indignity that they must swallow ; for they would not brook obedience to one who had been a slave to a foreigner—a gustus' *Res Gestæ* 32 records the fact that Phraataces (there called Phraates) fled as a suppliant to the Romans.

Parthian
civil war
between
Vonones
and
Artabanus.

^b C. A.D. 6 (so Debevoise, p. 151).

^c Or " as he was making libations at table."

τὴν ὀμηρείαν ἀντὶ δουλείας ὀνομάζοντες,¹ καὶ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως τὴν ἀδοξίαν². οὐ γὰρ [ἄν]³ πολέμου δικαίῳ δεδόσθαι τὸν βασιλεύσοντα Πάρθοις, ἀλλὰ, ὃ
 48 τῷ παντὶ χεῖρον, εἰρήνης ὕβρει. παραχρήμα δ' ἐκάλουν Ἀρτάβανον Μηδίας βασιλεύοντα γένος Ἀρσακίδην· πείθεται δ' Ἀρτάβανος καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἔπεισιν. ὑπαντιάζει δ' αὐτῷ Βονώνης· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συμφρονήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Πάρθων παραταξάμενος νικᾷ, καὶ φεύγει πρὸς τοὺς
 49 ὄρους τῆς Μηδίας Ἀρτάβανος. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ συναγαγὼν⁴ συμβάλλει τε Βονώνῃ καὶ νικᾷ, καὶ Βονώνης εἰς Σελεύκειαν ἀφιππάζεται σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Ἀρτάβανος δὲ πολὺν τῇ τροπῇ φόνον ἐργασάμενος ὑπὲρ ἐκπλήξεως τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς Κτησιφῶντα μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀναχωρεῖ.
 50 καὶ κεῖνος μὲν ἐβασίλευεν ἤδη Πάρθοις, Βονώνης δ' εἰς Ἀρμενίαν διαπίπτει, καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐφίετο

¹ νομίζοντες Gutschmid.

² πρὸς τε . . . ἀδοξίαν] mansuetudinem eius coeperunt contemnere indignos putantes, ut servo subicerentur alieno; nam obsidatum servitutem esse definiebant Lat.

³ ἄν] spurium putat Niese: νῶν Gutschmid.

⁴ συναγαγὼν] congregans etiam ipse magnas turmas exercitus Lat.: συναγαγὼν στρατιὰν E.

^a Variant "regarding the position of a hostage as tantamount to servitude."

^b Or "indignant at the disgrace of having appealed to Rome."

^c Tac. *Ann.* ii. 2 cites additional reasons for the dislike which the Parthians bore for Vonones, namely, his lack of interest in hunting, horses, and Parthian festivals, his use of a litter of Greek attendants, and the ease with which he could be approached.

term they used instead of hostage ^a—nor could they bear the opprobrium conveyed by the epithet.^b For, they said, it was not by the verdict of war that he had been granted to the Parthians as a king but, far worse, by a peacetime offence to their dignity.^c Straightway they summoned to the kingship Artabanus, king of Media,^d of the family of the Arsacidae. Artabanus consented and advanced with an army. Vonones went to meet him; and at first, since the majority of the Parthians were loyal to Vonones,^e he was victorious in a pitched battle, and Artabanus fled to the borders of Media. Not long afterwards Artabanus, having gathered together his forces, engaged and defeated Vonones, who rode off with a small body of followers to Seleucia.^f Artabanus, who, in order to intimidate the barbarians, had wrought much slaughter during the rout, withdrew with the majority of his troops to Ctesiphon.^g Artabanus now ruled the Parthians, while Vonones escaped to Armenia.^h Vonones' original design was to possess that territory, and so he sent an embassy

^a Artabanus III, king of Atropatene (modern Azerbaijan). W. Schur, *Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero*, 1923, pp. 70 ff., on the basis of Tacitus' account, questions Josephus' accuracy in stating that Artabanus was king of Media.

^e Or "although the majority of the Parthians were loyal to Artabanus."

^f A city on the west bank of the Tigris, founded by Seleucus Nicator, somewhat south of the modern city of Baghdad. Cf. §§ 372 ff.

^g On the Tigris near Seleucia and north-east of Babylon. It is about sixteen miles below modern Baghdad and is the site of modern *Tâki Kesre*.

^h Armenia was at this time without a king after having been governed by a succession of rulers (the last of whom was a woman, Erato), most of whom had been deposed after brief reigns. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 3-4 and Aug. *Res Gestae* 27.

- 51 τῆς χώρας καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπρέσβευεν. ὥς δ' αὐτῷ Τιβέριος μὲν ἀπέλπεν πρὸς τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν καὶ τοῦ Πάρθου τὰς ἀπειλάς, ἀναπρεσβεύει¹ γὰρ δὴ πόλεμον ἀνατεινόμενος, μηχανὴ δ' ἦν ἑτέρα² βασιλείας οὐδεμία, καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ Νιφάτην δυνατοὶ
- 52 τῶν Ἀρμενίων Ἀρταβάνῳ προστίθενται, παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν Σιλανῷ τῷ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγῷ. καὶ κεῖνος μὲν κατὰ αἰδῶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κομιδῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ παρεφυλάσσετο· τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν Ὀρώδῃ³ δίδωσιν Ἀρτάβανος ἐνὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων.
- 53 (5) Ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς Κομμαγενῆς βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, διέστη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ πρεσβεύουσιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου μέρους, οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ μεταβάλλειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν ἀξιοῦντες, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ βασιλεύεσθαι
- 54 κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ ψηφίζεται ἡ σύγκλητος Γερμανικὸν πέμπειν διορθώσοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν,

¹ ἀντιπρεσβεύει Gutschmid.

² WE: ἑτέρας AM.

³ AM: Ὀρώδῃ W: Herodi Lat.

^a Variant "having no means of finding another kingdom."

^b A group of mountains in Armenia belonging to the Masius (modern *Karadjeh-Dag*) branch of the Taurus chain, close to modern *Tûr 'Abdîn*. Cf. G. Boettger, *Topographisches-historisches Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus*, 1879, pp. 193-194. It is possible, however, that Niphates is the name of an otherwise unknown Armenian leader and that we should translate: "Niphates with his group of Armenian grandees."

^c Vonones did secure the Armenian throne but abdicated in A.D. 15 or 16. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 4, it is not that Vonones surrendered himself, but rather that Creticus Silanus sent for him and kept him under surveillance, allowing him to keep his royal pomp and title.

to the Romans to ask for it. But Tiberius, in view of the man's cowardice and the menace of the Parthian king, for the latter had in fact countered with his own envoys and a threat of war, refused his request. Having no alternative means to secure the throne,^a since the Armenian grandees who dwelt around the Niphates^b had joined forces with Artabanus, Vonones threw himself on the mercy of Silanus the governor of Syria.^c Vonones was safeguarded in Syria in deference to his education in Rome,^d while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.^e

(5) Now Antiochus, king of Commagene,^f died; and there arose a conflict between the masses and the men of note. Both factions sent embassies, the men of substance requesting reconstitution of the state as a Roman province, while the masses supported the monarchical tradition of their ancestors.^g The senate voted to send Germanicus to effect needed reforms in the East. Fortune contrived to

Death of
Germani-
cus.

^a For references to Vonones' life after this incident see Tac. *Ann.* ii. 58 and 68 and Suet. *Tib.* 49.

^e Some scholars (see *Prosopog. Imp. Rom.* i². 1155 [pp. 229-230] and ii. 102 [p. 439]) have conjectured that this statement has been misplaced and that it actually refers to A.D. 35, when Artabanus sent his son Orodes to seize Armenia. But E. Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus*, pp. 9-10, disputes this on numismatic grounds. Orodes seems to have lasted from 15 or 16 to 18, when Germanicus, finding that the Armenians were ready to accept Zeno of Pontus, who had grown up among the Armenians, as their king, crowned him under the name of Artaxias. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 56, Suet. *Gaius* 1, Strabo xii. 555.

^f On Commagene see note on *B.J.* v. 461.

^g Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 42, also notes the division of opinion in Commagene, remarking that a majority desired Roman rule, while some preferred the continued rule of their own kings.

JOSEPHUS

πραγματευομένης αὐτῷ τῆς τύχης εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ γὰρ γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ πάντα διορθώσας ἀνηρέθη φαρμάκῳ ὑπὸ Πείσωνος, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

- 55 (iii. 1) Πιλάτος δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμὼν στρατιὰν ἐκ Καισαρείας ἀγαγὼν καὶ μεθιδρύσας χειμαδιοῦσαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν νομίμων¹ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἐφρόνησε, προτομὰς Καίσαρος, αἱ ταῖς σημαίαις² προσῆσαν, εἰσαγόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰκόνων ποίησιν ἀπαγορεύοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ
56 νόμου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ πρότερον ἡγεμόνες ταῖς

¹ A : νόμων MWE.

² ταῖς σημαίαις] E : τοῖς σημείοις codd. : signis militaribus Lat.

^a A.D. 19.

^b For Germanicus' mission in the East see also Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 43, who notes that the senatorial decree gave Germanicus power to supersede provincial governors. The story of Piso's hostility for Germanicus is told at length by Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 43 ff. Tacitus does not say directly that Piso poisoned Germanicus, but in his typical fashion he implies it strongly (*Ann.* ii. 69).

^c §§ 55-62 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 169-177.

^d E. M. Smallwood, "Some Notes on the Jews under Tiberius," *Latomus* xv, 1956, p. 327, suggests that Pilate's provocative behaviour in the incidents of the emperor's busts and the building of the aqueduct was inspired by the anti-Jewish policy followed by Tiberius' closest adviser, Sejanus, just before his death in A.D. 31 (see Philo, *In Flacc.* 1 and *Leg. ad Gaium* 159-161).

^e The likeliest date for this episode, which is the first mentioned in the account of Pilate in both the *B.J.* and the *Ant.*, is A.D. 26, the first year of Pilate's procuratorship.

^f These must be the *signa*, which often had the embossed likeness of the emperor upon them. C. H. Kraeling, whose article, "The Episode of the Roman Standards at Jerusalem," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxxv, 1942, pp. 263-289, should

make this a fit occasion for his death ^a ; for when he had reached the East and had completed his reforms, he was removed by poison for which Piso was responsible, as other writers have explained. ^b

(iii. 1) ^c Now Pilate, ^d the procurator of Judaea, when he brought his army from Caesarea and removed it to winter quarters in Jerusalem, ^e took a bold step in subversion of the Jewish practices, by introducing into the city the busts of the emperor that were attached to the military standards, ^f for our law ^g forbids the making of images. ^h It was for this reason

Pilate introduces busts of the emperor into Jerusalem but has to remove them.

be consulted for this incident, thinks that they may also be *vexilla* ; but this is unlikely, since the latter did not have embossed figures, and Josephus' word, *προτομάς*, refers to embossed figures.

^a Ex. xx. 4, Deut. iv. 16.

^h What did the Jews find offensive in these images? Kraeling, *op. cit.* p. 275, thinks that the objection may have been to the religious significance of the standards of the Roman army, which were regarded as *numina* and kept in special shrines. (For examples of the veneration of the standards see A. D. Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xlv, 1952, p. 239.) But if so, why had the Jews not objected previously to the aniconic standards? To be sure, Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium* 299-305) does mention Jewish objections to certain aniconic votive shields set up in honour of the emperor by Pilate later in his term of office in the palace of Herod at Jerusalem. Kraeling, p. 280, suggests that the real objection may have been to the introduction of the iconic images into the Antonia (*cf. Ant.* xviii. 90-95), where it would have constituted a particularly flagrant violation of the law against images, since the worship of the emperor's image would have compromised the sanctity of the priestly garments which were stored there. But there is no indication in Josephus' account that the images were brought into the Antonia, though admittedly the Antonia, as a fortress, was in an excellent position for military control of the city ; and there is similarly no basis to Kraeling's conjecture (p. 281) that the Jews demanded

μὴ μετὰ τοιῶνδε κόσμων σημαίαις ἐποιοῦντο εἴσοδον
 τῇ πόλει. πρῶτος δὲ Πιλᾶτος ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων διὰ τὸ νύκτωρ γενέσθαι τὴν εἴσοδον ιδρύεται
 57 τὰς εἰκόνας φέρων εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ
 ἔγνωσαν κατὰ πληθὺν παρῆσαν εἰς Καισάρειαν
 ἱκετείαν ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μετα-
 θέσει τῶν εἰκόνων. καὶ μὴ συγχωροῦντος διὰ τὸ
 εἰς ὕβριν Καίσαρι φέρειν, ἐπείπερ οὐκ ἔξανεχώρουν
 λιπαρεῖν κατὰ ἕκτην ἡμέραν ἐν ὅπλοις ἀφανῶς ἐπι-
 καθίσας τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἦκεν.
 τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ κατεσκεύαστο, ὅπερ¹ ἀπέκρυπτε
 58 τὸν ἐφεδρεύοντα στρατόν. πάλιν δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 ἱκετεία χρωμένων ἀπὸ συνθήματος περιστήσας τοὺς
 στρατιώτας ἠπείλει θάνατον ἐπιθήσειν ζημίαν ἐκ
 τοῦ ὀξέος, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι θορυβεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰ-
 59 κεῖα ἀπίοιεν. οἱ δὲ πρηνεῖς ῥύβαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
 γυμνοῦντες τὰς σφαγὰς ἡδονῇ δέξασθαι² τὸν θάνα-
 τον ἔλεγον ἢ τολμήσειν τὴν σοφίαν παραβήσεσθαι
 τῶν νόμων. καὶ Πιλᾶτος θαυμάσας τὸ ἐχυρὸν³
 αὐτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν νόμων παραχρῆμα τὰς εἰ-

¹ ὅπου vel οὐπερ coni. Niese.

² δέξεσθαι ed. pr.

³ A : ὀχυρὸν MWE.

the removal not only of the iconic but also of the aniconic objects. According to *B.J.* ii. 170, the objection is to the violation of the Jewish law which prohibits an image from being erected in the city of Jerusalem. There is no special law concerning images applicable to Jerusalem; yet the

that the previous procurators, when they entered the city, used standards that had no such ornaments. Pilate was the first to bring the images into Jerusalem ^a and set them up, doing it without the knowledge of the people, for he entered at night. But when the people discovered it, they went in a throng to Caesarea and for many days entreated him to take away the images. He refused to yield, since to do so would be an outrage to the emperor; however, since they did not cease entreating him, on the sixth day he secretly armed and placed his troops in position, while he himself came to the speaker's stand. This had been constructed in the stadium, which provided concealment for the army ^b that lay in wait. When the Jews again engaged in supplication, at a pre-arranged signal he surrounded them with his soldiers and threatened to punish them at once with death if they did not put an end to their tumult and return to their own places. But they, casting themselves prostrate and baring their throats, declared that they had gladly welcomed death rather than make bold to transgress the wise provisions of the laws. Pilate, astonished at the strength of their devotion to the laws, straightway removed the

Jews must have felt the violation more keenly because of the holiness of the city. The simplest explanation is that the Jews objected to the violation of the law against the making of an iconic figure of a man (*cf. Abodah Zarah* 47 b). *Cf. E. Bevan, Holy Images*, 1940, pp. 48-63; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, iv, 1954, pp. 11-24; and C. Roth, "An Ordinance against Images in Jerusalem, A.D. 66," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xlix, 1956, pp. 169-177.

^a Philo, as cited by Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* viii. 2. 123, remarks that it was in the temple that Pilate set up the standards (σημαῖαι) at night.

^b Variant "where he had concealed the army."

κόνας ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπανεκόμισεν εἰς Καισάρειαν.

- 60 (2) Ὑδάτων δὲ ἐπαγωγὴν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔπραξεν δαπάνη τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ρεύματος ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων,¹ οἱ δ' οὐκ ἠγάπων τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ ὕδωρ δρωμένοις πολλαί τε μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων συνελθόντες κατεβόων αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις προθυμωμένου, τινὲς δὲ καὶ λαιδορία χρώμενοι ὕβριζον εἰς
61 τὸν ἄνδρα, οἷα δὴ φιλεῖ πράσσειν ὄμιλος. ὁ δὲ στολῇ ἐκείνων πολὺ πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν ἀμπεχόμενον, οἱ ἐφέροντο σκυτάλας ὑπὸ ταῖς στολαῖς, διαπέμψας εἰς ὃ περιέλθοιεν αὐτούς, αὐτὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναχωρεῖν. τῶν δὲ ὠρμηκότων εἰς τὸ λαιδορεῖν ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς στρατιώταις ὃ προσυνέκειτο σημεῖον.
62 οἱ δὲ καὶ πολὺν μειζόνως ἤπερ ἐπέταξεν Πιλάτος ἐχρῶντο πληγαῖς τοὺς τε θορυβοῦντας ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ μὴ κολάζοντες. οἱ δ'² εἰσεφέροντο μαλακὸν οὐδέν, ὥστε ἄοπλοι ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐπιφερομένων πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματαῖαι ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ οὕτω παύεται ἡ στάσις.

¹ τετρακοσίων B.J. ii. 175.

² οἱ δ'] aut omittendum aut οὐδ' scribendum coni. Niese.

^a *Megillat Taanit* xviii reads: "On the third of Kislev the ensigns were removed from the [temple?] court." S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, 1922, p. 87, sees in this statement a reference to Pilate's removal of the standards from Jerusalem.

^b In the parallel passage, B.J. ii. 175, Josephus says that Pilate drew upon "the sacred treasure known as *Corbonas*."

images from Jerusalem and brought them back to Caesarea.^a

(2) He spent money from the sacred treasury ^b in the construction of an aqueduct to bring water into Jerusalem, intercepting the source of the stream at a distance of 200 furlongs.^c The Jews did not acquiesce in the operations that this involved; and tens of thousands of men assembled and cried out against him, bidding him relinquish his promotion of such designs. Some too even hurled insults and abuse of the sort that a throng will commonly engage in. He thereupon ordered a large number of soldiers to be dressed in Jewish garments, under which they carried clubs, and he sent them off this way and that, thus surrounding the Jews, whom he ordered to withdraw. When the Jews were in full torrent of abuse he gave his soldiers the prearranged signal. They, however, inflicted much harder blows than Pilate had ordered, punishing alike both those who were rioting and those who were not. But the Jews showed no faint-heartedness; and so, caught unarmed,^d as they were, by men delivering a prepared attack, many of them actually were slain on the spot, while some withdrew disabled by blows. Thus ended the uprising.

Pilate uses money belonging to the temple for an aqueduct.

Thackeray, in his note, fails to realize that *Corbonas* is the Hebrew word for sacrifices, and that the Jews were outraged because Pilate was expropriating for his own secular purposes the shekalim which had been contributed by Jews everywhere for the purchase of sacrificial animals (see Mishnah *Shekalim* iii. 2).

^c About twenty-three miles. According to *B.J.* ii. 175, the distance was twice as great.

^d According to Niese's conjecture, the meaning would be "punishing alike both those who were rioting and those who were not and showing no weakness towards them, so that caught unarmed. . . ."

- 63 (3) Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς¹ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἶγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων

¹ Ἰησοῦς] Ἰησοῦς τις Eusebii Praep. codd. quidam.

^a R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus* (tr. by A. H. Krappe), 1931, p. 61, in the belief that the traditional text corresponds closely to Josephus' vocabulary and style but that Christian censors have tampered with it, has restored the original text of §§ 63-64 as follows (the words in parentheses represent words not in the traditional text): Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον (ἀρχὴ νέων θορύβων) Ἰησοῦς τις σοφ(ιστῆς) ἀνὴρ, εἶγε ἄνδρα λέγειν χρή αὐτόν, (τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐξαισιώτατον, ὃν οἱ μαθηταὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ ὀνομάζουσιν, τὸν οἷα οὐδέποτε ἐπεποιήκει ἄνθρωπος θαύματα ἐργασάμενον. . . .) ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων διδάσκαλος, ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τὰθήθῃ δεχομένων (. . . .) καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀπηγάγετο (καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων) ὁ χριστὸς (εἶναι ἐνομίζετο. . . .) καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο (θορυβεῖν) οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες. φανῆ(ναι) γὰρ αὐτοῖς (ἔδοξε) τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔχων (θανάτου) πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταυτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.

The following is Eisler's translation (p. 62): "Now about this time arose (an occasion for new disturbances) a certain Jesus, a wizard of a man, if indeed he may be called a man (who was the most monstrous of all men, whom his disciples call a son of God, as having done wonders such as no man hath ever done). . . . He was in fact a teacher of astonishing tricks to such men as accept the abnormal with delight. . . . And he seduced many Jews and many also of the Greek nation, and (was regarded by them as) the Messiah. . . . And when, on the indictment of the principal men among us, Pilate had sentenced him to the cross, still those who before had admired him did not cease (to rave). For it seemed to them that having been dead for three days, he had appeared to them alive again, as the divinely-inspired prophets had foretold—these and ten thousand other wonderful things—concerning him. And even now the race of those who are called 'Messianists' after him is not extinct."

(3) ^a About this time ^b there lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one ought to call him a man. For he was one who wrought surprising feats and was a

Jesus
(*Testi-*
monium
Flavianum)

^b Ever since Scaliger in the sixteenth century first suspected the authenticity of this so-called *Testimonium Flavianum*, an enormous literature (for which see especially Schürer i. 544-545 and Eisler, *op. cit.* pp. 36 ff.) has developed concerning it. Those against its genuineness include Schürer, Niese, Norden, Zeitlin, Lewy, and Juster. The principal arguments for its authenticity are that it is found in all the mss., that it is cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 11 and *Dem. Evang.* iii. 5. 105, and that the vocabulary and style are basically Josephan. The principal arguments against genuineness are: (1) Josephus, as a loyal Pharisaic Jew, could not have written that Jesus was the Messiah. (The references to Jesus in the Slavonic Josephus can hardly be used as evidence of Josephus' attitude towards Christianity since the authenticity of the Slavonic version is so widely questioned); (2) Origen (*Contra Celsum* i. 47 and *Comment. in Matt.* xiii. 55) explicitly states (c. A.D. 280) that Josephus did not believe in Jesus as the Christ. Eusebius, however, c. A.D. 324, does have our passage: hence, ever since the seventeenth century, when Richard Montague, bishop of Norwich, declared the phrase "he was the Messiah" a Christian gloss, some scholars have argued that the passage was forged, in whole or in part, during the interval between 280 and 324, perhaps, though there is no evidence, by Eusebius himself; (3) The passage breaks the continuity of the narrative, which tells of a series of riots. § 65 seems to belong directly after § 62; (4) There are several stylistic peculiarities (e.g., τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῶν is not the way that Josephus refers to the Jews), though Thackeray and Richards and Shutt have noted a number of Josephan idioms, such as ἡδονῇ δέχεσθαι and τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν. The ingenious theory of R. Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus*, 1920, pp. 274 ff., that Josephus inserted the passage to secure the favour of the rising Christian sect at a time when he himself was under severe attack, can hardly be accepted. The most probable view seems to be that our text represents substantially what Josephus wrote, but that some alterations have been made by a Christian interpolator.

τῶν ἡδονῇ τάληθῇ¹ δεχομένων,² καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
 Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγά-
 64 γετο· ὁ χριστὸς³ οὗτος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν
 πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν⁴ σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος
 Πιλάτου⁵ οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο⁶ οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπή-
 σαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς⁷ τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν
 πάλιν ζῶν τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα
 μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια⁸ εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι τε
 νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένον οὐκ
 ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.

65 (4) Καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἕτερόν τι δεινὸν
 ἐθορύβει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς
 Ἰσίδος τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράξεις αἰσχυνῶν οὐκ ἀπηλ-
 λαγμέναι συντυγχάνουσιν. καὶ πρότερον τοῦ τῶν
 Ἰσιακῶν τολμήματος μνήμην ποιησάμενος οὕτω
 μεταβιβῶ⁹ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γε-
 66 γονότα. Παυλῖνα ἦν τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης προγόνων τε

¹ τάληθῃ Thackeray.

² τῶν . . . δεχομένων] τάληθῇ σεβομένων Eus. Dem.

³ χριστὸς] codd.: χριστὸς λεγόμενος Richards et Shutt (Class. Quart. xxxi, 1937, p. 176); cf. Ant. xx. 200.

⁴ τῶν ἡμῖν] codd.: τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχόντων Eus. Dem.

⁵ ante οὐκ i. marg. σεβάζειν add. m. 2 M.

⁶ ἐξεπαύσαντο Eusebii Praep. codd. plurimi.

⁷ αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς <ὡς ἔλεγον> vel <ὡς λέγουσιν> conji. Richards et Shutt.

⁸ θαυμάσια] om. Eus. Dem.

⁹ Naber: μεταδιδῶ MW: μεταδίδωμι A: μεταγάγω E: transibo Lat.

^a Variant (Thackeray's emendation) "the unusual."

^b Variant (Richards and Shutt's emendation in *Class. Quart.* xxi, 1937, p. 176) "the so-called Christ."

^c Richards and Shutt suggest that "according to their report" has been removed by the Christian censor.

^d Actually A.D. 19, as we see from Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85, and not c. A.D. 30, as we should deduce from the insertion of these

teacher of such people as accept the truth ^a gladly. He won over many Jews and many of the Greeks. He was the Messiah.^b When Pilate, upon hearing him accused by men of the highest standing amongst us, had condemned him to be crucified, those who had in the first place come to love him did not give up their affection for him. On the third day ^c he appeared to them restored to life, for the prophets of God had prophesied these and countless other marvellous things about him. And the tribe of the Christians, so called after him, has still to this day not disappeared.

(4) About this same time ^d another outrage threw the Jews into an uproar ; and simultaneously certain actions of a scandalous nature occurred in connexion with the temple of Isis at Rome. I shall first give an account of the daring deed of the followers of Isis and shall then come back to the fate of the Jews.^e There was a lady Paulina,^f who because of her descent

Paulina and her lover ; trick played by the priests of Isis.

incidents in the midst of the narrative of the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. E. M. Smallwood, " Some Notes on the Jews under Tiberius," *Latomus* xv, 1956, p. 326, though rejecting Josephus' date, suggests that this date was prompted by the danger in which the Jews found themselves in the year 30 because of Sejanus' opposition to them.

^e Both Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 85, and Suetonius, *Tib.* 36, also couple Tiberius' actions against the Egyptian and Jewish worship.

^f C. Pharr, " The Testimony of Josephus to Christianity," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* xlviii, 1927, p. 144, remarks that this story of Mundus and Paulina in its present literary form has been influenced by the classic story of the trick of Nectanebus II, the Egyptian king who, according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, *History of Alexander*, i. 4 ff., deceived Olympias, wife of King Philip of Macedonia, into believing that he was Zeus Ammon, and through her became the father of Alexander the Great.

- ἀξιώματι τῷ τε¹ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτηδεύματι² ἀρετῆς
ἐπὶ μέγα προῖοῦσα τῷ ὀνόματι, δύναμὶς τε αὐτῇ
χρημάτων ἦν καὶ γεγонуῖα τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπῆς καὶ
τῆς ὥρας ἐν ἣ ἡ μάλιστα ἀγάλλονται αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς
τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἀνέκειτο ἡ ἐπιτήδευσις τοῦ βίου.
ἐγεγάμητο δὲ Σατορνίνῳ τῶν εἰς τὰ πάντα ἀντ-
67 ισουμένων τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγῳ.³ ταύτης ἔρα
Δέκιος Μοῦνδος τῶν τότε ἱππέων ἐν ἀξιώματι
μεγάλῳ, καὶ μείζονα οὔσαν ἀλῶναι δώροις διὰ τὸ
καὶ πεμφθέντων εἰς πλῆθος περιδεῖν ἐξῆπτο μάλ-
λον, ὥστε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας δραχμῶν Ἀθιδῶν⁴
68 ὑπισχνεῖτο εὐνῆς μιᾶς. καὶ μηδ' ὥς ἐπικλωμένης,
οὐ φέρων τὴν ἀτυχίαν τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐνδεία σιτίων
θάνατον ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμισεν ἐπὶ
παύλῃ⁵ κακοῦ τοῦ κατειληφότες. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπεψή-
φιζέν τε τῇ οὔτῳ τελευτῇ καὶ πράσσειν οὐκ ἀπηλ-
69 λάσσετο. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὄνομα Ἰδῆ⁶ πατρῶος ἀπελευ-
θέρα τῷ Μοῦνδῳ παντοίων ἱδρις κακῶν, δεινῶς
φέρουσα τοῦ νεανίσκου τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ θανεῖν,
οὐ γὰρ ἀφανῆς ἦν ἀπολούμενος, ἀνεγείρει τε αὐτὸν
ἀφικομένη διὰ λόγου πιθανή τε ἦν ἐλπίδων τινῶν
ὑποσχέσεσιν, ὡς διαπραχθησομένων ὁμιλιῶν πρὸς
70 τὴν Παυλίναν αὐτῷ. καὶ δεχομένου τὴν ἱκετείαν
ἡδονῇ πέντε μυριάδων δεήσειν αὐτῇ μόνων ἔλεγεν

¹ τῷ τε] Hudson : καὶ τῷ E : τῶν codd.

² ἐπιτηδεύματι] E : ἐπιτηδεύοντι κόσμον codd.

³ τῷ . . . ἀξιολόγῳ] i. marg. A : τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγων codd. E.

⁴ Ἀθιδῶν] A : αὐτῇ δώσειν MW : ἀττικῶν E.

⁵ Naber : Παυλίνῃ codd.

⁶ καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὄνομα Ἰδῆ] καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἰσιδῆ, litt. ἀριστ i. ras.
M : καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἰδῆ W : ἦν δὲ Ἰδῆ E.

from noble Romans and because of her own practice of virtue was held in high regard. She also enjoyed the prestige of wealth, had a comely appearance, and was at the age at which women are most exuberant, yet devoted her life to good conduct. She was married to Saturninus,^a who was fully a match for her in reputation. Decius Mundus, who ranked high among the knights of his day, was in love with her. When he saw that her character was too strong to succumb to gifts, since, even when he sent them abundantly, she scorned them, his passion was inflamed all the more, so that he actually promised to give her 200,000 Attic drachmas if he could share her bed a single time. When even this failed to shake her resolution, he, finding it intolerable not to win his suit, thought that it would be fitting to condemn himself to death by starvation and thus to put an end to the suffering that had overtaken him. And so he decided upon such a death and was actually proceeding to carry out his resolve. Mundus, however, had a freedwoman named Ida, expert in every kind of mischief, whom his father had emancipated. She had no patience with the young man's resolve to die, for it was obvious what he intended.^b She went to him, used argument to rouse him, and by plausibly undertaking to find a way, held out hope that he might succeed in enjoying intimate relations with Paulina. When he joyfully listened to her importunity, she informed him that she would require no more than 50,000 drachmas to

^a E. Groag, *Prosopog. Imp. Rom.* ii A. 1528, plausibly conjectures that this Saturninus must be one of the two Sentii Saturnini, Gaius (consul in A.D. 4) or his brother Lucius.

^b Or "he was no undistinguished person who was to perish."

- ἐπὶ ἀλώσει τῆς γυναικός. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνεγείρασα τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ τὸ αἰτηθὲν λαβοῦσα ἀργύριον οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς ὁδοὺς ἐστέλλετο τοῖς προδεδιακονημένοις ὁρῶσα τῆς γυναικός τὸ μηδαμῶς χρημάτων ἀλισκόμενον, εἰδυῖα δὲ αὐτὴν θεραπείᾳ τῆς Ἰσιδος σφόδρα ὑπηγμένην τεχνᾶται τι τοιόνδε.
- 71 τῶν ἱερέων τισὶν ἀφικομένη διὰ λόγων ἐπὶ πίστεσιν μεγάλαις τὸ δὲ μέγιστον δόσει χρημάτων τὸ μὲν παρὸν μυριάδων δυοῖν καὶ ἡμίσει, λαβόντος δ' ἔκβασιν τοῦ πράγματος ἑτέρῳ τοσῶδε, διασαφεῖ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῖς, κελεύουσα παντοίως
- 72 ἐπὶ τῷ ληψομένῳ τὴν ἄνθρωπον σπουδάσαι. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ πληγῇ¹ τοῦ χρυσίου παραχθέντες ὑπισχνοῦντο. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ γεραίτατος ὡς τὴν Παυλῖναν ὠσάμενος γενομένων εἰσόδων καταμόνας διὰ λόγων ἐλθεῖν ἡξίου. καὶ συγχωρηθὲν πεμπτὸς ἔλεγεν ἥκειν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος ἔρωτι αὐτῆς ἡσσημένου τοῦ θεοῦ
- 73 κελεύοντός τε ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. τῇ δὲ εὐκτὸς ὁ λόγος ἦν καὶ ταῖς τε φίλαις ἐνεκαλλωπίζετο τῇ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀξιῶσει τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος καὶ φράζει πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, δεῖπνόν τε αὐτῇ καὶ εὐνὴν τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος εἰσηγγέλθαι, συνεχώρει δ' ἐκεῖνος τὴν σωφρο-
- 74 σύνην τῆς γυναικός ἐξεπιστάμενος. χωρεῖ οὖν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, καὶ δειπνήσασα, ὡς ὕπνου καιρὸς ἦν, κλεισθεισῶν τῶν θυρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως ἔνδον ἐν τῷ νεῷ καὶ τὰ λύχνα ἐκποδὼν ἦν καὶ ὁ Μοῦνδος, προεκέκρυπτο γὰρ τῇδε, οὐχ ἡμάρτανεν ὁμιλιῶν
- ¹ πλήθει E.

secure the woman. These proposals encouraged the youth, and she received the sum for which she had asked. She did not, however, proceed by the same course as had previous agents, since she perceived that this woman would never succumb to bribes. But knowing that the lady was very much given to the worship of Isis, Ida devised the following stragem. She had an interview with some of the priests and promised them every assurance, above all, a sum of money amounting to 25,000 drachmas payable at once and as much more after the success of the plot. She then explained the young man's passionate desire for the woman and urged them to bend every effort to secure her for him. The impact of the money was enough to sway them, and they agreed. The eldest of them hastened to Paulina's house and, on being admitted, requested a private talk with her. This being accorded, he said that he had been sent to her by the god Anubis ^a; the god had fallen in love with her and bade her come to him. The message was what she would most have wished. Not only did she pride herself among her lady friends on receiving such an invitation from Anubis, but she told her husband of her summons to dine with and share the bed of Anubis. Her husband concurred, since he had no doubt of his wife's chastity. Go then she did to the temple. After supper, when it came time to sleep, the doors within the shrine were shut by the priest and the lamps were cleared away. Mundus, for he had been concealed there beforehand, was not rebuffed when he sought intercourse with her. Indeed

^a After Osiris, the husband of Isis, had been killed, it was Anubis who was said to have helped Isis collect the pieces in which his body had been cut. Anubis consequently became a god of the dead.

τῶν πρὸς αὐτήν, παννύχιόν τε αὐτῷ διηκονήσατο
 75 ὑπειληφυῖα θεὸν εἶναι. καὶ ἀπελθόντος πρότερον ἢ
 κίνησιν ἄρξασθαι τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ᾗδε-
 σαν, ἡ Παυλῖνα πρῶτ' ὡς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐλθοῦσα τὴν
 ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκδιηγεῖται τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος καὶ πρὸς τὰς
 76 φίλας ἐνελαμπρύνετο¹ λόγοις τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ
 τὰ μὲν ἠπίσταντο εἰς τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος
 ὁρῶντες, τὰ δ' ἐν θαύματι καθίσταντο οὐκ ἔχοντες,
 ὡς χρὴ ἄπιστα αὐτὰ κρίνειν, ὁπότε εἰς τε τὴν
 77 σωφροσύνην καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀπίδοιεν αὐτῆς. τρίτῃ
 δὲ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπαντιάσας αὐτὴν ὁ
 Μοῦνδος, “Παυλῖνα,” φησίν, “ἀλλὰ² μοι καὶ εἴκοσι
 μυριάδας διεσώσω δυναμένα οἴκῳ προσθέσθαι τῷ
 σαντῆς διακονεῖσθαι τε ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλούμην οὐκ
 ἐνέλιπες. ἃ μέντοι εἰς Μοῦνδον ὑβρίζειν ἐπειρῶ,³
 μηδὲν μοι μελῆσαν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐκ
 τοῦ πράγματος ἡδονῆς, Ἀνούβιον⁴ ὄνομα ἐθέμην
 78 ἐμαντῶ.”⁵ καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπῆει ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἡ δὲ
 εἰς ἔννοιαν τότε πρῶτον ἐλθοῦσα τοῦ τολμήματος
 περιρρήγνυται τε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰνδρὶ δηλώσασα
 τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύματος τὸ μέγεθος ἐδεῖτο μὴ
 περιῶφθαι βοηθείας τυγχάνειν· ὁ δὲ τῷ αὐτοκρά-
 79 τορι ἐπεσήμηνε⁶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος μαθή-
 σεως ἀκριβοῦς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἐξετάσει τῶν ἱερέων
 ἐκείνους τε ἀνεσταύρωσεν καὶ τὴν Ἰδην ὀλέθρου
 γενομένην αἰτίαν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐφ' ὕβρει συνθεῖσαν
 τῆς γυναικός, τὸν τε ναὸν καθεῖλεν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα
 τῆς Ἰσιδος εἰς τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐμ-

¹ ἀνελαμβάνετο MW.² ἄμα Naber.³ ὑβρίζειν ἐπειρῶ] A : ὕβρει διεχρῶ MWF.⁴ Ἀνούβει coni. Niese.

it was a nightlong service that she performed for him, assuming that he was the god. He departed before the priests, who had been informed of the scheme, had begun to stir. Paulina went early in the morning to her husband and described in detail the divine manifestation of Anubis, and before the ladies, her friends, she put on great airs in talking about him. Those who heard, having regard to the substance of the matter, were incredulous; and yet, on the other hand, finding it impossible not to believe her when they took into consideration her chastity and position in society, they were reduced to marvelling. Two days after the incident, Mundus put himself in her way and said: "Well, Paulina, you have indeed saved me 200,000 drachmas which you could have added to your estate, yet you have rendered to perfection the service I urged you to perform. As for your attempt to flout Mundus, I did not concern myself about names, though I did about the pleasure to be derived from the act, so I adopted the name of Anubis as my own." With these words he departed. Then she, being now aware for the first time of his dastardly deed, rent her garment; and when she had disclosed to her husband the enormity of the scheme, she begged him not to neglect to obtain redress. He in turn brought the matter to the notice of the emperor. When Tiberius had fully informed himself by examining the priests, he crucified both them and Ida, for the hellish thing was her doing and it was she who had contrived the whole plot against the lady's honour. Moreover, he razed the temple and ordered the statue of Isis to be cast into the

⁵ MW: *αὐτῷ* A: *αὐτῶ* E.

⁶ AE: *ἀπεσήμενε* coni. Niese.

- 80 βαλεῖν. Μοῦνδον δὲ φυγῆς ἐτίμησε, κώλυμα τοῦ μὴ
 μειζόνως κολάζειν τὸ μετὰ ἔρωτος αὐτῷ ἡμαρτη-
 σθαι τὰ ἡμαρτημένα ἡγησάμενος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ
 τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰσιδος τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὕβρισμένα τοιαῦτα
 ἦν. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συντυχόντων,
 ὥς μοι καὶ προαπεσήμηνεν ὁ λόγος.
- 81 (5) Ἦν ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, φυγὰς μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ
 κατηγορία τε¹ παραβάσεων νόμων τινῶν καὶ δέει
 τιμωρίας τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, πονηρὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ πάντα.
 καὶ δὴ τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος προσεποιεῖτο
- 82 μὲν ἐξηγεῖσθαι σοφίαν νόμων τῶν Μωυσέως, προσ-
 ποιησάμενος δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρας εἰς τὰ πάντα ὁμοιο-
 τρόπους² τούτοις ἐπιφοιτήσασαν Φουλβίαν³ τῶν ἐν
 ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν καὶ νομίμοις προσεληλυθυῖαν
 τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς πείθουσι πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν εἰς
 τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν διαπέμψασθαι, καὶ λα-
 βόντες ἐπὶ χρείας⁴ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν αὐτὰ
 ποιοῦνται,⁵ ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἡ αἵτησις ἐ-
- 83 πράσσετο. καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, ἀποσημαίνει γὰρ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν φίλος ὢν Σατορνίνος τῆς Φουλβίας ἀνὴρ ἐπι-
 σκήψει τῆς γυναικός, κελεύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τῆς

¹ ed. pr. : δὲ codd. : om. E.

² A : ὁμοιοτέρους MW.

³ A : Φλουβίαν MW.

⁴ i. marg. γρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας A.

⁵ ἐπὶ . . . αὐτὰ ποιοῦνται] ἀνάλωμα ταῦτα ἐπὶ χρεῖαις οἰκείαις
 ποιοῦνται E : propriis usibus adsumpsere Lat.

^a On the Jewish zeal for proselytism in Rome see, most notably, Horace, *Sat.* i. 4. 142 ff. and Tac. *Hist.* v. 5.

^b W. A. Heidel's fantastic suggestion ("Why Were the Jews Banished from Italy in 19 A.D.?", *Am. Jour. of Philol.*

Tiber River. Mundus' sentence was exile, since Tiberius regarded the fact that his crime had been committed under the influence of passion as a bar to a more severe penalty. Such were the insolent acts of the priests in the temple of Isis. I shall now return to the story, which I promised to tell, of what happened at the same time to the Jews in Rome.

(5) There was a certain Jew, a complete scoundrel, who had fled his own country because he was accused of transgressing certain laws and feared punishment on this account. Just at this time he was resident in Rome and played the part of an interpreter of the Mosaic law and its wisdom. He enlisted three confederates not a whit better in character than himself; and when Fulvia, a woman of high rank who had become a Jewish proselyte,^a began to meet with them regularly, they urged her to send purple and gold to the temple in Jerusalem.^b They, however, took the gifts and used them for their own personal expenses, for it was this that had been their intention in asking for gifts from the start. Saturninus,^c the husband of Fulvia, at the instigation of his wife, duly reported this to Tiberius, whose friend he was, whereupon the latter ordered the whole Jewish community to leave

Jewish em-
bezzlers in
Rome.
Tiberius
orders the
expulsion
of the Jews.

xli, 1920, pp. 38-47) that Fulvia was actually invited to become a temple prostitute grows out of Tacitus' statement, in the same chapter in which he discusses the expulsion, that Tiberius took measures to check prostitution among women of equestrian families; but there was no religious prostitution among Jews at this time.

^c The identity in the names of the husbands of Fulvia and Paulina (§ 66) seems to be due to mere coincidence; but R. S. Rogers, "Fulvia Paulina C. Sentii Saturnini," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* liii, 1932, pp. 252-256, concludes that the same Saturninus is meant and that the wife of this Saturninus was named Fulvia Paulina.

JOSEPHUS

84 Ῥώμης ἀπελθεῖν.¹ οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι τετρακισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους² ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον, πλείστους δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὴ θέλοντας στρατεύεσθαι διὰ φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων νόμων. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἡλαύνοντο τῆς πόλεως.

85 (iv. 1) Οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο δὲ θορύβου καὶ τὸ Σαμαρέων ἔθνος· συστρέφει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ ψεῦδος τιθέμενος καὶ ἡδονῇ³ τῆς πληθύος τεχνάζων τὰ πάντα, κελεύων ἐπὶ τὸ Γαριζεῖν ὄρος αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, ὃ ἀγνότατον αὐτοῖς ὁρῶν ὑπείληπται, ἰσχυρίζετό τε παραγενομένοις δείξειν τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη τῇδε κατορωρυγμένα Μωυσέως τῇδε 86 αὐτῶν ποιησαμένου κατάρθουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν ὅπλοις τε

¹ A: ἀπελαθῆναι MWE: excedere Lat.

² AM: ἀνθρώπων W: ἄνδρας E.

³ καὶ ἡδονῇ] Niese: καὶ ἐφ' ἡδονῇ codd.: καθ' ἡδονὴν E: Cafedon nomine Lat.

^a This expulsion is also mentioned by Suet. *Tib.* 36, Dio Cass. lvii. 18. 5a, and Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85 (who also extends it to the adherents of the Egyptian cult); cf. also Sen. *Epist.* cviii. 22. Those who refused to leave were, according to Suetonius (*ad loc.*), expelled and threatened with slavery if they defied the order. Dio seems to be correct (and in line with the story in Josephus about Fulvia the proselyte) in the reason which he gives for the expulsion of the Jews, namely, that the Jews were converting so many Romans to their faith. The connexion of this incident with proselytism is corroborated by the statement in Suetonius (*ad loc.*) that those who had embraced the Egyptian and Jewish cults were forced to burn their religious vestments and other accessories; Suetonius is further careful to mention the proselytes as being included in the expulsion. Tacitus likewise seems to refer to proselytes when he speaks of those expelled as *ea superstitione infecti*, "tainted with this superstition." On the whole incident of the expulsion, particularly its legal aspects, see

Rome.^a The consuls drafted four thousand of these Jews for military service and sent them to the island of Sardinia ; but they penalized a good many of them, who refused to serve for fear of breaking the Jewish law.^b And so because of the wickedness of four men the Jews were banished from the city.

(iv. 1) The Samaritan nation too was not exempt from disturbance. For a man who made light of mendacity and in all his designs catered to the mob, rallied them, bidding them go in a body with him to Mount Gerizim, which in their belief is the most sacred of mountains. He assured them that on their arrival he would show them the sacred vessels which were buried there, where Moses had deposited them.^c

Pilate puts down the tumult of the Samaritans.

M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, 1915, pp. 306-313.

^b According to Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 85, not only the Jews but also the adherents of the Egyptian worship were transported to the island of Sardinia. Tacitus also mentions a total of 4000 and likewise says that they were of military age ; he adds that they were of the class of freedmen. They were sent to Sardinia, he remarks, to put down the brigandage of that island. Suetonius, *Tib.* 36, says that the drafting of the Jews into the army was only a pretext for sending them off to the unhealthy region of Sardinia, where, it was evidently expected (so also Tac. *ad loc.*) that those expelled might die. Sardinia's climate, however, is hardly different from that of the Italian peninsula : the reference to its severity is indeed puzzling, and perhaps Radin (*op. cit.* p. 312) is correct in suggesting that the removal to Sardinia was motivated merely by the desire to remove the proselytes from Jewish influence.

^c On this incident see M. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, 1925, pp. 90-91, who sees here a reference to the Samaritan belief in the Restorer (the *Taheb* or *Shaheb*). The belief, based on the promise given in their tenth commandment and on Deut. xviii. 15 and 18, is that a prophet will come out of the tribe of Levi, from which Moses was born, and that he will discover

ἦσαν πιθανὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸν λόγον, καὶ καθίσαντες
 ἐν τινι κώμῃ, Τираθανά¹ λέγεται, παρελάβανον
 τοὺς ἐπισυλλεγομένους ὡς μεγάλῳ πλήθει τὴν ἀνά-
 87 βασιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ποιησόμενοι. φθάνει δὲ Πιλάτος
 τὴν ἄνοδον αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόμενος ἱππέων τε
 πομπῇ καὶ ὀπλιτῶν, οἱ συμβαλόντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ
 κώμῃ προσυνηθροισμένοις παρατάξεως γενομένης
 τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται
 ζωγρία τε πολλοὺς ἦγον, ὧν τοὺς κορυφαιοτάτους
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς φυγοῦσι δυνατωτάτους ἔκτεινε
 Πιλάτος.

88 (2) Καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου Σαμαρέων ἡ
 βουλὴ παρὰ Οὐιτέλλιον ὑπατικὸν ἴασιν ἄνδρα Συρίας
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Πιλάτου κατηγόρου ἐπὶ
 τῇ σφαγῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀποστά-
 σει τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαφυγῇ τῆς Πιλάτου
 89 ὕβρεως εἰς τὴν Τираθανά παραγενέσθαι. καὶ Οὐι-
 τέλλιος Μάρκελλον τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἐκπέμψας
 ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενησόμενον Πιλάτον

¹ A : Τираθανᾶ M : Τираθαβᾶ W : Tirathua (Tirathiua cod. A) Lat.

the hidden vessels of the temple. On Talmudic traditions concerning the burial of the oil and the holy vessels of the temple see V. Aptowitzer, *Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit*, 1927, pp. 192-193 n. 2.

^a J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, 1907, p. 146 n. 15, suggests that this is probably the modern *Tire*, four miles south-west of Shechem; but this site would seem to be too far from Mt. Gerizim. *Duvara* (*Dawerta*) has also been proposed. Cf. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 1938, p. 484.

^b This, as can be seen from the context, was a council of the entire Samaritan community, and not merely of the city of Samaria. A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1937, p. 259, thinks that this was probably a sur-

His hearers, viewing this tale as plausible, appeared in arms. They posted themselves in a certain village named Tirathana,^a and, as they planned to climb the mountain in a great multitude, they welcomed to their ranks the new arrivals who kept coming. But before they could ascend, Pilate blocked their projected route up the mountain with a detachment of cavalry and heavy-armed infantry, who in an encounter with the firstcomers in the village slew some in a pitched battle and put the others to flight. Many prisoners were taken, of whom Pilate put to death the principal leaders and those who were most influential among the fugitives.

(2) When the uprising had been quelled, the council ^b of the Samaritans went to Vitellius,^c a man of consular rank who was governor of Syria, and charged Pilate with the slaughter of the victims. For, they said, it was not as rebels against the Romans but as refugees from the persecution of Pilate that they had met in Tirathana. Vitellius thereupon dispatched Marcellus,^d one of his friends, to take charge of the administration of Judaea,^e and ordered Pilate

Vitellius,
Roman
governor of
Syria, sends
Pilate to
Rome.

vival of one of the councils set up by Gabinius (*cf. Ant.* xiv. 90-91 and *B.J.* i. 169-170), but there is no evidence to support this suggestion. ^c Father of the emperor Vitellius.

^d As governor of Syria Vitellius lacked the authority to appoint procurators, a function reserved for the emperors. Hence, the appointment of Marcellus must have been to be acting procurator of Judaea. Aside from the inconclusive statement of Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 32, that Tiberius entrusted his entire Eastern policy to Vitellius, there is no basis for the assumption of Mommsen and Dessau that Vitellius had extraordinary powers in the East similar to those held by Gaius Caesar and Germanicus. See D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, ii, 1950, p. 1364 n. 39.

^e On 'Tiberius' practice of allowing governors and procurators to serve long terms in office see §§ 170 ff.

ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀπιέναι πρὸς ἃ κατηγοροῖεν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται¹ διδάζοντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ Πιλάτος δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο ταῖς Οὐιτελλίου πειθόμενος ἐντολαῖς οὐκ ὄν ἀντειπεῖν. πρὶν δ' ἐν² τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἴσχειν³ αὐτὸν φθάνει Τιβέριος μεταστάς.

- 90 (3) Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνήγει, καὶ ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ πάτριος,⁴ πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται, δεχθεὶς μεγαλοπρεπῶς Οὐιτέλλιος τὰ τέλη τῶν ὠνουμένων καρπῶν ἀνίησιν εἰς τὸ πᾶν τοῖς ταύτῃ κατοικοῦσιν καὶ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τὸν πάντα αὐτοῦ κόσμον συνεχώρησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κειμένην⁵ ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καθότι καὶ πρότερον ἦν αὐτοῖς
91 ἔξουσία.⁶ τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ, φρούριον δ' ἐστὶν οὕτως λεγόμενον, ἣ ἀπόθεσις αὐτῆς ἦν δια τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· τῶν ἱερέων τις Ὑρκανός, πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων οἱ τόδε ἐκαλοῦντο τὸ ὄνομα ὁ πρῶτος, ἐπεὶ πλησίον τῷ ἱερῷ βᾶριν κατασκευασάμενος

¹ A : Ἰουδαῖοι MWE Lat.

² δ' ἐν] δὲ ἡ ed. pr.

³ A : προσχεῖν MWE : veniret Lat.

⁴ A : om. MWE.

⁵ A : κείμενον MWE.

⁶ MW : ἔξουσία· A : om. E.

^a Variant "Jews."

^b Tiberius died on 16 March A.D. 37. Since, as seems probable, Pilate began his procuratorship in 26, and since he is here stated to have held office for ten years, it would appear that he took a year to arrive in Rome—an improbability since Josephus here remarks that he hurried. E. M. Smallwood, "The Date of the Dismissal of Pontius Pilate from Judaea," *Jour. of Jewish Stud.* v, 1954, p. 12, sensibly notes that Josephus' figure of ten years is presumably a round number, calculated to the nearest year. She dates (p. 14)

to return to Rome to give the emperor his account of the matters with which he was charged by the Samaritans.^a And so Pilate, after having spent ten years in Judaea, hurried to Rome in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, since he could not refuse. But before he reached Rome Tiberius had already passed away.^b

(3) Vitellius,^c on reaching Judaea, went up to Jerusalem, where the Jews were celebrating their traditional feast called the Passover. Having been received in magnificent fashion, Vitellius remitted to the inhabitants of the city all taxes^d on the sale of agricultural produce and agreed that the vestments of the high priest and all his ornaments should be kept in the temple in custody of the priests, as had been their privilege before. At that time the vestments were stored in Antonia^e—there is a stronghold of that name—for the following reason. One of the priests, Hyrcanus,^f the first of many by that name, had constructed a large house near the temple and

Vitellius
remits
taxes and
restores to
the Jews
custody of
the high
priest's
vestments.

his departure at some time between mid-December 36 and the end of February 37.

^c Josephus had previously (*Ant.* xv. 405) given a brief account of Vitellius' first visit to Jerusalem. He there adds that the transfer of the high priest's garments to Jewish custody was made after he had written to Tiberius on the matter. Since he there makes no mention of a festival in connexion with the visit, Smallwood, *Jour. of Jewish Stud.* v, 1954, p. 19, suggests that Vitellius' first visit, in 36-37, did not coincide with a festival, but that Vitellius' second visit (*Ant.* xviii. 123) occurred during the Passover of 37.

^d Cf. the requests made to Archelaus at the beginning of his reign to remove the heavy taxes on what was publicly bought and sold (*Ant.* xvii. 205).

^e North-west of the temple area. See *Ant.* xii. 252 note *d*.

^f John Hyrcanus I, the Hasmonaean, succeeded his father Simon as high priest (and as *de facto* king) in 135 B.C.

- ταύτη τὰ πολλὰ τὴν δίαιταν εἶχεν καὶ τὴν στολὴν, φύλαξ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ καὶ μόνῳ συγκεχωρησθαι τοῦ ἐνδύεσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ταύτην¹ εἶχεν ἀποκειμένην, ὁπότε εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατιῶν ἀναλαμβάνοι² τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν. καὶ οἱ τε υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πρᾶσσειν ἐπετήδευσαν καὶ τέκνα ἐκείνων. Ἡρώδης δὲ βασιλεύσας τὴν τε βᾶριν ταύτην ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ κειμένην κατασκευάσας πολυτελῶς Ἀντωνίαν καλεῖ ὀνόματι Ἀντωνίου φίλος ὢν, καὶ τὴν στολὴν ὥσπερ καὶ λαμβάνει τῇδε κειμένην κατεῖχεν, πιστεύων οὐδὲν νεωτεριεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν λαὸν διὰ τὰδε.³
- 92 ἔπρασε δὲ ὅμοια τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ ὁ ἐπικατασταθεὶς αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς ὢν, οὗ⁴ Ῥωμαῖοι παραδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκράτουν τῆς στολῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀποκειμένης ἐν οἴκῳ λίθοις οἰκοδομηθέντι ὑπὸ σφραγίδι τῶν τε ἱερέων καὶ τῶν γαζοφυλάκων τοῦ φρουράρχου τὸ ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἐκά-
- 94 στην λύχνον ἄπτοντος.⁵ ἐπὶ δ' ἡμέραις πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀπεδίδοτο αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φρουράρχου, καὶ ἀγνισθείσῃ⁶ χρησάμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέραν ἀπετίθετο αὐθις εἰς τὸν οἶκον, ἥπερ ἔκειτο καὶ πρότερον. τοῦτο ἐπράττετο τρισὶν
- 95 ἑορταῖς ἐκάστου ἔτους καὶ τὴν νηστείαν.⁷ Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πατρίῳ ποιεῖται τὴν στο-

¹ ταύτη E.

² κατιῶν ἀναλαμβάνοι] codd.: κατίοι, ἀναλαμβάνων Richards et Shutt. ³ διὰ τὰδε] AE: δῆθεν δὲ MW.

⁴ οὗ] codd.: αὐτοῦ παρ' οὗ Eusebius.

⁵ ὑπὸ σφραγίδι . . . ἄπτοντος] sub sigillo sane pontificum et gazofylacis habebatur, a quo cetera quoque templi ornamenta et candelabrum quoque servabatur Lat.

⁶ ἀγνισθείς Naber.

⁷ τὴν νηστείαν] i. marg. γρ κατὰ τὴν νηστείαν A: τῇ νηστείᾳ E: per ieiunia Lat.

lived there most of the time. As custodian of the vestments, for to him alone was conceded the right to put them on, he kept them laid away there, whenever he put on his ordinary clothes in order to go down to the city. His sons and their children also followed the same practice. When Herod became king, he made lavish repairs to this building, which was conveniently situated, and, being a friend of Antony, he called it Antonia.^a He retained the vestments there just as he had found them, believing that for this reason the people would never rise in insurrection against him. Herod's successor as king, his son Archelaus, acted similarly. After him, when the Romans took over the government, they retained control of the high priest's vestments and kept them in a stone building, where they were under the seal both of the priests and of the custodians of the treasury and where the warden of the guard lighted the lamp day by day. Seven days before each festival the vestments were delivered to the priests by the warden. After they^b had been purified, the high priest wore them; then after the first day of the festival he put them back again in the building where they were laid away before. This was the procedure at the three festivals each year and on the fast day.^c Vitellius was guided by our law in dealing with the vestments,^d and in-

^a Cf. L.-H. Vincent, "L'Antonia, palais primitif d'Hérode," *Revue Biblique*, lxi, 1954, pp. 87-107.

^b Variant "he."

^c The three festivals are Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles; the fast day is the Day of Atonement. Cf. Mishnah *Yoma* i. 1, which notes the preparations of the high priest seven days before the Day of Atonement.

^d Or "Vitellius put the vestments under our ancestral charge."

JOSEPHUS

λήν, ἥ τε κείσοιτο μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπισκῆψας τῷ φρουράρχῳ καὶ ὁπότε δέοι χρήσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐπὶ εὐεργεσία τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰώσηπον τὸν Καϊάφαν¹ ἐπικαλούμενον ἀπαλλάξας τῆς ἱερωσύνης Ἰωνάθην καθίστησιν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱόν. ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας δ' αὖθις ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁδόν.

- 96 (4) Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Τιβέριος ὡς Οὐιτέλλιον γράμματα, κελεύων αὐτῷ πράσσειν φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα· ἐφόβει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸς ὦν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν παρεσπασμένος² μὴ ἐπὶ πλεόν κακουργῇ· πιστεύειν δὲ τῇ φιλίᾳ μόνως ὁμήρων αὐτῷ διδομένων, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου υἱέος.³ ταῦτα δὲ γράφων Τιβέριος πρὸς τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον μεγάλαις δόσεσι χρημάτων πείθει καὶ τὸν Ἰβήρων καὶ τὸν Ἀλβανῶν⁴ βασιλέα πολεμεῖν

¹ Καϊάφαν] καὶ Καϊάφαν E.

² ἐχθρὸς . . . παρεσπασμένος] i. marg. γρ ἐχθρόν ὄντα καὶ ἀρμενίαν παρεσπασμένον A.

³ τοῦ . . . υἱέος] suos filios Lat.

⁴ A : Ἀλανῶν MW Exc. : Ἀλμανῶν E : Labanorum Lat.

^a There are several possible reasons why the Jews protested the retention of the vestments by the Romans in Antonia. If, as seems likely, Antonia was not part of the temple area, the Jews would object because it is prohibited (*Yoma* 69 a) to take the priestly vestments outside the temple. In addition, the handling of these garments by non-Jews would defile them (*Niddah* 34 a; see *Tosafot* on *Shabbat* 21 b) according to the rabbinic decree of A.D. 66; though this incident occurred about thirty years before that time, the decree may represent merely the crystallization of a long-standing attitude. ^b See above, § 35.

^c The account of the events in Parthia which follows should be dated in A.D. 35 according to Dio Cassius lvi. 26 and Tacitus' long narrative, *Ann.* vi. 31 ff. Josephus has

structed the warden not to meddle with the question where they were to be stored or when they should be used.^a After he had bestowed these benefits upon the nation, he removed from his sacred office the high priest Joseph surnamed Caiaphas,^b and appointed in his stead Jonathan, son of Ananus the high priest. Then he set out on the journey back to Antioch.

(4) Now Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius ^c bidding him to establish friendship with Artabanus, the king of the Parthians; for Artabanus, who was hostile to him and who had already detached Armenia,^d inspired in him the fear that he would do further mischief. But he instructed Vitellius to put faith in a treaty of friendship only if hostages, and especially the son of Artabanus, should be given to him. Even while writing this letter to Vitellius, Tiberius offered large sums of money as an inducement to the kings both of the Iberians^e and of the Albanians^f to come out thus misplaced it in inserting it after Vitellius' first visit, which took place in 36/37. On Josephus' confusion in this matter see A. Garzetti, "La data dell' incontro all' Eufrate di Artabano III e L. Vitellio legato di Siria," in *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni*, i, 1956, pp. 211-229.

Tiberius tells Vitellius to negotiate a treaty of friendship with Artabanus king of Parthia.

^d The chief cause of Artabanus' hostility, according to Tacitus' account, *Ann.* vi. 31-32, was apparently Tiberius' attempt to replace Artabanus with Phraates and then with Tiridates. Another factor was Artabanus' elation at his successful wars and his disdain for the aged and unwarlike Tiberius. Tacitus also mentions, *Ann.* vi. 31, Artabanus' seizure of the throne of Armenia for his son Arsaces.

^e Iberia is part of modern Georgia, midway between the Black and Caspian Seas. There is no relation between these Iberians and the inhabitants of Spain. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 32, Tiberius, in his effort to recover Armenia, used as his instrument Mithridates, the brother of the Iberian king Pharasmanes.

^f Albania, east of Iberia, is the modern Azerbaijan on the south-west shore of the Caspian Sea.

Ἄρταβάνω μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαι· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀν-
 εἶχον, Ἄλανοις¹ δὲ δίοδον αὐτοῖς διδόντες διὰ τῆς
 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς Κασπίας ἀνοίξαντες ἐπ-
 98 ἀγούσι τῷ Ἄρταβάνω. καὶ ἥ τε Ἀρμενία ἀφήρητο
 αὐτῆς καὶ πλησθείσης πολέμων τῆς Παρθυαίων γῆς
 οἱ τε πρῶτοι τῶν τῇδε ἐκτείνοντο ἀνδρῶν ἀνάστατά
 τε ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πάντα καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ
 τουτωνὶ τῶν μαχῶν ἔπесε² μετὰ πολλῶν στρατοῦ
 99 μυριάδων. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα Ἀρτάβανον
 Οὐιτέλλιος πομπῇ χρημάτων εἰς τε συγγενεῖς καὶ
 φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνου γενομένη ἐμέλλησε μὲν κτιν-
 νύειν διὰ τῶν τὰ δῶρα εἰληφότων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ
 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ἄφυκτον οὔσαν διὰ
 τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ τῶν πρῶτων ἀνδρῶν συντεθεῖ-
 100 σαν μὴ ἀνείσθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ πέρας ἐλθεῖν, καὶ νομίζων
 καὶ ὁπόσον αὐτῷ καθαρῶς συνεισστήκει καὶ τόδε
 ἦτοι ἐφθαρμένον ἐπὶ δόλῳ τὴν εὐνοίαν προσποιεῖ-

¹ ed. pr.: Ἄλανοι codd.: Ἀλμανοὶ E: Scythas Lat.: Σκύ-
 θας Naber: Ἀλανοῖς conl.

² A: ἐπέστη MW Exc. et i. marg. A.

^a According to *B.J.* vii. 244, a Scythian tribe inhabiting the banks of the River Don and the Sea of Azov. Tacitus' account substitutes the Sarmatae, another tribe from approximately the same area, for the Alani, and states that the Iberians poured the Sarmatae into Armenia over the Caucasian pass. Naber's reading, that the Iberian and Albanian kings granted passage to the Scythians, is an attempt to reconcile Josephus with Tacitus; but since the Alani were a Scythian tribe, it seems better to keep the name of the tribe as the Alani, in line with the manuscripts. Though Tacitus definitely has the Iberians and Albanians joining the battle

plainly for war against Artabanus. For their own part, however, those kings held out against him, but they did bring in the Alani^a against Artabanus by allowing them free transit through their own territory after throwing open the Caspian Gates.^b Thus Armenia was recaptured and the land of the Parthians overwhelmed with war, in the battles of which men of the highest standing were killed, all their land ravaged, and the son of the king slain, together with many tens of thousands of soldiers.^c Vitellius sent money to the kinsmen and friends of the elder Artabanus and would have brought about his death by those who had accepted the bribes if Artabanus had not perceived that this plot would inevitably succeed since it had been concocted by many men of the highest standing. He believed too that even those who had sincerely supported him were either now seduced and craftily pretending to be loyal or that as with the Parthians, and though it therefore appears that their initial reluctance was overcome by the assistance of the Alani (or Sarmatae), yet the region of the Alani seems too far from the Caucasus, and hence the manuscript reading, that the Alani offered a passage to the Iberians and Albanians through the Caspian Gates, seems geographically improbable.

^b The name given to a mountain pass or a series of passes near the Caspian Sea. Cf. *B.J.* vii. 245 note *e*. Mathieu-Herrmann, in their French translation of Josephus (*ad loc.*), remark that the reference here should be to the Albanian Gates, since the Caspian Gates, properly speaking, were too far east to be meant. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 33, also speaks of the Caspian route of the invasion; and Josephus' source, having similar information, may have concluded that the invasion was by way of the Caspian Gates.

^c Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 35, whose account of the battle is fuller, says that Artabanus' son Orodes was wounded in the fighting. The mistaken rumour that he was slain caused the Parthians to panic and gave the victory to the coalition of Iberians, Albanians, and Sarmatae.

σθαι ἢ πείρας αὐτῷ γενομένης μετατάξεσθαι¹ πρὸς τοὺς προαφεστηκότας, εἰς τι² τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν³ ἔσωζεν αὐτόν. καὶ πολλὴν μετὰ ταῦτα στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας Δαῶν⁴ τε καὶ Σακῶν καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχήν.

- 101 (5) Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Τιβέριος ἡξίου φιλίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον, ἐπεὶ δὲ κακείνος προκληθεὶς ἄσμενος ἐδέχετο τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν⁵ λόγον, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην παρήσαν ὃ τε Ἀρτάβανος καὶ
- 102 Οὐιτέλλιος. καὶ ζεύξεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ γενομένης κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς γεφύρας ἀλλήλους ὑπηντίαζον μετὰ φυλακῆς ἑκάτερος τῆς περὶ αὐτόν. καὶ λόγων αὐτοῖς συμβατικῶν γενομένων Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης εἰστίασεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον
- 103 σκηνίδα ἐπισκηψάμενος⁶ τῷ πόρῳ πολυτελῇ. καὶ Ἀρτάβανος πέμπει⁷ Τιβερίῳ ὄμηρον Δαρεῖον τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἄνδρα ἑπτά-

¹ Dindorf: μετατάξασθαι codd. Exc.

² εἰς τι] A: ἐπὶ MW Exc.: i. marg. γρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω A.

³ εἰς τι . . . σατραπειῶν] A: ad superiores satrapias Lat.: pro σατραπειῶν habent στρατιῶν MW Exc., στρακῶν E.

⁴ A: Δακῶν MWE Exc.: Dacorum Lat.

⁵ αὐτοῦ E.

⁶ ηἰ. ras. A: ἐπισκεπασάμενος Richards et Shutt.

⁷ πέμπει] A: μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμπει MWE Exc.

^a Or "in time of trial."

^b The Dahae are also mentioned in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 19; the Sacae in Herodotus vii. 9. In the only other reference to these two Scythian tribes in Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 91, they are also coupled. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 44, corroborates Josephus' account by stating that Artabanus raised auxiliaries in Scythia.

^c According to Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 36, Artabanus fled to the

soon as an attempt was made on his life ^a they would join the ranks of the rebels. He therefore fled for his life to one of the upper satrapies. Subsequently he gathered together a large army of Dahae and Sacae ^b and, by military action against his opponents, secured the throne.^c

(5) At this news Tiberius took steps to make friends with Artabanus. When the offer was made, the Parthian was delighted to discuss the matter. He and Vitellius met on the Euphrates.^d The river was bridged and they met in the middle of the bridge, each with his bodyguard by him. After they had arrived at the terms of an agreement, Herod the tetrarch gave a feast for them in a luxurious pavilion which he constructed in the middle of the river. Artabanus sent as a hostage to Tiberius his son Darius,^e together with many gifts, among which he

Vitellius and Artabanus meet on the Euphrates to negotiate the treaty.

remote borders of Scythia, where he hoped for help from the Hyrcanians and Carmanians, with whom he was connected by marriage. See Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 43-44, for a vivid portrait of Artabanus in exile in Hyrcania on the Caspian, where he lived covered with filth, in which garb he remained while gathering auxiliaries for his successful fight against Tirdates, who then occupied the Parthian throne.

^d This parley is also mentioned by Suetonius, *Vit.* 2, who praises Vitellius' masterly diplomacy. Dio Cassius lix. 17. 5 and 27. 2-3 dates the incident in the reign of Caligula rather than in that of Tiberius, as Josephus does here. Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus*, pp. 33 ff., accepts Josephus' dating, arguing that the historians who were hostile to Tiberius begrudged him this success. One cannot draw conclusions from Tacitus' omission of the incident since this may be due to his bias against Tiberius, or it may argue that the event took place in Caligula's reign, Tacitus' account of which is lost.

^e Probably to be identified with Dareus, one of the Parthian hostages with whom Caligula rode triumphantly over the bridge of ships from Baiae to Puteoli (Suet. *Calig.* 19).

- 104 πηχυν τὸ μέγεθος Ἰουδαῖον τὸ γένος Ἑλεάζαρον¹
 ὄνομα· διὰ μέντοι τὸ μέγεθος Γίγας ἐκαλεῖτο. ἐπὶ
 τούτοις Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἦει, Ἀρτά-
 βανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.² Ἡρώδης δὲ βουλό-
 μενος δι' αὐτοῦ πρώτου γενέσθαι πύστιν³ Καίσαρι
 τῶν ὁμήρων τῆς λήψεως ἐκπέμπει γραμματοφόρους
 τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς γράψας εἰς ἐπιστολὴν καὶ μηδὲν
 105 ὑπολιπόμενος ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῷ ὑπατικῷ. πρὸς Οὐι-
 τελλίου δὲ ἐπιτεμφθεισῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τοῦ Καί-
 σαρος ἐπισημήναντος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς δῆλα αὐτῷ
 γένοιτο πρότερον πύστιν⁴ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἡρώδου
 προτεθεικότος, ταραχθεὶς ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος μεγάλως
 καὶ πεπονθέναι μειζόνως ἢ ἐπέπρακτο ὑπολαμβά-
 νων ἄδηλον τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔκρυπτεν ὀργήν, μέχρι
 δὴ καὶ μετῆλθε Γαῖου τὴν Ῥωμαίων⁵ ἀρχὴν παρ-
 ειληφότος.
 106 (6) Τότε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἦν ἀδελ-
 φός, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον εἰκοστῷ⁶ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς
 Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς, ἡγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ
 τριάκοντα⁷ τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος καὶ
 τοῦ Βατανέων⁸ ἔθνους πρὸς αὐταῖς, μέτριον δὲ ἐν
 οἷς ἦρχεν παρασχὼν τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἀπράγμονα.
 107 δίαιταν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν⁹ ἐν γῇ τῇ ὑποτελεῖ ἐποιεῖτο,
 πρόοδοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐπιλέκτων,
 καὶ τοῦ θρόνου εἰς ὃν ἔκρινεν καθεζόμενος ἐν ταῖς
 ὁδοῖς ἐπομένον, ὅποτε τις ὑπαντιάσας ἐν χρεῖα
 γένοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιβοηθεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ'

¹ Lazarum Lat.² Βαβυλῶνος E.³ E: πίστιν codd. Exc.⁴ A: πίστιν MW.⁵ A: om. MWE Lat. Exc.⁶ εἰκοστῷ] vicesimo secundo Lat., quod probat Scaliger.⁷ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα] triginta duos (xxxv alii) Lat.

included a man seven cubits ^a tall, a Jew by race, named Eleazar, who on account of his size was called the Giant. These terms having been arranged, Vitellius departed for Antioch and Artabanus for Babylonia. Meanwhile, Herod, in his desire to be the first to communicate the news to the emperor that hostages had been received, wrote and dispatched by couriers so precise and complete an account that he left nothing for the proconsul to report. When Vitellius had later sent his dispatch and the emperor informed him that he knew the facts because Herod had been ahead of Vitellius in putting them at his disposal, Vitellius fell into a great fury, and took the offence to be much greater than it actually was. Yet he kept his wrath concealed until he got his revenge on the accession of Gaius as emperor of the Romans.

Herod the tetrarch anticipates Vitellius in sending news to Tiberius.

(6) Now it was at this time that Philip,^b Herod's brother, died ^c in the twentieth year of 'Tiberius' reign and after thirty-seven years of his own rule over Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, as well as over the tribe called the Bataneans. In his conduct of the government he showed a moderate and easy-going disposition. Indeed, he spent all his time in the territory subject to him. When he went on circuit he had only a few select companions. The throne on which he sat when he gave judgement accompanied him wherever he went. And so, whenever anyone appealed to him for redress ^d along the route, at once

Death of Philip the tetrarch. His mild character.

^a About ten and a half feet.

^b See above, §§ 27-28.

^c A.D. 34.

^d Or "whenever anyone met him who was in need of his assistance."

⁸ M : Ναβαταίων A : Βαταναίων WE : Bantanacorum Lat.

⁹ τὸ πᾶν] AW : om. M.

- ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἰδρύσεως τοῦ θρόνου ἥ καὶ τύχοι γενο-
μένης καθεζόμενος ἡκροᾶτο καὶ τιμωρίας τε ἐπε-
τίμα τοῖς ἀλοῦσι καὶ ἡφίει τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐν ἐγκλή-
108 μασι γενομένους. τελευτᾷ δ' ἐν Ἰουλιάδι καὶ αὐτοῦ
κομισθέντος ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὃ ἔτι πρότερον ὠκοδό-
μησεν αὐτός, ταφαὶ γίνονται πολυτελεῖς. τὴν δ'
ἀρχήν, οὐ γὰρ κατελίπετο παῖδας, Τιβέριος παρα-
λαβὼν προσθήκην ἐπαρχίας ποιεῖται τῆς Σύρων,
τοὺς μέντοι φόρους ἐκέλευσε συλλεγομένους ἐν τῇ
τετραρχίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου γενομένη κατατίθεσθαι.
- 109 (v. 1) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ στασιάζουσιν Ἀρέτας τε ὁ
Πετραῖος βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἡρώδης διὰ τοιαύτην αἰ-
τίαν· Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης γαμεῖ τὴν Ἀρέτα θυγα-
τέρα καὶ συνῆν χρόνον ἤδη πολύν. στελλόμενος
δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατάγεται ἐν Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ
ὄντος οὐχ ὁμομητρίου· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σίμωνος τοῦ
- 110 ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐγεγόνει. ἐρασθεῖς
δὲ Ἡρωδιάδος τῆς τούτου γυναικός, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν
Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν, Ἀγρίπ-
που δὲ ἀδελφῇ¹ τοῦ μεγάλου, τολμᾷ λόγων ἅπτε-
σθαι περὶ γάμου. καὶ δεξαμένης συνθήκαι γίνονται
μετοικίσασθαι παρ' αὐτόν, ὅποτε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παρα-
γένοιτο. ἦν δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὥστε καὶ τοῦ
- 111 Ἀρέτα τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκβαλεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν
Ῥώμην ἔπλει ταῦτα συνθέμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπ-
ανεχώρει διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφ' ἅπερ

¹ ἀδελφοῦ Ε.

^a In *Ant.* xvi. 294 we hear that he succeeded Obodas as king of Arabia and that his previous name was Aeneas.

^b The name of Herodias' husband is given as Philip in all the mss. of Mark vi. 17, but it is omitted in the best mss. in

without a moment's delay the throne was set up wherever it might be. He took his seat and gave the case a hearing. He fixed penalties for those who were convicted and released those who had been unjustly accused. He died in Julias. His body was carried to the tomb that he himself had had erected before he died and there was a costly funeral. Since he had died childless, Tiberius took over his territory and annexed it to the province of Syria. Nevertheless, he ordered that the tribute which was collected in his tetrarchy should be held on deposit.

(v. 1) In the meantime, a quarrel, whose origin I shall relate, arose between Aretas,^a king of Petra, and Herod. The tetrarch Herod had taken the daughter of Aretas as his wife and had now been married to her for a long time. When starting out for Rome, he lodged with his half-brother Herod,^b who was born of a different mother, namely, the daughter of Simon the high priest. Falling in love with Herodias, the wife of this half-brother—she was a daughter of their brother Aristobulus and sister to Agrippa the Great—he brazenly broached to her the subject of marriage. She accepted and pledged herself to make the transfer to him as soon as he returned from Rome. It was stipulated that he must oust the daughter of Aretas. The agreement made, he set sail for Rome. On his return after transacting his business in Rome, his wife,

Herod the tetrarch divorces the daughter of Aretas and marries Herodias, his half-brother's wife.

Luke iii. 19 and in codex D and the Latin versions in Matt. xiv. 3 (in the other mss. of Luke and Matthew it has been supplied from Mark). Josephus' authority for the name, given here and in *Ant.* xviii. 148, is accepted by most authorities, who explain the reading of Mark as being due to a confusion between the husband and the son-in-law of Herodias, who was indeed named Philip. So Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, pp. 191-192.

ἔσταλτο, ἢ γυνὴ πύστεως¹ αὐτῇ τῶν πρὸς τὴν
 Ἑρωδιάδα συνθηκῶν γενομένης πρὶν ἔκπυστος αὐ-
 τῷ γενέσθαι τὰ πάντα ἐκμαθοῦσα κελεύει πέμπειν
 αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Μαχαιρουῦντος, μεθόριον δ' ἐστὶ τῆς
 τε Ἀρέτα καὶ Ἑρώδου ἀρχῆς, γνώμην οὐκ ἐκφαί-
 112 νουσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς.² καὶ ὁ Ἑρώδης ἐξέπεμψεν
 μηδὲν ἡσθῆσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον προσδοκῶν. ἢ δέ,
 προαπεστάλκει γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος εἰς τὸν Μαχαι-
 ροῦντα τότε³ πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῆ,⁴ πάντων εἰς
 τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἡτοιμασμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
 ἅμα τε⁵ παρῇν καὶ ἀφωρμᾶτο εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν
 κομιδῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς⁶ παρῇν⁷ τε ὡς
 τὸν πατέρα ἢ τάχος καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἑρώδου διά-
 113 νοιαν ἔφραζεν. ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιη-

¹ A : πίστεως WE et vid. Lat.

² MWE : αὐτῆς A.

³ τότε] ed. pr. : τῷ τε codd.

⁴ ed. pr. : ὑποτελεῖ codd.

⁵ ἅμα τε] A : Ἀρέτα MWE.

⁶ χρωμένη post διαδοχῆς suppl. Richards et Shutt.

⁷ προαπεστάλκει . . . παρῇν] praemiserat enim ante multum tempus ad patrem, ut ei apud Macherunta omnia praepararentur, quae itineris usus exposceret, a ductoribus Aretae suscipitur Lat.

^a Or "to give her an escort."

^b For a description of this fortress, just east of the Dead Sea, see *B.J.* vii. 164 ff.

^c N. Glueck, "Explorations in the Land of Ammon," *Bull. of the Am. Sch. of Orient. Res.* lxxviii, Dec. 1937, p. 15, on the basis of an archaeological survey of the area, concludes that Josephus is approximately correct in placing Machaerus on the border between the territory of Aretas and that of Herod, but that he is wrong in placing it in the territory of Aretas, which was a few miles away.

who had got wind of his compact with Herodias, before any information reached him that she had discovered everything, asked him to send her away ^a to Machaerus, ^b which was on the boundary ^c between the territory of Aretas and that of Herod. She gave no hint, however, of her real purpose. Herod let her go, since he had no notion that the poor woman saw what was afoot. Some time earlier she herself had dispatched messengers to Machaerus, which was at that time subject to her father, ^d so that when she arrived all preparations for her journey had been made by the governor. She was thus able to start for Arabia as soon as she arrived, being passed from one governor to the next as they provided transport. ^e So she speedily reached her father and told him what Herod planned to do. Aretas made this the start of a Aretas
makes war

^d The reading of the mss. is "and to him who was subject to her father."

^e The Nabataean inscriptions, as noted by Jones, *Cities*, p. 292, mention officers with the titles of *ἐπαρχος* and *στρατηγός*. That the Greek words are thus transliterated into Nabataean shows that the institution was of foreign origin. Jones plausibly conjectures that the Nabataean kings, after successfully trying to organize their kingdom on the centralized Hellenistic model, gave the local sheikhs the title of "governor." There is perhaps a parallel to be drawn with the magisterial boards of *στρατηγοί*, usually consisting of five members, often headed by a first *στρατηγός*, which governed the Hellenistic cities in Asia Minor and elsewhere (see Magie, *Roman Rule*, i. 643-644). G. A. Cooke, *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903, pp. 247-248, suggests the possibility that the two *στρατηγοί* mentioned in *C.I.S.* ii. 169 may have assisted the daughter of Aretas, since the fortress of Machaerus was probably in the district of one of them, *Ya'amru* by name. Another inscription mentioning a *στρατηγός* found in northern Transjordan and probably referring to a village sheik is described by L. Mowry, in *Bull. of the Am. Sch. of Orient. Res.* cxxxii, Dec. 1953, pp. 34-41.

- σάμενος περί τε ὄρων ἐν γῇ τῇ Γαβαλίτιδι,¹ καὶ
 δυνάμεως ἐκατέρῳ συλλεγείσης εἰς πόλεμον καθί-
 114 σταντο στρατηγούς ἀπεσταλκότες ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν. καὶ
 μάχης γενομένης διεφθάρη πᾶς ὁ Ἡρώδου στρατὸς
 προδοσίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φυγάδων,
 οἳ ὄντες ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας Ἡρώδῃ συνε-
 115 στράτευον. ταῦτα Ἡρώδης γράφει πρὸς Τιβέριον.
 ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ φέρων τὴν Ἀρέτα ἐπιχείρησιν γράφει
 πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ ἥτοι ζῶν
 ἐλόντα ἀναγαγεῖν δεδεμένον ἢ κτεινομένου πέμπειν
 τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα
 πρᾶσσειν ἐπέστελλεν τῷ κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγῷ.
 116 (2) Τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν
 Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μάλα δικαίως
 τινυμένου² κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλου-
 117 μένου βαπτιστοῦ. κτείνει γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης
 ἀγαθὸν³ ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελεύοντα ἀρετὴν
 ἐπασκοῦσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ
 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ χρωμένοις⁴ βαπτισμῷ συν-

¹ conl. Jones, Cities, p. 449 n. 19 : Γαμαλικῇ A : Γαμαλίτιδι MWE : Gamalica (Gamalitica cod. A) Lat. : Γαλααδίτιδι conl. Schürer i. 445 et n. 36 : Γαβαλικῇ vel simile conl. Niese : post Γαμαλικῇ lacunam indicat Bekker.

² codd. E Eus. : τινυμένου Niese.

³ ἄγιον Eisler (Messiah Jesus, p. 248).

⁴ <ἐπὶ> ante βαπτισμῷ conl. Richards et Shutt.

^a The manuscript reading, Gamala, seems unlikely, since this region belonged to Philip's former tetrarchy and hence could not have been the subject of dispute between Aretas and Herod. Schürer's emendation, Galaaditis (Gilead), is geographically possible but is palaeographically not as close

quarrel. There was also a dispute about boundaries in the district of Gabalis.^a Troops were mustered on each side and they were now at war, but they dispatched others as commanders instead of going themselves. In the ensuing battle, the whole army of Herod was destroyed when some refugees, who had come from the tetrarchy of Philip and had joined Herod's army, played him false. Herod sent an account of these events to Tiberius. The latter was incensed to think that Aretas had begun hostilities and wrote Vitellius to declare war and either bring Aretas to him in chains, if he should be captured alive, or, if he should be slain, to send him his head. Such were the instructions of Tiberius to his governor in Syria.

on Herod
and defeats
him.

(2) ^b But to some of the Jews the destruction of Herod's army seemed to be divine vengeance, and certainly a just vengeance, for his treatment of John, surnamed the Baptist. For Herod had put him to death, though he was a good man ^c and had exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives, to practise justice towards their fellows and piety towards God, and so

Herod's
defeat is
attributed
to his murder of John
the Baptist.

to the manuscript reading as Gabala, a district south of Moabitis in Idumaea. *Cf. Ant. ii. 6.*

^b In general, this famous passage, §§ 116-119, on the murder of John the Baptist has been accepted as authentic, though Graetz in his later editions regarded it as spurious on the grounds that Josephus would not have called John a baptist without giving an explanation of what baptism is and that Josephus would not have used different forms for the word "baptism." But Josephus does not explain every movement; and since there was no established Greek word for baptism he might well have used two different forms of the word.

^c The Slavonic Josephus, the value of which has been justly questioned by numerous scholars, speaks of John as ἄγριος, a wild man. Eisler, p. 248, recklessly suggests that the Church changed ἄγριος to ἀγῆθός.

- ιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι μὴ ἐπὶ τινων ἀμαρτάδων παραιτή-
σει χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνεία τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε
δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνη προεκκεκαθαρμένης.
118 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων¹ συστρεφομένων, καὶ γὰρ ἤρθησαν²
ἐπὶ πλείστον τῇ ἀκροάσει³ τῶν λόγων, δείσας
Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
ποις μὴ ἐπὶ στάσει⁴ τινὶ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἐώκεσαν
συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες, πολὺ κρεῖττον
ἡγείται πρὶν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι προλα-
βὼν ἀνελεῖν τοῦ⁵ μεταβολῆς γενομένης [μὴ]⁶ εἰς
119 πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψία

¹ MWE: λαῶν ex corr. A: per plurima multitudo Lat.: ἀνθρώπων coni. Niese: πολλῶν coni. Eisler (Messiah Jesus, p. 247).

² codd. E et Eusebii codd. quidam: ἤσθησαν Eusebius.

³ ἤρθησαν . . . ἀκροάσει] συνήχθησαν πλείστοι <ἐπὶ> τῇ ἀκροάσει coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ MWE: ἀποστάσει A. ⁵ τοῦ] codd.: ἡ Eus.

⁶ μὴ] om. Eus.: μᾶλλον coni. Petersen.

^a The translation "to be united by baptism" seems unlikely, since there is no indication that John championed group baptism.

^b Josephus uses two different words for baptism in this same passage, βαπτισμός and βάπτισις.

^c The identity of these others is puzzling. Perhaps the reference is to the unjust men. Eisler, p. 247, following the Latin version, emends to "the masses," contending that "the others" represents a Christian alteration introduced to mitigate the seditious effect of John's preaching.

^d Or "uplifted." Variant "overjoyed." Eisler, p. 246, argues for the manuscript reading, "they were aroused," suggesting that Eusebius' "they were overjoyed," which is also found in the Slavonic Josephus, represents a Christian interpolation made because the Church preferred to think of John as a religious reformer rather than as one who incited the people to revolution. Because Schürer, i. 438 n. 2, and

doing to join in baptism.^a In his view this was a necessary preliminary if baptism ^b was to be acceptable to God. They must not employ it to gain pardon for whatever sins they committed, but as a consecration of the body implying that the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by right behaviour. When others ^c too joined the crowds about him, because they were aroused ^d to the highest degree by his sermons, Herod became alarmed.^e Eloquence that had so great an effect on mankind might lead to some form of sedition,^f for it looked as if they would be guided by John in everything that they did. Herod decided therefore that it would be much better to strike first and be rid of him before his work led to an uprising, than to wait for an upheaval, get involved in a difficult situation and see his mistake. Though

Niese believed that Josephus would never have viewed with sympathy one who stirred up the people thus, they adopted Eusebius' emendation.

^e The Gospels do not mention this reason for Herod's alarm at John's activities. According to Mark vi. 17-21, John was imprisoned because he questioned Herod's right to marry his sister-in-law. And there is nothing in Josephus of the story, told in Mark vi. 22-28, that Salome asked for John's head. But there is no necessary contradiction between Josephus and the Gospels as to the reasons why John was put to death; the Christians chose to emphasize the moral charges that he brought against the ruler, whereas Josephus stresses the political fears that he aroused in Herod.

^f Variant "revolt." Eisler, p. 248, contends that the manuscript reading, "sedition," has clearer notions of revolution than Eusebius' reading, "revolt," and that the Christians changed the manuscripts here, as they did with ἡρθσαν, to avoid connecting John with political insurrection. But ἀπόστασις means not only a turning away from established traditions but also actual defection or revolt. The chief argument for retaining ἡρθσαν and στάσει in the text is that they are backed by the manuscript tradition.

τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεὶς τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον ταύτῃ κτίννυται. τοῖς¹ δὲ Ἰουδαίοις δόξα² ἐπὶ τιμωρία τῇ ἐκείνου τὸν ὀλεθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ κακῶσαι Ἡρώδην³ θέλοντος.

- 120 (3) Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀρέταν δυσὶ τάγμασιν ὀπλιτῶν ὅσοι τε περὶ αὐτὰ ψιλοὶ καὶ ἵππεις συμμαχοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις βασιλειῶν ἀγόμενος, ἐπὶ τῆς
- 121 Πέτρας ἠπείγετο καὶ ἔσχε Πτολεμαῖδα. ὥρμημένῳ δ' αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἄγειν τὸν στρατὸν ὑπαντιάσαντες ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι παρητοῦντο τὴν διὰ⁴ τῆς χώρας ὁδόν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πάτριον περιορᾶν εἰκόνας εἰς αὐτὴν φερομένας, πολλὰς δ'
- 122 εἶναι σημαίαις ἐπικειμένας. καὶ πεισθεὶς μετέβαλέν τε τῆς γνώμης τὸ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις προβουλευσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου κελεύσας χωρεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸς μετὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνῆει θύσων τῷ θεῷ
- 123 ἑορτῆς πατρίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνεστηκυίας. εἰς ἣν ἀπαντήσας καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλήθους ἐκπρεπῶς τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας ταύτῃ διατριβὴν ποιεῖται, ἐν αἷς Ἰωνάθην τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην⁵ ἀφελό-

¹ τισὶ conl. Eisler (Messiah Jesus, p. 248).

² E: δόξαν AMW: videbatur Lat.: δόξαν παρέσχεν Holwerda: ἔδοξεν Bekker: δόξα ἦν conl. Niese.

³ κακῶσαι Ἡρώδην] E: κακῶς Ἡρώδη codd.

⁴ τὴν διὰ] E: διὰ τὴν codd.

⁵ MWE: ἱερωσύνην A.

^a For a description of Ptolemaïs, modern *ʿAkká*, at the northern end of the bay of Haifa, see *B.J.* ii. 188-191.

John, because of Herod's suspicions, was brought in chains to Machaerus, the stronghold that we have previously mentioned, and there put to death, yet the verdict of the Jews was that the destruction visited upon Herod's army was a vindication of John, since God saw fit to inflict such a blow on Herod.

(3) Vitellius got himself ready for war against Aretas with two legions of heavy-armed infantry and such light-armed infantry and cavalry as were attached to them as auxiliaries. Proceeding from the kingdoms that were under the Roman yoke, he pushed toward Petra and occupied Ptolemais.^a Since he had started to lead his army through the land of Judaea, the Jews of the highest standing went to meet him and entreated him not to march through their land. For, they said, it was contrary to their tradition to allow images,^b of which there were many attached to the military standards, to be brought upon their soil. Yielding to their entreaty, he abandoned his original plan and ordered his army to march through the Great Plain,^c while he himself, together with Herod the tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to sacrifice to God during the traditional festival which the Jews were celebrating there. When he arrived there, he was greeted with special warmth by the Jewish multitude. He spent three days there, during which he deposed Jonathan from his office as high priest and conferred it on

The expedition of Vitellius against Aretas is arrested by news of Tiberius' death.

^b For a similar objection on the part of the Jews to having military standards with their attached images brought into Judaea see §§ 55-59.

^c Usually refers to the region between Samaria and Galilee (*e.g.* *Ant.* v. 83) but sometimes indicates the valley of the Jordan (*e.g.* *B.J.* iv. 455-458). It is not clear which is meant here.

- 124 μενος ἐγχειρίζει τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Θεοφίλῳ, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ γραμματῶν αὐτῷ παραγενομένων, ἃ ἐδήλου τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτήν, ὥρκισεν τὴν πληθὺν ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Γαίῳ. ἀνεκάλει δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἐκάστου χειμαδιᾶν¹ πόλεμον² ἐκφέρειν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ εἰς Γάιον μεταπε-
- 125 πτωκέναι τὰ πράγματα. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀρέ-
ταν οἰωνοσκοπησάμενον πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῶν Οὐιτελλίου στρατιωτῶν φάναι μηχανὴν οὐκ εἶναι τῷ στρατῷ τῆς ἐπὶ Πετραίουσ ὁδοῦ³. τεθνήξασθαι γὰρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἢ τὸν πολεμεῖν κελεύσαντα ἢ τὸν γνώμη τῇ ἐκείνου ὠρμημένον διακονεῖσθαι καὶ⁴ ἐφ' ὃν⁵ γένοιτο ἡ παρασκευὴ τοῦ στρατεύματος.
- 126 καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβέριον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἄνεισι πρά-
ξων τι παρὰ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι δυνάμεώς τινος αὐτῷ
- 127 παραγενομένης. βούλομαι οὖν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ μακρότερον περὶ τε Ἡρώδου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐγένετο, ἅμα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνήκειν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παράστασιν ἔχειν τοῦ θείου, ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ πληθὺς⁶ οὐδ' ἄλλῃ τις ἀλκὴ

¹ AE: χειμαδιοῦντος MW: i. marg. γρ χειμαδιοῦντας A: χειμάδια coni. Niese.

² χειμαδιᾶν πόλεμον] litt. νπ i. ras. ut vid. m. 2 A.

³ Πετραίουσ ὁδοῦ] πέτρας | εἰσόδου (πέτρας ex πετραί, εἰ ex ο, ὁδου ex ὁδοῦ corr.) A: πέτρας εἰσόδου MWE: ut ad Petraeos adveniret Lat.

⁴ MW: ἢ A.

⁵ ἐφ' ὃν] codd.: ὑφ' ὃν Petersen: ὑφ' οὗ coni.

⁶ πληθὺς MWE.

^a Tiberius died on 15 March A.D. 37.

^b The text is doubtful, and I am deeply indebted to Prof. Hans Petersen for my interpretation. Those manuscripts that

Jonathan's brother Theophilus. On the fourth day, when he received a letter notifying him of the death of Tiberius,^a he administered to the people an oath of loyalty to Gaius. He now recalled his army, ordering each man to go to his own home for the winter, for he was no longer empowered as before to make war abroad now that the government had fallen into Gaius' hands. It was also reported that Aretas, on consulting the flight of birds when news came of Vitellius' expedition, declared that his army could by no means enter Petra. One of the leaders would die, either the one who had given orders to make war or the one who had set forth to carry out his decision to attack the man against whom the army had in fact been mustered.^b Vitellius accordingly withdrew to Antioch. Meanwhile, Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, when the means ^c presented itself, had gone to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius to gain some advantage at court.^d I will now give a fuller account of Herod and the particulars of his line, both because the tale is pertinent to my history and because it affords a proof of Divine Providence, showing how neither numbers nor any other worldly advan-

Digression
on the de-
scendants
of Herod
the Great.

read ἡ ἐφ' ὃν cannot be construed; ἐφ' ὃν could mean only "against whom," and we would thus have the unlikely possibility of Aretas foretelling the possibility of his own death, an event which surely would not keep the Romans out of Petra. It is straining the Greek to translate ἐφ' ὃν as "for whose sake" and have it refer to Herod. Since ἡ and καί are easily confused in minuscule writing, Prof. Petersen suggests reading καί and having the passage predict the death of either Tiberius or Vitellius.

^c It is not clear whether this refers to financial means or influence or to a chance opportunity.

^d Or "to transact some business with the emperor." From the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 178, we learn that the reason for Agrippa's visit was to accuse Herod the tetrarch.

- τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτετευγμένων δίχα τῶν πρὸς
 128 τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβειῶν, εἴ γε ἐντὸς ἑκατὸν ἔτων ἐξόδου¹
 συνέβη πλὴν ὀλίγων, πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν, διαφθαρῆναι
 τοὺς Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνους· φέροι δ' ἂν τι καπὶ
 σωφρονισμῷ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους τὸ τὴν δυσ-
 129 τυχίαν αὐτῶν μαθεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν δι-
 ηγήσασθαι θαύματος ἀξιώτατον γεγεννημένον, ὃς ἐκ
 πάντῃ ἰδιώτου καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόξαν τῶν εἰδότην
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἠϋξήθη δυνάμεως. εἴρηται μὲν
 οὖν μοι² καὶ πρότερον περὶ αὐτῶν, λεχθήσεται δέ³
 καὶ νῦν ἀκριβῶς.
- 130 (4) Ἡρώδῃ τῷ μεγάλῳ θυγατέρες ἐκ Μαριάμ-
 μης⁴ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρὸς γίνονται δύο, Σα-
 λαμψιῶ⁵ μὲν ἢ ἑτέρα, ἣ γαμεῖται Φασαήλῳ τῷ
 αὐτῆς ἀνεψιῷ Φασαήλου παιδὶ ὄντι τοῦ Ἡρώδου⁶
 ἀδελφοῦ δεδωκότος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτήν, Κύπρος δὲ
 Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ αὐτῇ ἀνεψιῷ Ἡρώδου παιδὶ τῆς
 131 ἀδελφῆς Σαλώμης. καὶ Φασαήλῳ μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμ-
 ψιῶν⁷ γίνονται πέντε παῖδες Ἀντίπατρος Ἀλέξ-
 ανδρος Ἡρώδης⁸ θυγατέρες τε Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ
 Κύπρος, ἣν Ἀγρίππας γαμεῖ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου.⁹
 Ἀλεξάνδραν δὲ γαμεῖ μὲν Τίμιος¹⁰ Κύπριος ἀνὴρ¹¹
 132 τῶν ἀξιολόγων, παρ' ᾧ δὴ ἄτεκνος τελευτᾷ. Κύ-
 πρῳ δ' ἐξ Ἀγρίππου μὲν ἄρρενες γίνονται δύο,

¹ ἐξόδου] δι' ὅλου vel fort. περιόδου coni. Richards et Shutt.

² μοι A : om. MWE. ³ δέ] A : δέ μοι MW.

⁴ Μαριάμμης] codd. : Μαριάμης τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀλεξ-
 άνδρας E.

⁵ Salome Lat. (?).

⁶ Ἡρώδου] Ἡρώδου i. ras. maiore m. 1 A : Φασαήλου MW :
 Herodis I at.

⁷ Salampsus Lat.

⁸ Ἡρώδης Ἀλέξανδρος tr. MWE Lat.

⁹ Alexandri cod. A Lat.

¹⁰ μὲν Τίμιος] codd. : μὲν om. F : Μεντίμιος coni. Niese.

¹¹ Τίμιος Κύπριος ἀνὴρ] honorabilis vir Cyprus Lat.

tage can avail aught without acts of piety toward the Divine Power. For within a century of Herod's decease it came about that all but a few of Herod's issue, and there were many, had perished. It may contribute to the moral instruction of mankind to learn what their misfortunes were. It may also be edifying to tell the story of Agrippa, which is in the highest degree remarkable. For from a position of no distinction at all and to the surprise of all who knew of him, he rose to his high and mighty exaltation. To be sure, I have spoken previously ^a about these matters, but now I shall dwell on them in detail.

(4) ^b Herod the Great ^c had two daughters by Mariamme the daughter of Hyrcanus. One of them, Salampsio, was given in marriage by her father to Phasaël, her cousin, the son of Herod's brother Phasaël; the other, Cypros, also married a cousin, Antipater, the son of Herod's sister Salome. By Salampsio Phasaël had three sons—Antipater, Alexander, and Herod—and two daughters—Alexandra and Cypros. Cypros' husband was Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus; Alexandra's was Timius of Cyprus, a man of some importance, in union with whom she died childless. By Agrippa Cypros had two sons, named

^a *Ant.* xvii. 12-22.

^b For a stemma of Herod's family see the extensible sheet at the end of this volume.

^c It is worthy of note that only in this passage (§§ 130, 133, and 136) is Herod given the title *ὁ μέγας*. Since this title is not found in inscriptions, coins, or elsewhere in Josephus, H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* iv³, 1867, p. 546, plausibly conjectures that *ὁ μέγας* indicates that he is merely "the elder" (like Latin *maior*) in comparison with his sons of that name. For *ὁ μέγας* as "the Elder" cf. Drusus the Elder in § 143.

θυγατέρες δὲ τρεῖς Βερενίκη¹ Μαριάμμη Δρουσίλλα,
 Ἀγρίππας δὲ καὶ Δρουῖσος τοῖς ἄρσεσιν ὀνόματα,
 133 ὧν ὁ Δρουῖσος πρὶν ἡβῆσαι τελευτᾷ.² τῷ δὲ πατρὶ³
 τούτων Ἀγρίππας⁴ ἐτρέφετο⁵ μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων
 ἀδελφῶν⁶ Ἡρώδου τε καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου⁷. καὶ
 Βερενίκη⁸ καὶ οἷδε παῖδες τοῦ νιέος Ἡρώδου⁹ τοῦ
 μεγάλου¹⁰. ἡ δὲ Βερενίκη Κοστοβάρου καὶ Σαλώμης
 134 παῖς τῆς Ἡρώδου ἀδελφῆς. τούτους Ἀριστόβου-
 λος νηπίους λείπεται θνήσκων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν. ἡβή-
 σαντες δ' ἄγονται Ἡρώδης μὲν οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Ἀγρίπ-
 που ἀδελφὸς¹¹ Μαριάμμη θυγατέρα Ὀλυμπίανος

¹ A : Βερενίκη MWE.

² lacunam post τελευτᾷ indicat Niese.

³ τῷ δὲ πατρὶ] ὁ δὲ πατήρ Hudson.

⁴ Ἀγρίππας] -as in -ai corr. A.

⁵ τῷ δὲ . . . ἐτρέφετο] Agrippas autem a patre nutriebatur Lat.

⁶ μετὰ . . . ἀδελφῶν] om. Lat.

⁷ Ἡρώδου τε καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου] Hudson : Ἡρώδης καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος A : Ἡρώδης τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος MW : Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος E.

⁸ καὶ Βερενίκη] A : καὶ Βερενίκη MW : καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ἡρωδιᾶς Ἀριστοβούλου E : ἐκ Βερενίκης Hudson.

⁹ τοῦ νιέος Ἡρώδου] E : Ἡρώδου τοῦ νιέος codd.

¹⁰ Ἡρώδης . . . μεγάλου] Herodes autem et Aristobulus et Verenice etiam hi quoque filii fuerunt filii maioris Herodis Lat.

¹¹ A : υἱὸς MW.

^a Niese indicates that there is a lacuna at the end of this sentence, since Josephus here shifts from listing the progeny of Salampsio and Phasaël to the brothers of the Agrippa who married Salampsio's daughter Cypros. He thinks that Josephus would not have given such a fragmentary account of the family of Aristobulus, the father of Agrippa, as he here gives. He suggests the possibility that § 138, which states that Josephus has just listed the progeny of Phasaël and Salampsio, should come after § 132, where Josephus concludes his listing of the direct line of Phasaël and Salampsio. But

Agrippa and Drusus, and three daughters, Berenice, Mariamme, and Drusilla. Of these children Drusus died before reaching adolescence.^a Agrippa,^b together with his brothers Herod and Aristobulus, was raised by their father.^c Berenice, the daughter of Costobar and of Herod's sister Salome, and these sons of Aristobulus, Herod the Great's son,^d were raised together. These were left as infants by Aristobulus when, as I have previously related,^e he, together with his brother Alexander, was put to death by his father. When they had reached adolescence, Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamme,

the digression in §§ 133-138 is understandable inasmuch as Josephus has just mentioned Cypros' husband Agrippa in §§ 131-132 and now wishes to discuss the latter's family. Since there is so much inbreeding and since names recur so often in the family of Herod, there is bound to be confusion, but the genealogical table at the close of this volume will, it is hoped, be of some help.

^b From the Greek it would appear that this is the Agrippa mentioned in § 132, *i.e.* the son of Agrippa the husband of Cypros. But that Agrippa had a brother Drusus, whereas this one has brothers named Herod and Aristobulus. Hence this Agrippa must be the son of Aristobulus, the son of Herod the Great. The transition in the Greek seems too abrupt, and there is probably a lacuna; but the meaning is clear.

^c Aristobulus. *Cf. B.J.* i. 552, which lists his progeny.

^d The mss. have "these sons of Herod, the son of (Herod) the Great." But apart from our having no means of knowing which of several Herods by that name would be meant, we have not had, and do not have in the sections that follow, any mention of Herod, the son of Herod the Great, until we reach § 136, when he appears to be mentioned for the first time. The transposition of the Epitome, supported also by the order of words in the Latin translation, makes perfect sense, and the reference is to the son of Herod the Great, namely Aristobulus, who is the father of Cypros' husband Agrippa.

^e *Ant.* xvi. 394.

- τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλέως θυγατρὸς καὶ Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, ἀδελφὸς δὲ οὗτος Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως.
- 135 ἴσχει τε ἐξ αὐτῆς υἱὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. ὁ δὲ τρίτος τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος γαμεῖ Ἰωτάπην Σαμψιγεράμου¹ θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἑμεσῶν βασιλέως, θυγάτηρ τε αὐτοῖς γίνεται κωφή· ὄνομα καὶ τῇδε Ἰωτάπη. καὶ τάδε μὲν τῶν ἀρσένων
- 136 τέκνα. Ἡρωδιάς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀδελφή γίνεται Ἡρώδῃ Ἡρώδου τοῦ μεγάλου παιδί γεγονότι ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ αὐτοῖς Σαλώμη γίνεται, μεθ' ἧς τὰς γονὰς Ἡρωδιάς ἐπὶ συγχύσει φρονήσασα τῶν πατρίων Ἡρώδῃ γαμεῖται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῷ ὁμοπατρίῳ ἀδελφῷ διασταῖσα ζῶντος.² τὴν δὲ Γαλιλαίων τετραρχίαν οὐ-
- 137 τος εἶχεν. ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Σαλώμη Φιλίππῳ γαμεῖται Ἡρώδου παιδί τῷ τετράρχῃ τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος, καὶ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὴν ἄγεται Ἡρώδου παῖς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφοῦ. παῖδες δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοῖς τρεῖς Ἡρώδης Ἀ-
- 138 γρίππας Ἀριστόβουλος. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ Φασαήλου καὶ Σαλαμψιοῦς³ ἐστὶ γένος. Κύπρῳ δ' ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου θυγάτηρ γίνεται Κύπρος, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀλεξᾶς ὁ Ἑλκίας⁴ γαμεῖ τοῦ Ἀλεξᾶ, καὶ αὐτῆς θυγάτηρ⁵ ἦν Κύπρος. Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὓς ἀδελφούς ἔφην Ἀντιπάτρου, ἄτεκνοι τελευτῶ-

¹ Lapsigerami cod. A Lat.

² ζῶντος] τοῦ προτέρου γαμέτου ζῶντος E.

³ MWE: Salampsus Lat.

⁴ ὁ Ἑλκίας] A: Σέλκιος MW: Selcias Lat.

⁵ τοῦ Ἀλεξᾶ . . . θυγάτηρ] Alexae vero huiusque mulieris filia Lat.

the daughter of Olympias—who was herself the daughter of King Herod—and of Joseph—who was the son of Joseph, the brother of King Herod. By her he had a son Aristobulus. The other brother of Agrippa, Aristobulus, married Jotape,^a the daughter of Sampsigeramus^b king of Emesa.^c They had a daughter also named Jotape, who was a deaf-mute. Such were the children of the sons. Their sister Herodias was married to Herod,^d the son of Herod the Great by Mariamme, daughter of Simon the high priest. They had a daughter Salome,^e after whose birth Herodias, taking it into her head to flout the way of our fathers, married Herod, her husband's brother by the same father, who was tetrarch of Galilee; to do this she parted from a living husband. Her daughter Salome was married to Philip, Herod's^f son and tetrarch of Trachonitis. When he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Agrippa's brother Herod, married her. Three sons were born to them—Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus. Such then was the line of Phasaël and Salampsio. As to Cypros, a daughter named Cypros was born to her of Antipater; Alexas, who was surnamed Helcias and was the son of Alexas, married this daughter, and she in turn had a daughter named Cypros. Herod and Alexander, who, as I have said,^g were the brothers of Antipater,

^a G. Macurdy, "Iotape," *Jour. of Rom. Stud.* xxvi, 1936, p. 40, suggests that the Median Jotape was the grandmother both of Jotape the daughter of Sampsigeramus and of Jotape, sister-wife of Antiochus IV of Commagene (*Ant.* xviii. 140).

^b Cf. *Ant.* xix. 338-341.

^c A city or region in Syria on the east bank of the Orontes.

^d Herod (Philip), mentioned in Mark vi. 17.

^e We thus learn the name of the daughter of Herodias mentioned in Mark vi. 22.

^f Herod the Great's.

^g § 131.

- 139 σιν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδου παιδί τοῦ βασι-
λέως τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνηρημένῳ Ἀλέξανδρος
καὶ Τιγράνης ἐγεγόνεισαν υἱεῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀρχελαοῦ
τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως θυγατρὸς. καὶ Τιγρά-
νης μὲν βασιλεύων Ἀρμενίας κατηγοριῶν αὐτοῦ
140 ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γενομένων ἅπαις τελευτᾷ. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
δὲ Τιγράνης ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀδελφῷ γίνεται παῖς καὶ
βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐκπέμπεται υἱός
τε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτῷ γίνεται. γαμεί δ' οὗτος Ἀν-
τιόχου τοῦ Κομμαγενῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα Ἰω-
τάπην, Κήτιδος¹ τε² τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ Οὐεσπασιανὸς
141 αὐτὸν ἴσταται βασιλέα. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου
γένος εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ φυῆναι τὴν θεραπείαν ἐξέλιπε
τῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπιχωρίων μεταταξάμενοι πρὸς τὰ
Ἑλλησι πάτρια· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς θυγατράσιν Ἡρώ-
δου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀτέκνοις τελευτᾶν συνέπεσεν.
142 τῶν δὲ γενομένων Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνων οὓς κατέλεξα
ἔμενον³ ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ Ἀγρίππας ὁ μέγας τὴν βασι-
λείαν παρέλαβεν.⁴ τούτων δέ μοι τοῦ γένους προ-
δεδηλωμένων διέξειμι λοιπόν, ὅποσαι Ἀγρίππα
τύχαι συνέλθοιεν, ὥς τε αὐτῶν διάδρασιν ποιησά-
μενος ἐπὶ μέγιστον ἀξιώματός τε ἅμα προκόψειεν
καὶ δυνάμειος.
- 143 (vi. 1) Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς

¹ Wilhelm : ἡσιόδος codd. : isedis (lesidi cod. Berol.) Lat. :
Nησιάδος Harduinus : νησιδος Ernesti : Κιητιδος Wilhelm.

² Κήτιδος τε] om. spatio vacuo 6 litt. relicto E.

³ κατέλεξα ἔμενον] A : κατελέξαμεν ὄντων MW : κατέλεξα με-
νόντων Bekker.

⁴ τῶν δὲ . . . παρέλαβεν] Herodis autem quam memoravi
prosapia permansit usque ad tempus quo Agrippa Maior
regnum accepit Lat. : om. E.

died childless. Alexander, King Herod's son, who had been put to death by his father, had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia. Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, died childless after charges were brought against him at Rome.^a Alexander had a son who had the same name as his brother Tigranes^b and who was sent forth by Nero to be king of Armenia. This Tigranes had a son Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, king of Commagene; Vespasian appointed him king of Cetic^c in Cilicia. The offspring of Alexander abandoned from birth the observance of the ways of the Jewish land and ranged themselves with the Greek tradition. The other daughters of King Herod, it turned out, died childless. Of the descendants of Herod, those whom I have enumerated were still alive at the time when Agrippa the Great received his royal office. Now that I have given an account of their family tree by way of preface, I shall proceed to relate all the vicissitudes that Agrippa experienced and how he eluded them and forged ahead to the highest rank and power.

(vi. 1) Shortly before the death of King Herod, Relations of
Agrippa
with the

^a Tacitus mentions this prosecution in *Ann.* vi. 40.

^b Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 26, likewise notes that Tigranes had been selected for the throne by Nero. He adds that Tigranes' long residence in Rome as a hostage had given him a quality of abject servility and that, as the Roman choice, he was accepted by the Armenians only because of their even greater fear of Parthian domination.

^c The manuscript reading is corrupt. Ernesti's emendation "islet" (Elaiussa-Sebaste: see Wilhelm, *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* 1894, p. 5), Wilhelm's "Cietis" (an allusion to the tribe of Cietae mentioned in Tac. *Ann.* vi. 41, probably to be identified with the Clitae described in Tac. *Ann.* xii. 55 as savage tribes of Cilicia), or Wilhelm's "Cetis" (adopted by Jones, *Cities*, p. 438 n. 30) are best.

- τελευτῆς Ἀγρίππας ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος καὶ ὁμοτροφίας καὶ συνηθείας αὐτῷ πολλῆς γενομένης πρὸς Δρούσον τὸν Τιβερίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος υἱὸν καὶ Ἀντωνία τῇ Δρούσου τοῦ μεγάλου γυναικὶ εἰς φιλίαν ἀφίκετο, Βερενίκης τῆς μητρὸς τιμωμένης παρ' αὐτῇ¹ καὶ προαγωγῶν ἡξιωκυίας τὸν υἱόν.²
- 144 φύσει δὲ μέγας³ ὢν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ δωρεῖσθαι πολυτελῆς ζώσης μὲν τῆς μητρὸς οὐκ ἐξέφαινε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ θέλον διαδιδράσκειν αὐτῆς ἡξιωκῶς τὴν
- 145 ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις γενομένην⁴ ὀργήν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Βερενίκη τελευτᾷ, γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ, τὰ μὲν εἰς πολυτέλειαν τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν διαίτης, τὰ δ' εἰς τῶν δωρεῶν τὸ μὴ μέτρῳ προϊέμενον ἀνάλωσε τῶν χρημάτων, τὰ πλείστα δ' εἰς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρους ἐτετέλεστο ἐλπίδι πράξεως⁵ τῆς αὐ-
- 146 τῶν, πενία τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν κώλυμα τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίτης, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ υἱέος τετελευτηκότος ἀπειπὼν φοιτᾶν εἰς ὅψιν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μνημονεύων τοῦ παιδὸς θεωρία τῇ ἐκείνων.
- 147 (2) Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πλέων ὥχετο κακοπραγῶν καὶ τεταπεινωμένος ὀλέθρῳ τε ὢν εἶχεν χρημάτων καὶ ἀπορία τοῦ ἐκτίσοντος τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανεισταῖς πολλοῖς τε οὖσιν καὶ ἀλεωρὰν

¹ A: αὐτῆς MWE.

² καὶ . . . υἱόν] et venerabiliter appellaret Lat.

³ μεγαλόφρων coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ ἂν post γενομένην add. Bekker.

⁵ συμπράξεως Richards et Shutt.

^a Son of Tiberius by his first wife Vipsania.

Agrippa was living in Rome. He was brought up with and was on very familiar terms with Drusus,^a the son of the emperor Tiberius. He also won to friendship Antonia,^b the wife of Drusus the Elder,^c for his mother Berenice ranked high among her friends and had requested her to promote the son's interest. Agrippa was naturally noble in spirit ^d and lavish in giving, but so long as his mother was alive, he kept his natural bent concealed. It seemed best not to encounter the burst of temper that anything like that would have provoked in her. But when Berenice died and he was left to his own devices, he spent some of his money on the luxuries of his daily life, some on the gifts that he lavished without restraint; but his largest payments were made to the emperor's freedmen, whose co-operation he hoped to secure.^e So he was soon reduced to poverty, and this was an obstacle to his living on in Rome. Moreover, Tiberius forbade the friends of his deceased son ^f to pay him visits because the sight of them stirred him to grief by recalling the memory of his son.

(2) For these reasons, therefore, Agrippa set sail for Judaea. He was in dire plight, humiliated by the loss of the money that he had previously possessed and by the fact that he had no one to pay what he owed to the money-lenders, who were numerous and

imperial family at Rome. His extravagance.

Agrippa sets sail for Judaea. He contemplates suicide, but is assisted by

^b Daughter of Mark Antony the triumvir, mother of Germanicus, and grandmother of the future emperor Caligula. Cf. §§ 164 ff.

^c Younger brother of the emperor Tiberius. He distinguished himself in several campaigns against the Germans but died in 9 B.C. through a fall from his horse.

^d Or "a born aristocrat," lit. "great by nature."

^e Lit. "in the hope of some action on their part."

^f Tiberius' son Drusus was poisoned by Sejanus in A.D. 23 (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 8).

- οὐδ' ἦντινοῦν ἐνδιδούσιν, ὥστε ἀπορία τῶν ποιητέων καὶ αἰσχύνῃ τῇ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑποχωρήσας εἰς τινα πύργον ἐν Μαλάθοις¹ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας² ἐν περινοίᾳ
- 148 τοῦ μεταστήσοντος αὐτὸν ἦν. αἰσθάνεται δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Κύπρος ἡ γυνὴ παντοία τε ἦν ἀπείργουσα τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις βουλευμάτων. διαπέμπεται δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Ἑρωδιάδα Ἑρώδῃ τῷ τετράρχῃ συνοικουσαν γράμματα, δηλοῦσα τό τε ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τοῦ Ἀγρίππα προβουλευσαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἣ ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἐξήγαγεν.
- 149 ἐκέλευέν τε συγγενὴ οὖσαν βοηθεῖν θεωροῦσαν, ὡς αὐτὴ παντοίως ὡς³ κουφίζοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ⁴ ὁμοίων ἀφορμῶν.⁵ οἱ δὲ μεταπέμψαντες αὐτὸν οἰκητήριον ἀπέδειξαν Τιβεριάδα καὶ τι καὶ ἀργύριον⁶ ὥρισαν εἰς τὴν δίαιταν, ἀγορανομία τε
- 150 τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐτίμησαν. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖόν γε Ἑρώδης ἐνέμεινε τοῖς δεδογμένοις, καίτοι γε οὐδ' ὡς ἀρκοῦντα ἦν· ἐν γὰρ Τύρῳ παρὰ συνουσίαν ὑπὸ οἴνου γενομένων αὐτοῖς λοιδοριῶν, ἀνεκτὸν οὐχ ἡγησάμενος Ἀγρίππας⁷ τοῦ Ἑρώδου⁸ τε ἐπονεδίσαντος εἰς ἀπορίαν καὶ τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας μετάδοσιν, ὡς Φλάκκον τὸν ὑπατικὸν εἴσεισιν φίλον ἐπὶ

¹ A : Μααλάθοις MW.

² τῆς Ἰδουμαίας] om. Lat.

³ ὡς] A : om. MW : i. marg. γρ οὐ κουφίζοι A.

⁴ οὐκ ἐξ] MW : ἐξ A.

⁵ θεωροῦσαν . . . ἀφορμῶν] καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τοῦτο παρασκευάζειν E.

⁶ ἀργύριον] aliquantum aeris per singulos dies Lat.

⁷ Antipater Lat.

⁸ Antipatro Lat.

^a Variant "although I am as penniless as he." After "to help him" the Epitome adds "and to dispose her husband to do so" and omits the next sentence.

who allowed him no chance whatever of avoiding them. And so, in his utter helplessness and shame at his condition, he withdrew into a certain tower at Malatha in Idumaea, where he had his mind set on suicide. But his wife Cypros read his thoughts and tried any and every means to deter him from such a resolve. Among other things, she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, the wife of Herod the tetrarch, explaining the nature of Agrippa's plan and the dire necessity that had driven him to such a shift. She urged Herodias as his near relative to help him: "You see," she said, "how I myself am doing all I can to cheer up my husband, though my resources are by no means equal to yours." ^a So Herodias and her husband sent for him, assigned him Tiberias as a dwelling place, fixed him an allowance for living expenses and raised him to the position of commissioner of markets ^b in Tiberias. Herod did not, however, stick to this arrangement for any great while, although even this assistance was insufficient. For once, when they were in each other's company in Tyre and had, under the influence of wine, exchanged taunts, Herod reproached him with his poverty and dependence on charity for his daily bread—reproaches which Agrippa found it impossible to endure. And so he resorted to Flaccus, ^c the proconsul, who had previously been a

Herod the
tetrarch
and
Herodias.

^b Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 261. The Greek word ἀγορανόμος is also employed a number of times in Talmudic literature; see the instances listed in S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, ii, 1899, p. 11. His function was similar to that of the Roman aedile, his chief duties being to inspect the market, to regulate the prices and quantities of items brought into the market, and to punish those guilty of using false weights and measures.

^c L. Pomponius Flaccus, governor of Syria c. A.D. 32-35. Otherwise unknown.

Ῥώμης τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γεγονότα πρότερον· Συ-
ρίαν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε διείπεν.

- 151 (3) Καὶ δεξαμένου Φλάκκου παρὰ τούτῳ διῆγεν
προκατειληφότης¹ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃς
ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἀγρίππου διάφορός τ' ἦν. οὐ μὴν
ἐβλάπτοντο ἔχθρα τῇ ἀλλήλων, ὥστε μὴ φιλία τοῦ
152 ὑπατικοῦ τὰ εἰκότα τιμὴν φέρεσθαι.² οὐ μὴν ὁ γε
Ἀριστόβουλος ἀνίει τι τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
δυσμενοῦς μέχρι καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν αὐτὸν Φλάκκῳ
καθίστησιν, αἰτίαν τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τῇ δυσμενείᾳ παρα-
153 λαβών. Δαμασκηνοὶ Σιδωνίοις περὶ ὄρων³ διάφο-
ροι καθεστῶτες, μέλλοντος Φλάκκου περὶ τούτων
ἀκροᾶσθαι μαθόντες τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὡς παρ' αὐτῷ
μέγα δύναιτ' ἂν ἡξιῶν μερίδος τῆς αὐτῶν γενέ-
154 σθαι, ἀργύριόν τε πλεῖστον ὠμολογεῖτο αὐτῷ. καὶ
ὁ μὲν πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν
ὤρμητο πράσσειν. Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐλάν-
θανεν αὐτὸν ἢ ὁμολογία τῶν χρημάτων, καταγο-
ρεύει πρὸς τὸν Φλάκκον. καὶ βασανιζομένου τοῦ
πράγματος ἐπεὶ φανερά ἦν, ἐξωθεῖ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
155 φιλίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ εἰς ὑστάτην περι-
ωσμένος ἀπορίαν εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα παρῆν, καὶ κατὰ
τὸ ἄπορον τῆς ἀλλαχόθι διαίτης γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο
ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλεῖν. εἰργόμενος δὲ χρημάτων
ἀπορία ἡξιῶν Μαρσύαν ὄντα αὐτοῦ ἀπελεύθερον
ποριστὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις μηχανῶν⁴

¹ E: παρακατεσχηκότης codd.: προκατεσχηκότης conl. Niese.

² τὰ] i. marg. γρ εἰς τὰ εἰκότα αὐτῷ τιμὴν φέρεσθαι A.

³ περὶ ὄρων] pro militibus (h.e. limitibus) Lat.

⁴ δαπανῶν E.

^a MSS. "checked."

^b Prof. Post translates: "They did not, however, let their

very close friend of his in Rome and who was then governor of Syria.

(3) He was welcomed by Flaccus and lived with him. Agrippa had been anticipated ^a there by Aristobulus, who, though his brother, was on bad terms with him. Their mutual enmity was not, however, so injurious as to prevent him from winning the honour which his friendship with the proconsul brought him in due course.^b Nevertheless, Aristobulus did not relent in his animosity against Agrippa until he had involved him in a quarrel with Flaccus. The opportunity which he seized to display his hostility was as follows. There was a disagreement between the people of Damascus and those of Sidon on the subject of boundaries. When Flaccus was about to hear the case, the Damascenes, on learning that Agrippa would have a great influence with him, asked Agrippa to favour their cause and promised him a very large sum of money. When he had committed himself to use all means to aid the Damascenes, Aristobulus, to whom it was no secret that money had been promised, denounced him to Flaccus. When, upon investigating the matter, Flaccus found it to be clearly so, he broke off his friendship with Agrippa. Thus forced into the most dire straits, Agrippa went to Ptolemaïs, and, lacking the means to live anywhere else, he resolved to set sail for Italy. Since he was restrained from doing so for want of funds, he appealed to Marsyas, his freedman, to borrow from someone and provide

Agrippa falls out with Flaccus, governor of Syria.

mutual hatred damage the standing that they of course enjoyed as friends of the proconsul." The French translation of Mathieu and Herrmann renders the sense thus : " Their disagreements did not go so far as to prevent their showing each other honour for appearance's sake out of friendship for the proconsul."

- 156 δανεισάμενον παρά τινος. καὶ ὁ Μαρσύας Πρῶτον¹
 κελεύει Βερενίκης ὄντα ἀπελεύθερον τῆς Ἀγρίππου
 μητρός, διαθήκης δὲ τῆς ἐκείνης² δικαίω³ ὑποτε-
 λούντα τῆς Ἀντωνίας,⁴ αὐτῷ γοῦν παρασχεῖν ἐπὶ
 157 γράμματι καὶ πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δέ, ἐπεκάλει γὰρ
 τῷ Ἀγρίππα χρημάτων τινῶν ἀποστέρησιν, ἀναγ-
 κάζει τὸν Μαρσύαν⁵ δύο μυριάδων Ἀθίδων συμ-
 βόλαιον ποιησάμενον πεντακοσίαις καὶ δισχιλίαις⁶
 ἔλασσον λαμβάνειν. συνεχώρει δ' ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὸ
 158 μὴ εἶναι ἄλλως ποιεῖν. εἰλημμένον δὲ τοῦ χρήμα-
 τος⁷ τούτου Ἀγρίππας εἰς Ἀνθηδόνα παραγενόμε-
 νος καὶ λαβὼν ναῦν ἐν ἀναγωγαῖς ἦν. καὶ γνοὺς
 Ἑρέννιος Καπίτων ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνείας ἐπίτροπος πέμ-
 πει στρατιώτας, οἱ εἰσπράξονται αὐτὸν ἀργυρίου
 τριάκοντα μυριάδας θησανρῷ τῷ Καίσαρος ὀφειλο-
 μένας ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνάγκας τε ἐπετίθε-
 159 σαν τοῦ μενοῦντος. καὶ τότε μὲν πείσεσθαι τοῖς
 κεκελευσμένοις προσποιητὸς ἦν, νυκτὸς δ' ἐπιγενο-
 μένης κόφας τὰ ἀπόγεια ὥχετο ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας
 πλέων. ἔνθα Ἀλεξάνδρου δεῖται τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου⁸
 μυριάδας εἴκοσι δάνειον αὐτῷ δοῦναι. ὁ δ' ἐκείνῳ

¹ Πέτρον E: primum quendam Lat.

² conl. Niese: ἐκείνου codd.

³ Bekker cum Lat.: δικαίου A: δικαίως MW.

⁴ διαθήκης . . . Ἀντωνίας] sed iure testamenti eius factum dicionis Antoniae Lat.: om. E.

⁵ Μαρσύαν] A: Ἀγρίππαν Μαρσύαν MW.

⁶ χιλίαις E.

⁷ ἀργυρίου conl. Richards et Shutt.

⁸ ἀβαλάρχου E.

^a About £1929 or \$5400.

^b A city, also called Agrippias or Agrippeion, on the Mediterranean coast near Gaza. It is mentioned in *B.J.* i. 87, *Ant.* xiii. 357, etc.

him with the necessary means. Marsyas thereupon bade Protos, a freedman of Agrippa's mother Berenice, who under the latter's will had become a retainer of Antonia, to provide him with the money on the written bond and security of Agrippa. Protos, however, complained that Agrippa had defrauded him of some money, and forced Marsyas to draw up a bond for 20,000 Attic drachmas ^a but to accept 2500 less. The latter yielded since he had no alternative. The money once in hand, Agrippa repaired to Anthedon,^b where he engaged a ship and was on the point of putting out to sea. But Herennius Capito,^c the procurator of Jamnia, learned of this and sent soldiers to exact from him the 300,000 pieces of silver ^d which he owed the Imperial treasury at Rome; and they put constraint upon him to remain. He pretended at the time that he would obey these orders, but when night fell, he cut the mooring cables and proceeded on his voyage to Alexandria. There he begged Alexander ^e the alabarch ^f to grant him a loan of 200,000 drach-

Agrippa obtains a loan from Alexander the alabarch.

^c Cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 199, who speaks particularly of his hatred of the Jews. He is plausibly identified by P. Fraccaro, "C. Herennius Capito di Teate," *Athenaeum*, xviii, 1940, pp. 136-144, with the C. Herennius Capito who in an inscription is called procurator of Julia Augusta, of Tiberius, and of Gaius.

^d Presumably drachmas. Hence about £28,929 or \$81,000.

^e Alexander Lysimachus, brother of the philosopher Philo, and father of Tiberius Julius Alexander the notorious procurator and apostate. It was he who decorated the gates of the temple with gold and silver, as we learn from *B.J.* v. 205. Cf. also *Ant.* xix. 276 and xx. 100.

^f The function of the alabarch has been disputed; Rostovtzeff and Welles suggest that the office was somehow closely connected with special taxes paid by the Jews. But Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, i. 409-410

- μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρασχεῖν, Κύπρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἡρνεῖτο
 τήν τε φιλανδρίαν αὐτῆς καταπεπληγμένος καὶ τήν
 160 λοιπὴν ἅπασαν ἀρετήν. ἡ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ ὁ
 Ἀλέξανδρος πέντε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξ-
 ανδρεία δοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν Δικαιοκρατεῖα γενομένοις
 παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, δεδιὼς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὸ εἰς
 τὰ ἀναλώματα ἔτοιμον. καὶ Κύπρος μὲν ἀπαλλάξ-
 ασα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλεουσούμενον αὐτῇ
 μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας ἀνέζευξεν.
- 161 (4) Ἀγρίππας δὲ εἰς Ποτιόλους παραβαλὼν ἐπι-
 στολὴν ὡς Τιβέριον τὸν Καίσαρα γράφει διαιτώ-
 μενον ἐν Καπρέαις, παρουσίαν τε τήν αὐτοῦ δηλῶν
 ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ καὶ ὅψει τῇ ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀξιῶν ἔφεςιν
 162 αὐτῷ γενέσθαι εἰς Καπρέας παραβαλεῖν. Τιβέριος
 δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ γράφει φιλαν-
 θρωπία χρώμενος, ἐκτείνειν τε χάριν¹ ἀποσημαίνων²
 ἐπὶ τῷ σῶν ἐπανήκειν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας,³ ἐπεὶ δ'
 ἀφικνεῖται μηδὲν ὑφελὼν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι προ-
 163 θύμου ἡσπάζετό τε καὶ ἐξένιζεν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς Καί-
 σари γραμμάτων αὐτῷ παρὰ Ἐρεννίου Καπίτωνος
 ἀφικομένων, ὅτι Ἀγρίππας μυριάδας τριάκοντα δά-
 νεισμα ποιήσας καὶ πρὸς τὰς καταβολὰς ἐκλιπὼν
 χρόνον τὸν συγκείμενον ἀπαιτήσεως γενομένης οἵ-

¹ ἐκτείνειν τε χάριν] Thackeray : ἐκτίνει τε χάριν codd. : καὶ χαίρειν E : ἔτι χαίρειν ed. pr. : ἐκτίνειν τε χάριν Cocceji : ἐκτείνει τε χάριν Marcus.

² <νοῦν> post ἀποσημαίνων add. Petersen.

³ τά τε . . . Καπρέας] clementer illi et humane rescripsit inter alia quoque gaudere se significans illum ad se sospitem reppardare Lat.

n. 16, properly notes that the office is found long after the decline of Egyptian Jewry. The traditional explanation,

mas.^a Alexander refused to grant this loan to him, but he did not deny it to Cypros because he marvelled at her love of her husband and all her other good qualities. She promised to repay it; and so Alexander gave them five talents^b in Alexandria and offered to hand over the rest when they arrived in Dicaearchia,^c for he did not trust Agrippa's prodigal vein. Cypros thereupon dispatched her husband on his voyage to Italy and herself returned with her children to Judaea.

(4) When Agrippa had reached Puteoli, he sent a letter to the emperor Tiberius, who was then living at Capri, informing him that he had come to see and pay court to him and asking for permission to land at Capri. Tiberius without hesitation wrote him a courteous reply, expressing his particular pleasure upon his safe return to Capri. When Agrippa arrived there, Tiberius showed no less goodwill towards him than he had indicated in his letter and made him a welcome guest. On the following day the emperor received a letter from Herennius Capito stating that Agrippa, after borrowing 300,000 drachmas, had allowed the time stipulated for repayment to pass and that when he was asked to pay, he had gone off in

He returns to Italy and pays court to Tiberius.

His further difficulties with money.

that the alabarch was a general tax administrator and in charge of customs, seems best.

^a About £19,286 or \$54,000.

^b A talent was the equivalent of 6000 drachmas; hence five talents would be 30,000 drachmas (about £2893 or \$8100).

^c The Greek name for Puteoli in Campania (*cf. Vita* 16). Baron i. 409 n. 16 suggests that Alexander may have had a correspondent or even a branch office in Puteoli. But the mere existence of an apparently affluent Jewish colony there (*B.J.* ii. 104) surely does not prove Baron's point. *Cf. A. Fuchs, "Marcus Julius Alexander," Zion* xiii-xiv, 1948-49, pp. 10-17 [in Hebrew].

- χοιτο φυγὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ χωρίων ἄκυρον αὐτὸν
 164 καθιστὰς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ εἰσπραξομένῳ¹ ἐξουσίας, ταύ-
 την ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν περιαλαγεί τε ὁ Καῖσαρ
 καὶ διάκλεισιν γενέσθαι τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ κελεύει εἰσό-
 δων τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄχρι δὴ καταβολῆς τοῦ χρέους.
 ὁ δὲ μηδὲν τῇ ὀργῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταπλαγείς
 Ἀντωνίας δεῖται Γερμανικοῦ μητρὸς καὶ Κλαυδίου
 τοῦ ὕστερον γενομένου Καίσαρος, δάνεισμα αὐτῷ
 δοθῆναι τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων, ὡς φιλίας μὴ
 165 ἀμάρτοι τῆς πρὸς Τιβέριον. ἡ δὲ Βερενίκης τε
 μνήμη τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, σφόδρα γὰρ ἀλλήλαις
 ἐχρῶντο αἶδε αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁμοτροφίας
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλαύδιον γεγεννημένης, δίδωσι τὸ
 ἀργύριον, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀποτίσαντι τὸ χρέος ἀνεπικώ-
 166 λυτος ἦν ἡ φιλία τοῦ Τιβερίου. αὐθις δὲ αὐτῷ
 Τιβέριος ὁ Καῖσαρ συνίστησιν υἱὼνὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ
 κελεύων τὰ πάντα αὐτῷ ταῖς ἐξόδοις παρατυγχά-
 νειν. Ἀγρίππας δὲ φιλία δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀντω-
 νίας κατὰ θεραπείαν τρέπεται τὴν Γαῖου υἱωνοῦ τε
 ὄντος αὐτῇ καὶ εὐνοία τοῦ πατρὸς² εἰς τὰ πρῶτα
 167 τιμωμένου. καὶ γὰρ³ ἦν ἄλλος⁴ Σαμαρεὺς γένος⁵

¹ τῷ εἰσπραξομένῳ] Bekker: τῶν εἰσπραξομένων codd.

² matris Lat.

³ γὰρ] codd.: δὴ τις E.

⁴ om. E: Θάλλος Hudson: ἄνθρωπος Miévis (Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist. xiii, 1934, pp. 733 sqq.).

⁵ καὶ . . . γένος] erat ibi forte quidam genere Samareus Lat.

^a Capito's.

^b §§ 166-168 are paralleled by B.J. ii. 178-180.

^c Tiberius Gemellus, the son of Drusus the Younger. Cf. §§ 187 ff. and 206.

^d The future emperor Gaius Caligula.

^e Germanicus. For the reasons accounting for his popularity see §§ 207-209.

flight from the territory under his ^a jurisdiction, thus rendering him powerless to sue and recover the money. Upon reading this letter the emperor was hurt to the quick and ordered that Agrippa's visits should be barred until he had repaid the debt. Undismayed by the emperor's anger, Agrippa asked Antonia, the mother of Germanicus and of the future emperor Claudius, to grant him a loan of 300,000 drachmas so that he might not lose the friendship of Tiberius. Antonia, both because she still remembered Berenice his mother—for the two ladies had been deeply attached to each other—and because Agrippa had been brought up with Claudius and his circle, provided the money. When he had discharged the debt, there was no longer any obstacle to his friendship with Tiberius. ^b Subsequently the emperor Tiberius recommended his grandson ^c to Agrippa and bade him always accompany him on his excursions. When Agrippa was received as a friend by Antonia, he took to attendance upon her grandson Gaius, ^d who was held in the highest honour because of the popularity enjoyed by his father. ^e Now there was, in addition, ^f He pays

^f The manuscript reading, ἄλλος, "another," presents difficulties in this context, and most scholars have adopted Hudson's emendation, Θάλλος, identifying the Samaritan as Thallus, perhaps, as Schürer iii. 495 would have it, the author of a universal history mentioned by Eusebius (*Chron.* ed. Schoene, i. 265) which mentions an eclipse that took place at the time of the crucifixion in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (A.D. 29). But it is possible to keep the manuscript reading in the sense of "in addition to," "besides"; cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 473 D, Aeschines i. 163. Or we may choose to take ἄλλος as a pronoun and translate, "Now there was another, namely a Samaritan by race (birth)," as does H. A. Rigg, "Thallus: the Samaritan?" *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxxiv, 1941, p. 119, who well explains that "the context of this passage implies that Agrippa has raised a sum of money

Καίσαρος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος· παρὰ τούτου δάνεισμα μυριάδας ἑκατὸν εὐρόμενος τῇ τε Ἀντωνία καταβάλλει τὸ ὀφειληθὲν χρέος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῷ ἀναλώματι θεραπεύων τὸν Γάιον μειζόνως ἐν ἀξιώματι ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ.

- 168 (5) Προϊούσης δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῆς πρὸς Γάιον φιλίας αἰωρουμένοις ποτὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου γίνεται, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου κατ' εὐχὰς τραπομένου, μόνω δ' ἦστην, ἣ τάχος Τιβέριον ὑπεκστάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς Γαῖῳ παραχωρεῖν ἀξιωτέρω τὰ πάντα ὄντι, τούτων ἀκροᾶται τῶν λόγων Εὐτυχος, Ἀγρίππου δ' ἦν ἀπελεύθερος ἡνίοχος, καὶ
169 παραχρῆμα μὲν σιγῇ παρεδίδου. κλοπῆς δὲ ἱματίων αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἐπικαλουμένης, καὶ ἀκριβῶς δὲ ἐκεκλόφει, φυγὼν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἀγωγῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Πείσωνα γενομένης, ὃς ἦν φύλαξ τῆς πόλεως, ἐρομένου τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς Καίσαρι φησιν ἀπορρήτους ἔχειν λόγους εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ φέροντας, ὥστε δῆσας αὐτὸν ἔστελλεν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας, καὶ Τιβέριος τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ χρώμενος εἶχεν αὐτὸν δέσμιον, μελλητῆς¹ εἰ καὶ τις ἕτερος βασιλέων ἢ τυράννων γενόμενος.
170 οὔτε γὰρ πρεσβειῶν ὑποδοχὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐποιεῖτο ἡγεμόσι τε ἢ ἐπιτρόποις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σταλείσιν οὐδεμία ἦν διαδοχή, ὅποτε μὴ φθαῖεν τετελευτη-

¹ μελητῆς M et ut vid. Lat.

in one direction and now borrows another sum with which to pay off the former from another source, viz., a certain Imperial freedman who happened to be a Samaritan."

^a About £96,429 or \$270,000.

^b According to the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 179, it was while entertaining Gaius at dinner that Agrippa prayed that

a certain man of Samaritan origin who was a freed-man of the emperor. Agrippa managed to borrow a million drachmas ^a from him and repaid the money that he had borrowed from Antonia. The rest of the money he spent in paying court to Gaius, with whom he consequently rose to higher favour.

court to
Gaius
Caligula.

(5) And so Agrippa's friendship with Gaius made great progress. Once, while they were riding,^b the conversation turned to Tiberius, and Agrippa expressed a prayer—for the two of them were alone—that Tiberius would relinquish his office with all speed in favour of Gaius, who was more competent in every respect. These words were overheard by Eutychus, a freedman of Agrippa who drove his chariot, but for the present he kept it to himself. When, however, he was accused of stealing some of Agrippa's clothes, which was precisely what he had done, he took flight, but was caught. Being brought before Piso, who was prefect of the city, he was asked why he had fled. He replied that he had a secret message for the emperor pertaining to his personal security. Piso sent him in chains to Capri, where Tiberius, in his usual way—for no king or tyrant was ever more given to procrastination—kept him a prisoner. For Tiberius was in no hurry to receive embassies, nor did he replace governors or procurators sent out by him unless they died at their posts.^c Similarly he was

Tiberius'
dilatatory
character.

Gaius would soon succeed as emperor through the death of Tiberius.

^c Tiberius' practice of leaving governors in office for an undue length of time is also mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 80, who cites various explanations for it—Tiberius' aversion to having to face recurrent problems and his consequent preference for making a single permanent decision, his jealous desire that not too many should enjoy high positions,

JOSEPHUS

- κότες· ὅθεν καὶ δεσμωτῶν ἀκροάσεως ἀπερίοπτος¹
 171 ἦν. ὥστε καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐρομένων τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ
 ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ὀλκῇ χρωμένου, ἔφη τὰς μὲν πρεσ-
 βείας τρίβειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀπαλλαγῇς αὐταῖς ἐκ τοῦ
 ὀξέος γενομένης ἕτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπιχειροτονηθέντες
 ἐπανόειον ὄχλος τε αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο ἐπιδοχαῖς² αὐτῶν
 172 καὶ πομπαῖς προσκειμένῳ.³ τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς συγχω-
 ρεῖν τοῖς ἅπαξ εἰς αὐτὰς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταστᾶσιν
 αἰδοῦς⁴ προμηθείᾳ τῶν ὑποτελῶν· φύσει μὲν γὰρ
 εἶναι πᾶσαν ἡγεμονίαν οἰκείαν τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν·
 τὰς δὲ μὴ παγίους,⁵ ἀλλ' εἰς ὀλίγον καὶ ἄδηλον
 ὁπότ' ἀφαιρεθεῖεν⁶ καὶ μειζόνως ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ
 173 κλοπαῖς τοὺς ἔχοντας. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφεστήκασιν εἰς
 πλεόν, αὐτοὺς ἄδην τῶν κλοπῶν ἔξειν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πολλοῦ τῶν κεκερδημένων ἀμβλυτέρως τὸ λοιπὸν
 αὐταῖς χρωμένους. διαδοχῇς δ' ἐπιπαραγενομένης
 ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος μηδαμῶς ἂν ἀρκέσαι τοὺς ἄθλα τοῖς
 ἄρχουσι προκειμένους ἀναστροφῇς αὐτοῖς οὐ διδο-
 μένης καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς πλήρεις οἱ προειληφότες γενό-

¹ Ernesti ex Thucy. i. 41 : περίοπτος codd. E.

² Dindorf : ἐπὶ δοχαῖς MWE : ἐπὶ διαδοχαῖς A.

³ Ernesti : προκειμένων codd. : προκειμένῳ ed. pr.

⁴ αἰδίου Powell (Class. Rev. l, 1936, p. 11).

⁵ E et i. marg. A : πατρίους codd.

⁶ τὰς δὲ . . . ἀφαιρεθεῖεν] cum igitur non se aliquis perennem in officio manere perspexerit.

and his practice of giving governorships to able men whom he wished to send away from Rome lest they become his rivals. Magie, *Roman Rule*, ii. 1363 n. 37, remarks that out of fifty-seven men who are known to have been consuls from A.D. 6 to 23, only eight are known to have held the proconsulship of the province of Asia and only seven to have held that

negligent about hearing trials of prisoners.^a When his friends asked him why he was so slow in such matters, he replied that he kept the embassies waiting lest, if they discharged their business at once, new ambassadors might be elected and repair to him who would cause him the bother of receiving and dismissing them. As for the official appointments, he said that he allowed any whom he had once appointed to office to remain out of consideration for the feelings of the subject-peoples.^b For it was a law of nature that governors are prone to engage in extortion. When appointments were not permanent,^c but were for short terms, or liable to be cancelled without notice, the spur to peculation was even greater.^d If, on the contrary, those appointed kept their posts longer, they would be gorged with their robberies and would by the very bulk of them be more sluggish in pursuit of further gain. Let succession come rapidly, however, and those who were the destined spoil of the governors could never do enough, for there would be no intervals of relaxation in which those already glutted with their spoils might abate of Africa during Tiberius' principate. Suetonius also (*Tib.* 41) notes Tiberius' failure to make new appointments to provincial posts.

^a In addition to the case of Eutychus, other instances where Tiberius procrastinated unduly were those of Lampon of Alexandria (Philo, *In Flacc.* 128), who had to wait two years for his trial, and Pomponius Secundus (Dio Cass. lix. 6. 2), who waited for seven years.

^b Variant "to remain permanently out of consideration for the subject-peoples."

^c Variant "in the homeland."

^d Tacitus also (*Ann.* iv. 6) mentions Tiberius' concern that the provinces not suffer from the rapacity of governors, but he does not indicate that this was the reason why Tiberius allowed governors to remain in office so long.

- μενοι ὑποδιδοῖέν¹ τε² σπουδῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ λαμβάνειν, διὰ τὸ πρὶν ἐν καιρῷ γενέσθαι μεταστῆναι.
- 174 παράδειγμά τε αὐτοῖς φησι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον· τραυματία τινὲ κειμένῳ μυῖαι κατὰ πλήθος τὰς ὠτειλὰς περιέστασαν. καὶ τις τῶν παρατυχόντων οἰκτείρας αὐτοῦ τὴν δυστυχίαν καὶ νομίσας ἀδυναμία μὴ βοηθεῖν οἷος ἦν³ ἀποσοβεῖν αὐτὰς παρα-
- 175 στάς. καὶ δεομένου παύσασθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε, ὑπολαβὼν ἤρετο τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς εἰς τὴν διαφυγὴν κακοῦ τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος. “μειζόνως γὰρ ἂν ἀδικοῖς με,” εἶπε, “ταύτας ἀπαγαγών. ταῖς μὲν γε ἤδη πληρωθείσαις τοῦ αἵματος οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως ἐπειξίς ὄχλον μοι παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πῃ καὶ ἀνίσχουσιν. αἱ δ’ ἀκραιφνεῖ⁴ τῷ κατ’ αὐτὰς λιμῷ συνελθούσαι καὶ τετρυμένον⁵ ἤδη παραλαμβάνουσαι καὶ⁶
- 176 ὀλέθρῳ παραδοῖεν.” διὰ τὰδε οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῶν κλοπῶν διεφθαρμένοις τοῖς ὑποτελέσιν προμηθῆς⁷ εἶναι μὴ συνεχὲς ἐξαποστέλλειν τοὺς ἡγησομένους, οἳ ἐν τρόπῳ μυῖων ἐκπολεμοῖεν⁸ αὐτούς, φύσει πρὸς κέρδος ὀρωρεγμένοις σύμμαχον παραλαμβάνοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ταχέως ἀφαιρεθη-
- 177 σομένου τὴν ἐνθὲνδε ἡδονήν. μαρτυρήσει δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις φύσεως Τιβερίου τὸ ἔργον αὐτό· ἔτη γὰρ δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν αὐτο-

¹ ὑπενδιδοῖέν conl. Niese.

² A : τῆς MW : om. E : τι conl. Niese.

³ οἷος ἦν] Post : οἷός τε ἦν MWE : οἷός τ ἦν A.

⁴ A : ἀκραιφνεῖς MWE.

⁵ ed. pr. : τετρυμμέναι A : τετρυμέναι MW.

⁶ Niese : καὶ codd. E.

⁷ E : προμηθῆς A : προμηθῆς MW.

⁸ Dindorf : ἐκπολεμῶεν codd. E : ἐκπορθοῖεν Richards et Shutt.

somewhat of their grasping avarice, since before that could happen the moment would come to depart. He told them this fable by way of illustration.^a Once a man lay wounded, and a swarm of flies hovered about his wounds. A passer-by took pity on his evil plight and, in the belief that he did not raise a hand because he could not, was about to step up and shoo them off. The wounded man, however, begged him to think no more of doing anything about it. At this the man spoke up and asked him why he was not interested in escaping from his wretched condition. "Why," said he, "you would put me in a worse position if you drove them off. For since these flies have already had their fill of blood, they no longer feel such a pressing need to annoy me but are in some measure slack. But if others were to come with a fresh appetite, they would take over my now weakened body and that would indeed be the death of me." He too, he said, for the same reason took the precaution of not dispatching governors continually to the subject-peoples who had been brought to ruin by so many thieves; for the governors would harry them utterly^b like flies. Their natural appetite for plunder would be reinforced by their expectation of being speedily deprived of that pleasure. The record of Tiberius' acts will bear out my account of his humour in such matters. For during the twenty-two years that he was

Fable of the flies.

^a Cf. the fable of the fox, the flies, and the hedgehog utilized by Aesop (Fable 314) according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 1393 b 23—1394 a 1) when he defended a wealthy demagogue before the assembly at Samos. Aesop warns the people of Samos that if they vote to put this demagogue to death, others who are not rich will come along and empty their treasury completely.

^b Lit. "devastate them utterly by war." Variant "plunder them."

- κράτωρ γενόμενος δύο τοὺς πάντας Ἰουδαίοις ἐξέ-
 πεμψεν διοικήσοντας τὸ ἔθνος, Γρᾶτον τε καὶ
 178 Πιλᾶτον, ὃς αὐτῷ διεδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ
 οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἰουδαίων τοιοῦτος ἦν, ἑτεροῖος δὲ ἐπὶ
 τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δεσμωτῶν
 τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀκροάσεως¹ ἀπεσήμαινεν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ² δικαιοθεΐσι μὲν θανάτῳ κούφισιν γενέσθαι τῶν
 ἐνεστηκότων κακῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ³ τῶν ἐπὶ
 τοιούτοις τύχῃ συνελθεῖν, τριβομένοις δὲ ἀχθηδόνι
 τῇ ἐπικειμένη μείζονα προσρέπειν τὴν δυστυχίαν.
- 179 (6) Διὰ μὲν δὴ τάδε καὶ Εὐτυχὸς ἀκροάσεώς τε
 οὐκ ἐτύγχανε καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐνείχετο.⁴ χρόνου δὲ
 ἐγγενομένου Τιβερίος τε ἐκ τῶν Καπρεῶν εἰς Του-
 σκουλανὸν⁵ παραγίνεται ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν
 τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀξιοῖ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν
 διαπράξασθαι γενέσθαι τῷ Εὐτύχῳ τὴν ἀκρόασιν
- 180 ἐφ' οἷσιν τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιοῖτο αὐτοῦ. τιμία δὲ
 ἦν Ἀντωνία⁶ Τιβερίῳ εἰς τὰ πάντα συγγενείας τε
 ἀξιώματι, Δρούσου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ γυνή,
 καὶ ἀρετῇ τοῦ σώφρονος· νέα γὰρ χηρεύειν παρέ-
 μεινεν γάμῳ τε ἀπεῖπεν τῷ πρὸς ἕτερον καίπερ τοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ κελεύοντός τινι γαμεῖσθαι, καὶ λοιδοριῶν
- 181 ἀπηλλαγμένον διεσώσατο αὐτῆς τὸν βίον. ἰδία τε
 εὐεργέτις ἦν εἰς μέγιστα τοῦ Τιβερίου· ἐπιβουλῆς
 γὰρ μεγάλης συστάσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Σηιάνου

¹ τὴν . . . ἀκροάσεως] examinationes se differre Lat. : aut hic aut insequentibus aliquid deesse putat Niese.

² ὑπὸ τοῦ] MW : ὑπὲρ τοῦ E.

³ κούφισιν . . . ἀρετῇ] κούφισιν <μὴ> γενέσθαι . . . διὰ τὸ [μὴ] ἐπ' ἀρετῇ Richards et Shutt.

emperor he sent altogether two men, Gratus and Pilate, his successor, to govern the Jewish nation. Nor did he behave so only when he dealt with the Jews; he was no different with his other subjects. Moreover, as for his procrastination in hearing the cases of prisoners he explained that this was because an immediate hearing would alleviate the present miseries of those condemned to death, whereas they did not deserve to meet with such luck. When, however, they were kept waiting, the weight of their misfortune was rendered more severe by the vexation which was laid upon them.

(6) It was for this reason that Eutychus also failed to obtain a hearing and was held in chains. In time, when Tiberius moved ^a from Capri to Tusculum, a distance of a hundred furlongs from Rome, Agrippa besought Antonia to take steps to secure a hearing on the charges which Eutychus had brought against him. Now Antonia was highly esteemed by Tiberius both because, as the wife of his brother Drusus, she was related to him, and because she was a virtuous and chaste woman. For despite her youth she remained steadfast in her widowhood and refused to marry again although the emperor urged her to do so. She thus kept her life free from reproach. She on her own had done a very great service to Tiberius. For a great conspiracy had been formed against him

How
Antonia
saved
Tiberius
from
Sejanus'
plot.

^a During the latter part of the summer of A.D. 36. See R. S. Rogers in *Class. Weekly* xxxix, 1945-46, p. 43, who notes, however, that Josephus is our only evidence for this journey to Tusculum.

⁴ δεσμοῖς ἐνείχετο] E : retinebatur in vinculis Lat. : τὰ δεσμὰ ἡνείχετο codd.

⁵ Τουσκούλανόν] Τουσκούλανον A : τοὺς καλάνον W : κάλανον M.

⁶ Ἀντωνία] E : αὐτῷ Ἀντωνία codd.

- φίλου τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τῷ τότε μεγίστην ἔχοντος διὰ τὸ τῶν στρατευμάτων εἶναι ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆς τε βουλῆς οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων προσέθεντο καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διέφθαρτο, προὔκοπτόν τε ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐπὶ μέγα κἂν ἐπέπρακτο Σηιάνῳ τὸ ἔργον μὴ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τόλμη χρησα-
 182 μένης σοφωτέρα τῆς Σηιάνου κακουργίας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ μαθάνει τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ συντεθειμένα, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ Πάλλαντι ἐπιδουῖσα τὰ γράμματα τῷ πιστοτάτῳ τῶν δούλων αὐτῆς ἐκπέμπει πρὸς Τιβέριον εἰς τὰς Καπρέας. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸν τε Σηιᾶνον κτείνει καὶ τοὺς συνεπιβούλους, τήν τε Ἀντωνίαν καὶ πρὶν ἀξιολόγως ἄγων τιμιωτέραν τε ὑπελάμβανεν κἀπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι
 183 πιθανήν. ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς Ἀντωνίας ὁ Τιβέριος παρακαλούμενος ἐξετάσαι τὸν Εὐτυχον, “ ἄλλ’ εἰ μὲν καταψεύσεις,” φησὶν ὁ Τιβέριος, “[ἔτι δέ]¹ Ἀγρίππου τὰ εἰρημένα² Εὐτυχος, ἀρκοῦσαν κομίζεται παρ’ αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν, ἣν ἐπιτετίμηκα αὐτός· εἰ δὲ βασανιζομένου ἀληθῆ φανείη τὰ εἰρημένα, μὴ-

¹ ἔτι δέ] A : ὅτι MW et i. marg. A : om. E Lat., recte ut vid. Niesio.

² ἄλλ’ . . . εἰρημένα] siquidem, inquit Tiberius, mendacium est adversus Agrippam quod dicitur Lat.

ᵃ The word ἡγεμονία must clearly refer to the prefecture of the praetorian cohorts, though D. Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in graecum sermonem conversis*, 1905, records no parallel. If Bell's restoration is correct, there is a parallel in the *Acta Isidori*; cf. H. I. Bell, "A New Fragment of the *Acta Isidori*," *Archiv f. Papyrusforsch.* x, 1931, p. 11.

ᵇ Cf. Dio Cassius lxy. 14. 1, who reports that Antonia once sent a secret letter to Tiberius about Sejanus through a

by his friend Sejanus, who at that time held very great power because he was prefect of the praetorian cohorts.^a Most of the senators and freedmen joined him, the army was bribed, and so the conspiracy made great progress. Indeed, Sejanus would have succeeded had not Antonia shown greater craft in her bold move than Sejanus did in his villainy.^b For when she was informed of the plot against Tiberius, she wrote him a full and accurate account of it and, entrusting the letter to Pallas, the most trustworthy of her slaves, sent it to Tiberius at Capri. Tiberius, being informed, put Sejanus and his fellow-conspirators to death. As for Antonia, whom he had previously held in high regard, he now valued her even more and put full confidence in her. Urged by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, Tiberius said: "If, indeed, Eutychus has made a false accusation against Agrippa, then the punishment which I myself have inflicted is sufficient. But if it should turn out, when he is questioned, that what he has said is true, let

certain Caenis; otherwise the rôle of Antonia in the Sejanus affair is nowhere mentioned. F. B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius*, 1931, p. 304, says that Dio's statement gives no support to the idea of a conspiracy against Tiberius; but the secret nature of Antonia's correspondence and the statement of Suetonius, *Tib.* 65, that Sejanus was plotting a revolution, corroborate Josephus' account. The statement (Suet. *Tib.* 61), on which Marsh relies so heavily (see p. 193 n. 1), that in a brief autobiography Tiberius asserted that he had punished Sejanus because he had discovered the latter's hatred of the children of Germanicus, is a shrewd attempt of the emperor to enlist sympathy by evoking the magic name of Germanicus, who was so popular among the Romans (see §§ 207-210). Marsh (*ibid.*) thinks that Antonia wrote Tiberius informing him of Sejanus' plot against Germanicus' children; but it is more likely that she gained such high favour at the court because the letter helped save Tiberius' own life.

- που κολάζειν ποθῶν τὸν ἀπελεύθερον ἐπ' αὐτὸν μᾶλ-
 184 λον καλοίη τὴν δίκην." καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ταῦτα
 φαμένης πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίας πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐπ-
 ἔκειτο ἀξίων ἐξέτασιν γενέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ
 ἡ Ἀντωνία, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει πολὺς ὢν ὁ Ἀγρίππας
 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δεῖσθαι, καιρὸν παραλαβοῦσα τοιοῦτον·
 185 αἰωρεῖτο μὲν Τιβέριος ἐπὶ φορείου κείμενος, προ-
 ἰόντων Γαῖου τε τοῦ ἐκείνης υἱωνοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα,
 ἀπ' ἀρίστου δ' ἦσαν, παραπεριπατοῦσα τῷ φορείῳ
 παρεκάλει καλεῖσθαι τε τὸν Εὐτυχον καὶ ἐξετάζε-
 186 σθαι. ὁ δέ, " ἄλλ' ἴστων μὲν, Ἀντωνία," εἶπεν, " οἱ
 θεοί, ὅτι μὴ τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμῃ ἀνάγκη δὲ τῆς
 σῆς παρακλήσεως ἐξαγόμενος πράξω τὰ πραχθησό-
 μενα." ¹ ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει Μάκρωνα, ὃς Σηια-
 νοῦ διάδοχος ἦν, τὸν Εὐτυχον ἀγαγεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς παρῆν. Τιβέριος δ' αὐτὸν ἤρε-
 το, τί καὶ ἔχοι λέγειν κατ' ἀνδρὸς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῷ
 187 παρεσχηκότος. ὁ δέ φησιν, " ὦ δέσποτα, αἰωροῦν-
 το μὲν ἐφ' ἀμάξης Γαίος τε οὗτος καὶ Ἀγρίππας
 σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ σφῶν ἐξόμην παρὰ τοῖν ποδοῖν, λό-
 γων δὲ πολλῶν ἀνακυκλουμένων Ἀγρίππας φησὶ
 πρὸς Γαίον· εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό ποτε ἡμέρα, ἥ μετα-
 στάς ὁ γέρων οὗτος χειροτονοίη σε ἡγεμόνα τῆς
 οἰκουμένης· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν Τιβέριος ὁ υἱωνὸς αὐ-
 τοῦ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐμποδὼν ὑπὸ σοῦ τελευτῶν, καὶ ἥ τε
 οἰκουμένη γένοιτ' ἂν μακαρία καὶ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῆς." ²
 188 Τιβέριος δὲ πιστὰ ἡγησάμενος τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ

¹ E : πραξόμενα A : προσταττόμενα M : πρασσόμενα W : πε-
 πραξόμενος L. Dindorf.

² πρὸ αὐτῆς] cum eo Lat.

Agrippa have a care lest perchance in his eagerness to punish his freedman he find rather that he is calling down justice on himself." When Antonia reported these words to Agrippa, he began to insist even more urgently on a thorough examination of the matter. Since Agrippa did not abandon his insistence in making this request, Antonia seized her opportunity, as I shall describe. Tiberius was once reclining as he travelled in a litter; Gaius, her grandson, and Agrippa were in front, having just had lunch. Antonia, who was walking beside the litter, entreated him to summon Eutychus and to examine him. "But let the gods be witness, Antonia," he said, "that it is not by my own will but forced by your entreaty that I shall do what I am about to do." With these words he ordered Macro, who was the successor of Sejanus,^a to bring Eutychus. The latter arrived without delay. Tiberius asked him just what he could say against a man who had given him his liberty. ^b "My lord," he said, "Gaius here and Agrippa with him were riding in a carriage, and I was sitting at their feet. In the course of a long and varied conversation, Agrippa said to Gaius: 'I hope that the day will at length arrive when this old man will leave the scene and appoint you ruler of the world. For his grandson Tiberius ^c would by no means stand in our way, since you would put him to death. The world would then know bliss and I above all.' " Tiberius did not doubt the truth of this. Moreover, it revived an old grudge

Antonia
persuades
Tiberius to
hear the
charge
against
Agrippa.

^a As prefect of the praetorian cohorts.

^b §§ 187-189 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 179-180.

^c Note that the original conversation between Agrippa and Gaius as reported in § 168 makes no mention of Tiberius' grandson and of Agrippa's expectation that Gaius would put him to death.

ἅμα μὴνιν ἀναφέρων τῷ Ἀγρίππα παλαιάν, διότι
 κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ θεραπεύειν Τιβέριον υἱωνόν τε
 αὐτοῦ γεγονότα καὶ Δρούσου παῖδα ὄντα, ὁ Ἀγρίπ-
 πας ἀτίμως ἦγεν παρακροασάμενος¹ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς²
 189 καὶ πᾶς ὡς τὸν Γάιον μετεκάθιζεν, “ τοῦτον μὲν
 δῆ,” φησί, “ Μάκρων, δῆσον.” Μάκρων δὲ τὰ μὲν
 οὐ σαφῶς ὄντινα προστάξειεν ἐξεπιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ
 οὐκ ἂν προσδοκῶν περὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππα αὐτὸν βου-
 λεῦσαι³ τι τοιοῦτον, ἐπανείχεν ἀκριβωσόμενος τὰ
 190 εἰρημένα. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ Καῖσαρ περιοδεύσας τὸν ἱππό-
 δρομον λαμβάνει τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐστηκότα, “ καὶ
 μὴν δῆ,” φησὶν, “ Μάκρων, τοῦτον εἶπον δεθῆναι.”
 τοῦ δὲ ἐπανερομένου ὄντινα, “ Ἀγρίππαν γε,”
 191 εἶπεν. καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τρέπεται μὲν κατὰ δεήσεις,
 τοῦ τε παιδὸς ᾧ συνετέθραπτο μνημονεύων καὶ τοῦ
 Τιβερίου τῆς ἐκτροφῆς, οὐ μὴν ἡνυέν γέ τι, ἀλλ’
 192 ἦγον αὐτὸν ἐν πορφύρισι δέσμιον. καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ
 γὰρ σφοδρὸν ἦν⁴ καὶ ὑπὸ οἴνου τοῦ ἐπὶ σιτίοις μὴ
 πολλοῦ γεγονότος δίψος ἐξέκαιεν αὐτόν, καὶ τι καὶ
 ἡγωνία⁵ καὶ τὸ παρ’⁶ ἀξίαν κατελάμβανεν,⁷ θεασά-
 μενός τινα⁸ τῶν Γαῖου παίδων Θαυμαστὸν ὄνομα
 193 ὕδωρ ἐν ἀγγεῖῳ κομίζοντα ἤτησε πιεῖν. καὶ ὀρέ-
 ξαντος προθύμως πιών, “ ἀλλ’ εἶπερ ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς,”
 φησὶν, “ ὦ παῖ, τὰ τῆσδέ σου τῆς διακονίας γέγονεν,
 διαφυγῆς μοι γενομένης τῶνδε τῶν δεσμῶν οὐκ
 ἂν βραδύνοιμι ἐλευθερίαν εἰσπρασσόμενός σοι παρὰ
 Γαῖου, ὃς καὶ δεσμώτῃ μοι γενομένῳ διακονεῖσθαι

¹ A : παρακρουσάμενος MWE : contempserat Lat.

² A : ἐντολὰς MWE.

³ προστάξει E : cogitare Lat. : κελεύσαι Naber.

⁴ nam aestatis tempus extabat add. Lat. post ἦν.

⁵ ἀγωνία E.

⁶ A : πρὸς MW.

against Agrippa, who, though ordered to pay court to Tiberius, the emperor's grandson and the son of Drusus, had disrespectfully ignored his orders and had given all his attention to Gaius instead. "Well then, Macro," he said, "handcuff him." Macro, partly because he was not quite sure whom he meant and partly because he would not have expected him to plan such treatment for Agrippa, waited to get the exact intent of the order. But when the emperor had made the circuit of the racecourse and found Agrippa still standing there, "I assure you, Macro," he said, "I meant this man, when I said 'Handcuff him.' " When Macro again asked him which man, he replied, "Why, Agrippa." Agrippa then began to entreat him, reminding him that he had been brought up with his son and that he had helped bring up Tiberius. These entreaties, however, were of no avail, and they led him away a prisoner in his crimson robes. The heat was intense and, since he had not had much wine at his meal, he was parched with thirst. His feelings were divided between this distress and the shock to his self-esteem. At this moment he saw one of the slaves of Gaius, Thaumastus by name, carrying water in a jug, and asked him for a drink. The slave handed the jug to Agrippa, who, after drinking from it with a will, remarked: "Sir slave, if this service of yours turns out well, when I escape from these bonds, I will lose no time in negotiating your emancipation by Gaius, for you have, in doing me service as a prisoner, omitted

Agrippa is
arrested
and im-
prisoned.

⁷ MW: *προσελάμβανεν* E: *ἐλάμβανε* A.

⁸ *καί τι . . . τινα*] unde quoque anxius factus praeter decus atque dignitatem coepit cuncta respicere, unde posset siti reperire remedium conspiciensque quendam Lat.

καθάπερ ἐν τῷ πρότερον καθεστηκότι σχήματι τῆς
 194 περὶ ἐμὲ ἀξιώσεως οὐκ ἐνέλιπες.” καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύ-
 σατο ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἀλλὰ δὴ ἡμέψατο¹. ἐν ὑστέρω
 γὰρ βασιλεύσας τὸν Θαυμαστὸν μειζόνως² ἐλεύ-
 θερόν τε ἀφῆκε παρὰ Γαῖου Καίσαρος γεγονότος
 λαβὼν καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐπίτροπον καθίστησι, τελευ-
 τῶν τε τῷ υἱεῖ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερενίκη τῇ θυγατρὶ
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις διακονησόμενον κατέλιπεν, ἐν τιμῇ
 τε ὧν αὐτῇ γηραιὸς τελευτᾷ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
 ὕστερον.³

195 (7) Ἀγρίππας δὲ τότε δεθεὶς εἰστήκει πρὸ τοῦ βα-
 σιλείου πρὸς τινὶ δένδρῳ κλιθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας μετὰ
 πολλῶν οἱ ἐδέδεντο. καὶ τινος ὀρνέου καθίσαντος
 ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου, ᾧ Ἀγρίππας προσεκέκλιτο, βουβῶ-
 να δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ὄρνιν τοῦτον καλοῦσιν, τῶν
 δεσμωτῶν τις Γερμανὸς⁴ θεασάμενος ἤρετο τὸν
 196 στρατιώτην, ὅστις εἶη ὁ ἐν τῇ πορφυρίδι. καὶ
 μαθὼν μὲν Ἀγρίππαν ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Ἰουδαῖον δὲ τὸ
 γένος καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἀξιολογωτάτων, ἠξίωσεν τὸν
 συνδεδεμένον αὐτῷ στρατιώτην πλησίον ἔλθεῖν διὰ
 λόγων⁵. βούλεσθαι γάρ τινα ἀμφὶ τῶν πατρίων ἔρε-
 197 σθαι αὐτόν. καὶ τυχόν, ἐπεὶ πλησίον ἴσταται, δι’
 ἑρμηνέως, “ὦ νεανία,” φησὶν, “καταχθεῖ μὲν σε
 τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς πολλήν τε οὕτως καὶ
 ἀθρόαν ἑπαγαγὼν τὴν τύχην, ἀπιστία δέ σοι λόγων,
 οἱ ἐπὶ διαφυγῇ κακοῦ τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος διαιροῦντο

¹ ταῦτα . . . ἡμέψατο] A Lat. : om. MWE.

² om. E.

³ ὕστερον] ὕστερον ἐγένετο MW : postea facta sunt Lat.

⁴ Γερμανὸς] Germanus nomine Lat.

⁵ διὰ λόγων] om. E Lat.

^a The horned owl.

nothing of the respect that you accorded me in my former state." He did not go back on his word, but well repaid him. For later, when he became king, he received Thaumastus from Gaius, who had become emperor, at once set him free, and appointed him steward of his estate. Moreover, when Agrippa died, he left him to his son Agrippa and his daughter Berenice to serve them in the same capacity. Thaumastus kept this position till he died in his old age. But this took place later.

(7) To return to Agrippa, there he stood in chains in front of the palace together with many other prisoners, and had leaned against a tree in his despondency. Now a certain bird, which the Romans call a "bubo,"^a alighted on the tree against which Agrippa was leaning. One of the prisoners, a German, upon seeing Agrippa, asked the soldier in charge of him the identity of the man dressed in crimson. Upon learning that his name was Agrippa, that he was a Jew by race, and that he was one of the most notable men of Judaea, he asked the soldier to whom he was handcuffed^b to allow him to approach and converse with Agrippa, since, he said, he wished to put some questions to him about the Jewish customs. His request granted, he came and stood near Agrippa and said through an interpreter: "Young man, you are in despair at your swift reversal of fortune, which has overwhelmed you at one stroke. You will hardly credit the statement that interprets Divine Providence as designing your deliverance from your present

A German prisoner prophesies Agrippa's greatness, but marks the owl as ominous.

^b Richards and Shutt, *Class. Quart.* xxxi, 1937, p. 176, read "table-companion" since they think that the centurion was chained not to Agrippa but to a private soldier. But since Agrippa was so important a prisoner, it is perfectly possible that the centurion was chained to him.

- 198 τοῦ θείου τὴν πρόνοιαν. ἴσθι γε μήν, θεοὺς τοὺς
 ἐμοὶ πατρώους καὶ τοὺς τοῖσδε ἐγχωρίους, οἱ τόνδε
 ἐπρυτάνευσαν ἡμῖν τὸν σίδηρον, ἐπομνύμενος λέξω
 τὰ πάντα οὔτε ἡδονῇ γλωσσάργῳ διδούς τὸν ἐπ'
 αὐτοῖς λόγον¹ οὔτε διακενῆς εὐθυμεῖν σε ἐσπουδα-
 199 κῶς. αἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε προαγορεύσεις ὑστερη-
 κότος τοῦ ἀποδείξοντος ἔργου χαλεπωτέραν προσ-
 τίθενται τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τοῦ μηδ' εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἀκροάσαιτο αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν κινδύνους
 παραβαλλόμενος δίκαιον ἡγησάμην σοι διασαφῆσαι
 200 τὴν προαγόρευσιν τῶν θεῶν. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ
 εὐθέως ἀπαλλαγὴ τέ σοι τῶνδε τῶν δεσμῶν παρ-
 ἔσται καὶ πρόοδος ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀξιώματός τε καὶ
 δυνάμεως, ζηλωτός τε ἂν γένοιο πᾶσιν, οἱ νῦν δι'
 οἴκτου τὰς τύχας σου λαμβάνουσιν, εὐδαίμονά τε
 ἂν ποιοῖο τὴν τελευτὴν παισίν, οἷς ἔσθ'² τὸν ὄλβον³
 καταλειπόμενος.⁴ μνημονεύειν δέ, ὅποτε εἰσαυθις
 τὸν ὄρνιν θεάσαιο τοῦτον, πέντε ἡμέραις σοι τὴν
 201 τελευτὴν ἐσομένην. ταῦτα πεπράζεται μὲν ἡπερ⁵
 ἀποσημαίνει τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐξαποστεῖλαν τουτονὶ τὸν
 ὄρνιν. προγνώσει τε αὐτῶν σύνεσιν τὴν παραγενο-
 μένην ἀποστερεῖν σε ἄδικον ἡγησάμην, ὅπως ἐπι-
 στάμενος ἀγαθοῦ μέλλοντος λυσιτελεῖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τοῦ παρόντος τιθοῖο. μνήμην δέ
 ποιεῖσθαι εἰς χεῖράς σου παραγενομένου τοῦ εὐδαί-
 μονος καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαφευξομένου δυστυχίαν,

¹ οὔτε . . . λόγον] neque cupidine fallendi Lat.

² οἷς ἔσθ] codd. : οἱ εἶεν E : οἱ <γεγονότες> εἶεν Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

³ MWE : βίον A.

⁴ εὐδαίμονά . . . καταλειπόμενος] exitus etiam vitae in beati-

difficulty. Be assured, nevertheless, for I swear by my ancestral gods and by those of this country who have ordained these iron chains for us, that I will tell you everything not for the pleasure of garrulity nor yet with intent to cheer you by false hopes. Indeed, prophecies on such matters, when the event falls short of the prediction, produce more grievous vexation than would be the case if a man had never heard such a statement at all. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the dangers to which I expose myself, it seemed to me right to set forth clearly what the gods foretell. It cannot be but that you will forthwith find release from these chains and be advanced to the highest point of honour and of power. You will be envied by all those who now pity your misfortunes, and you will make an end of life that is blest by children, to whom you will be leaving your wealth. But remember, when you see this bird again, that your death will follow within five days.^a This will take place in the manner indicated by the god's dispatching of this bird. I did not think it fair to deprive you of the understanding which comes through foreknowledge of these things; for I wished you to know that you are to enjoy future blessings in order that you might make light of your present distress. But remember, when you have this good fortune in your hands, to help me also to gain release from the mis-

^a For a long list of instances in Greek and Latin literature of the owl as an omen of death see A. S. Pease, ed., *IV Aeneid*, 1935, pp. 375-377, who, however, omits this passage.

tudine te repperiet constitutum, divitiasque plurimas omniaque, quae prima mortales ducunt, tuis filiis, qui tibi nati fuerint, derelinques Lat.

^b E et i. marg. A: *εἴτεπ* AMW et ut vid. Lat.

- 202 ἡ τανῦν σύνεσμεν.” καὶ ὁ μὲν Γερμανὸς τοσάδε
 προειπὼν εἰς τοσόνδε ὦφλεν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ γέλωτα,
 ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον κατεφάνη τεθαυμάσθαι
 ἄξιος. ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνία χαλεπῶς φέρουσα τοῦ
 Ἀγρίππου τὴν δυστυχίαν τὸ μὲν Τιβερίῳ περὶ
 αὐτοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἐργωδέστερον ἑώρα καὶ ἄλλως
 203 ἐπ’ ἀπράκτοις γενησόμενον, εὕρισκετο δ’ αὐτῷ
 παρὰ τοῦ Μάκρωνος στρατιωτῶν τε μετρίων ἀν-
 δρῶν οἱ παραφυλάξειαν αὐτὸν ἐν φροντίσιν¹ καὶ
 ἑκατοντάρχου τοῦ ἐφεστηξομένου τε ἐκείνοις καὶ
 συνδέτου² ἐσομένου, λουτρά τε καθ’ ἡμέραν συγ-
 κεχωρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ φίλων εἰσόδους
 τὴν τε ἄλλην ῥαστώνην, ἣ τῷ σώματι γένοιτ’ ἂν.
 204 εἰσῆεσάν τε ὡς αὐτὸν φίλος τε Σίλας καὶ τῶν
 ἀπελευθέρων Μαρσῦας καὶ Στοιχεὺς τροφὰς εἰσ-
 κομίζοντες αἷς ἔχαιρεν καὶ δι’ ἐπιμελείας πάσης
 ἔχοντες, ἱμάτιά τε κομίζοντες ἐπὶ προσποιήσει πρά-
 σεως ὅποτε νύξ γένοιτο ὑπεστρώνυσαν αὐτῷ συμπρά-
 ξει τῶν στρατιωτῶν Μάκρωνος προειρηκότος· καὶ
 ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ
 Ἀγρίππαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
 205 (8) Τιβέριος δ’ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας ἐμα-
 λακίζετο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μετρίως, ἐπιδούσης δ’ εἰς
 τὸ μᾶλλον τῆς νόσου πονηρὰς ἔχων περὶ³ αὐτῷ τὰς
 ἐλπίδας Εὐόδον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ τιμιώτατος τῶν ἀπ-
 ελευθέρων, κελεύει τὰ τέκνα προσαγαγεῖν πρὸς
 αὐτόν· χρήζειν γὰρ ἀφικέσθαι σφίσι διὰ λόγων πρὶν
 206 ἢ τελευτᾶν. ἦσαν δ’ αὐτῷ παῖδες γνήσιοι μὲν
 οὐκέτι· Δροῦσος γὰρ δὴ ὁ μόνος αὐτῷ γεγονώς
 ἐτύγχανεν τεθνεώς· υἱὸς δὲ τούτου κατελείπετο

¹ ἐν φροντίσιν] codd. : sine districtione Lat. : ἐκφρόντισιν vel simile coni. Niese.

fortune in which we are now companions." The German who made these prophecies was as ridiculous in Agrippa's eyes then as he later turned out to be deserving of admiration. Antonia, though distressed at the misfortune of Agrippa, saw that it would be too much of an undertaking to discuss his case with Tiberius and would besides be useless. She gained from Macro the following concessions for him, that the soldiers who were to guard him and that the centurion who would be in charge of them and would also be handcuffed ^a to him should be of humane character, that he should be permitted to bathe every day and receive visits from his freedmen and friends, and that he should have other bodily comforts too. His friend Silas ^b and two of his freedmen, Marsyas ^c and Stoecheus, visited him bringing him his favourite viands and doing whatever service they could. They brought him garments that they pretended to sell, but, when night came, they made him a bed with the connivance of the soldiers, who had Macro's orders to do so. These things went on for six months. Such was the situation with regard to Agrippa.

Antonia cares for Agrippa during his imprisonment.

(8) On his return to Capri Tiberius was taken ill. The malady was at first slight, but as it grew worse and worse he began to despair of his life and bade Evodus, who ranked highest of his freedmen, to bring his children to him, for he wished to speak with them before he died. He no longer had any legitimate children, for Drusus, his only son, was of course dead. But Drusus' son Tiberius, who was surnamed Gemel-

Tiberius' illness and possible successors.

^a See note *b* on p. 123.

^b Later appointed by Agrippa (*Ant.* xix. 299) to be in command of his entire army. ^c Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 155-157.

² συνδαίτου Richards et Shutt.

³ A : ἐπ' MW.

Τιβέριος ἐπικαλούμενος Γέμελλος, Γαίος τε Γερμανικοῦ παῖς, ἀδελφοῦ νίωνός¹ γεγονώς, νεανίας τε ἤδη καὶ παιδείαν ἐκπεπονηκώς ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐνοία τε τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος διὰ τὴν Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ
 207 πατρὸς ἀρετὴν· ἐπὶ μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ οὗτος προῆλθεν παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσι τιμῆς εὐσταθείᾳ τρόπου καὶ δεξιότητι τοῦ ὁμιλεῖν ἀνεπαχθῆς ὦν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν
 208 κτώμενος τῷ βούλεσθαι ἴσος πᾶσιν εἶναι. ἐξ ὧν οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ μειζόνως ἤγον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑποτελῶν ἕκαστον ἐθνῶν, οἱ μὲν ὠμιληκότες ἀλίσκόμενοι τῇ χάριτι τῆς ἐντεύξεως, οἱ δὲ πύστει τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφηγήσεως παραλαμβάνοντες.
 209 πένθος τε αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος προϋτέθη πᾶσιν οὐ θεραπείᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιψευδομένων τὴν συμφοράν, λύπη δὲ ἀληθεῖ οἰκειουμένων διὰ τὸ ἴδιον τυχεῖν ἐκάστοις τὴν μετάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὑπειλῆφθαι· οὕτως ἀνεπαχθῶς ὠμίλησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
 210 ἐξ ὧν μέγα ὄφελος καὶ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν κατελέλειπτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα

¹ ἀδελφοῦ νίωνός] Richards et Shutt: ἀδελφοῦ νιός codd.: ἀδελφιδου νιός conī.

^a The mss. read "son," but Gaius was the son of Germanicus, who was the nephew of the emperor Tiberius.

^b Cf. T. S. Jerome, "The Historical Tradition about Gaius," in *Aspects of the Study of Roman History*, 1923, p. 401, who notes that Gaius delivered the oration at Livia's funeral when he was less than seventeen (Tac. *Ann.* v. 1).

^c On Gaius' initial popularity see Suet. *Calig.* 13-21. R. R. Rosborough, *An Epigraphic Commentary on Suetonius' Life of Gaius Caligula*, 1920, p. 22, cites a number of inscriptions from the provinces indicating Gaius' popularity with the provincials and with the army: it is significant that in many of these he is mentioned as the son of Germanicus.

lus, and Gaius, the son of Germanicus and grandson ^a of the emperor's brother, were left. Gaius was now a young man who had gained a thorough education ^b and enjoyed the great goodwill of the people thanks to the good qualities of his father Germanicus.^c ^d For Germanicus came to be held in the very highest esteem among the masses, to whom he gave no offence inasmuch as he was always equable in temper and tactful in address. He won respect by choosing to be on an equality with everyone. Consequently, he was held in high regard not only by the people and the senate but also by all of the subject nations. Those who had enjoyed his company were captivated by his charming manners, while others were won by the reports they received from those who met him. When he died, mourning was universal, not the feigned grief of those who pay court to their rulers, but the genuine sorrow of those whose hearts are touched, inasmuch as his passing was assumed by all classes to be a personal misfortune, so agreeable was he in his social encounters.^e From this popularity his son had inherited a great advantage with all men. The army was par-

^a This flattering portrait of Germanicus is confirmed by Tacitus' long account, *Ann.* i. 33 ff., and by Suetonius' brief mention, *Calig.* 3. Both emphasize his kindheartedness and modesty and his ability to win universal respect and affection. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*, 1934, p. 128, says that despite the chorus of praise which resounded throughout the empire in honour of Germanicus, the Jews alone did not share in this attitude. Josephus, he admits, is an exception, but he says that this is due to Josephus' reliance upon an unnamed Roman historian. It seems more likely that the favourable view of Germanicus is part of a general exaltation of Agrippa, his friend Antonia (mother of Germanicus), and his friend Gaius Caligula (son of Germanicus).

^e Tacitus also emphasizes the universal grief at Germanicus' death and funeral (*Ann.* ii. 82-83, iii. 1-4).

τὸ¹ στρατιωτικὸν ἥρτο, ἀρετὴν² ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ περὶ
τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ περιγεννησομένης, εἰ δεήσει, καὶ
τελευτᾶν.

- 211 (9) Ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος Εὐδόῳ πρόσταγμα ποιησά-
μενος κατὰ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω εἰσαγαγεῖν
τοὺς παῖδας εὐχεται τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς σημείον τι
πρόφαντον αὐτῷ δεῖξαι περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
διαδεξομένου, σπεύδων μὲν τῷ υἱεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς
αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν, μείζον δὲ δόξης τε καὶ βουλήσεως
τῆς αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκῶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
212 ἀποφανοῦμενον. οἰώνισμα δ' οὖν αὐτῷ προὔκειτο,
εἰς ἐκείνον ἥξειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὃς ἂν κατὰ τὴν
ἐπιούσαν ἀφίκοιτο πρότερος πρὸς αὐτόν. ταῦτα
διανοηθεὶς πέμπει παρὰ τοῦ υἱωνοῦ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν
κελεύων ὑπὸ πρῶτην ὥραν³ ἄγειν τὸν παῖδα ὡς
αὐτόν, καταμελήσεσθαι στρατηγίας τὸν θεὸν ὑπο-
λαμβάνων· ὁ δ' ἀντεψήφισεν αὐτοῦ τὴν χειροτονίαν.
213 ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐνθυμησάμενος, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἡμέρα

¹ ed. pr. : τὸν A : τοῦ MW.

² gloriam Lat. : αἵρετόν ed. pr.

³ A : ἡμέραν MWE et i. marg. A.

^a Thackeray, in his own copy of Josephus, has a pencilled note suggesting that Josephus here sees a parallel between the story of Tiberius' method of choosing between his grandson and grandnephew and the account in Genesis xlviii of Jacob's blessing of Joseph's two sons. Thackeray conjectures, consequently, that Josephus' authority was possibly a Jew. But there is no element of augury in the Biblical story, nor is it an account of Jacob's search for a successor : there both sons come for and receive blessings.

^b None of our sources indicates that Tiberius had really decided on a successor, but Suetonius, *Calig.* 19, notes that he was inclined towards Tiberius Gemellus. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 46, also notes Tiberius' indecision about bequeathing his empire, and like Josephus he mentions Gaius and Tiberius

ticularly enthusiastic and counted it a point of honour even to die, if need be, so that he might become emperor.

(9) ^a After Tiberius had given the command to Evodus to bring his children to him on the following day towards dawn, he prayed to his country's gods to show him some clear indication as to his successor as emperor. He was eager to bequeath the government to the son of his son,^b but he put more faith in the revelation of their future by the god than in his own decision and choice. He therefore proposed by way of augury that the empire should go to the one who should come first to him on the following day. Having decided on this, he sent orders to his grandson's tutor to bring the child to him at sunrise,^c for he did not think that the god would pay any heed to his manœuvre. But the verdict of the god annulled the choice made by Tiberius. With such considerations in mind, Tiberius, as soon as it was day, ordered Evodus

Tiberius' proposal to divine who is to succeed him.

Gemellus as the two leading possibilities. (Tiberius also thought of the later emperor Claudius, according to this passage in Tacitus, but concluded that such a choice would make the name of the Caesars a laughing-stock.) As to Gaius, Tacitus mentions (*ibid.*) Tiberius' prediction that he would have all of Sulla's vices and none of his virtues. Tiberius' fear that Gaius would succeed him is indicated in the story that Thrasyllus the astrologer had assured Tiberius that Gaius had no more chance of being emperor than of riding over the Gulf of Baiae with horses (see *Ant.* xix. 5-6 for a description of the bridge which Gaius built in fulfilment of this prophecy). Suetonius, *Tib.* 62, tells us that Tiberius at one point intended to kill both Gaius and Tiberius Gemellus, the latter of whom he hated as having been born from adultery. It is clear from Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 46, that Tiberius died without reaching a decision as to his successor.

^c Lit. "at the first hour" or more specifically "about the beginning of the first hour."

- ἦν, κελεύει τὸν Εὐδοκὸν εἰσκαλεῖν τῶν παίδων τὸν παρόντα πρότερον. ἐξελθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὸν Γάιον πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου καταλαβὼν, ὃ γὰρ Τιβέριος οὐ παρῆν μετεώρου τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης,¹ ἥδει δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν ἐβούλετο ὃ δεσπότης, “καλεῖ σε,” φησὶν, “ὁ πατήρ,” καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτόν.
- 214 Τιβέριος δὲ ὡς θεᾶται Γάιον, τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἐπινοίαν ἐλθὼν τοῦ θείου τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμονίαν παντελῶς ἀφηρημένην ἐπικυροῦν οἷς ψηφίσαιτο δυνάμεως ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῷ μὴ παραγενομένης, πολλὰ δὲ κατολοφυράμενος αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ ἐφ' οἷς προβουλεύσειε κυροῦν ἀφηρημένου τὸ κρά-
- 215 τος, Τιβέριον δὲ τὸν υἱώνον, ὡς τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ διαμάρτοι καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας κεκρημένον διὰ τὸ ἐπ' ἄλλων κρειττόνων οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἰσηγησαμένων² τὴν συναναστροφὴν κείσεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγενοῦς μὴ³ ὠφελεῖν δυναμένου, φόβῳ τε καὶ μίσει τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος χρησμένου πρὸς αὐτόν, τὰ μὲν ὡς προσεδρεύοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἀντεπιβουλεύειν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως⁴ τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ ἀφη-
- 216 σόμενον. ἦν δὲ καὶ γενεθλιαλογία Τιβέριος μάλιστα προσκείμενος καὶ κατορθούμενα αὐτῇ⁵ μειζόνως τῶν εἰς τὸδε ἀνακειμένων ἐκόντων⁶ τὸν βίον ἐξηγμένος.⁷ Γάλβαν οὖν⁸ ποτε θεασάμενος ὡς αὐτόν

¹ μετεώρου . . . γενομένης] ciborum acceptione tardatus Lat.

² Hudson : εἰσηγησαμένῳ codd. : εἰσηγησομένων Bekker : ἡγησαμένων Marcus (cf. Ant. xviii. 150).

³ συγγενοῦς μὴ] Bekker : μὴ συγγενοῦς codd.

⁴ MW : ἀναλήψεως A.

⁵ καὶ κατορθούμενα αὐτῇ] κατὰ τὰ κατορθούμενα αὐτῆς Hudson.

⁶ ἐκόντως Hudson.

to call in whichever of the boys was the first to arrive. Evodus went out and found Gaius in front of the chamber. Tiberius was not there because his breakfast was not finished.^a Inasmuch as Evodus did not know anything of his master's preference, he said, "Your father summons you," and brought Gaius in. When Tiberius beheld Gaius, he then for the first time had some conception of the greatness of divine power. He saw himself utterly shorn of the privilege of confirming his own choice of a successor to his imperial office, since power from on high had not been vouchsafed him. Deeply did he bewail himself in that he was rendered impotent to give valid sanction to his own preliminary decision and in that his grandson Tiberius would not only fail to obtain the Roman empire, but would have no means of escape, since his survival would depend upon others who were more powerful and who would regard it as intolerable to consort with him. His kinsmen would be unable to help him since he would be feared and hated by their master, partly because he was next in line to inherit the empire, but also because he would never cease to plot against the ruler both to secure his own survival and in order to assert his claim to govern.^b Now Tiberius was especially addicted to the casting of horoscopes and had elicited from it accurate results on a greater scale than those who have voluntarily devoted their life to it.^c Once, for example,

^a Or "because he had not yet digested his food."

^b Cf. the story told by Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 46, that once Tiberius, after embracing Gemellus with a flood of tears in the presence of Gaius, predicted that Gaius would slay Gemellus.

^c *i.e.*, who practise it as their profession.

⁷ A : ἐξηγγμένων MW.

⁸ γοῦν Richards et Shutt.

εἰσιόντα φησὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους αὐτῷ, ὡς
 παραγίνοιτο ἀνὴρ τῇ Ῥωμαίων προτιμησόμενος¹
 217 ἡγεμονία. τά τε πάντα μαντειῶν ὅποσα ἐχόμενα
 πιθανὰ ἡγούμενος ἡγεμόνων μάλιστα ἀνὴρ οὗτος
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπαληθεύοντος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν
 218 ἐχρῆτο αὐταῖς.² καὶ τότε ἐν χαλεποῖς ἦν συντυχία
 τοῦ γεγονότος, ὡς ἐπ' ἀπολωλότι τῷ υἱεὶ τοῦ
 παιδὸς ἀχθεινῶς διατιθέμενος³ καὶ κατάμεμφιν
 αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οἰώνισιν προμη-
 θοῦς⁴. παρὸν γὰρ [ἄν]⁵ αὐτῷ λύπης ἀπηλλαγμένῳ
 τελευτᾶν ἀμαθία τῶν ἐσομένων, διατρίβεσθαι⁶ τῷ
 προεγνωκῶς τὴν ἐσομένην δυστυχίαν τῶν φιλτάτων
 219 τελευτᾶν. καίπερ δὲ συντεταραγμένος τῇ παρὰ
 δόξαν τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς οὓς οὐκ ἤθελεν περιόδῳ, ἄκων
 δὲ καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος φησὶ γοῦν πρὸς τὸν Γάιον·
 “ὦ παῖ, καίπερ μοι συγγενεστέρου Τιβερίου ἢ
 κατὰ σέ' ὄντος δόξῃ τε τῇ ἐμαντοῦ καὶ τῷ ὁμο-
 ψήφῳ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῶν θεῶν σοὶ φέρων ἐγχειρίζω τὴν
 220 Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν. ἀξιῶ δέ σε μηδὲν ἀμνη-
 μονεῖν ὁμιλήσαντα αὐτῇ μήτ' εὐνοίας τῆς ἐμῆς, ὅς
 221 εἰς τοσόνδε ἀξιώματος καθίστημι μέγεθος, μήτε
 τοῦ πρὸς Τιβέριον συγγενοῦς, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενον, ὡς
 σύν τε τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τοιῶνδ' εἰ σοὶ
 κατασταίην ἀγαθῶν ποριστής, ἀμείβεσθαι μου τὸ

¹ προτιμησόμενος] codd. : ποτε τιμησόμενος E : προτιμηθησόμενος Thackeray.

² ἦν . . . αὐταῖς (§§ 216-217)] om. Lat.

³ διακείμενος E : διατεθειμένος coni. Niese.

⁴ τοῦ . . . προμηθοῦς] quod illud augurium postulasset accipere Lat.

when he beheld Galba coming to him he said to his very close friends that a man was arriving who would some day rise to be ruler of the Romans.^a He believed that everything connected with divination was trustworthy ; and because its revelations turned out to be true, he, more than any other emperor, resorted to it in handling his affairs. Now too he was upset at the turn of events and was as much grieved as if his grandson had already died. He berated himself for his premeditated appeal to augury ; for whereas he might have died free from sorrow if he had remained ignorant of the future, he must now die tormented by his foreknowledge of the disaster that would overtake those he most loved. Yet, though confounded by the unlooked-for transference of the empire to one not his choice, he reluctantly and against his will spoke these words to Gaius : " My son, although Tiberius is closer akin to me than you are, by my own decision, and with the concurrence of the gods, it is to you that I convey and entrust the Roman empire. I ask you, when you grow familiar with the office, not to forget either my kindness to you in appointing you to such an exalted rank or your bond of kinship with Tiberius. Bear in mind that it was by the help of the gods and after consulting them that I took my stand to bestow such felicity upon you. Let my cordial gift of it inspire the same feeling in you. At the same

Tiberius
appoints
Gaius his
successor.

^a Cf. the similar prophecies in Suetonius, *Galba* 4, Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 20, and Dio Cassius lvii. 19. 4, and the discussion of these passages by K. Scott, " Ein Ausspruch des Tiberius an Galba," *Hermes* lxxvii, 1932, pp. 471-473. Tacitus' prophecy can be dated in A.D. 33, Dio's in A.D. 20.

⁵ ἀν] spurium indicat Niese.

⁶ A : διαφθείρεσθαι MWE et i. marg. A.

⁷ κατὰ σέ] τοῦ κατὰ σέ coni. Niese.

- ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πρόθυμον καὶ ἅμα Τιβερίου φροντίζειν
 διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἄλλως τε γινώσκειν, ὡς τεῖχός
 σοι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας περιῶν
 γίνοιτο ἂν Τιβέριος, φροῖμιον δὲ τοῦ δυστυχοῦς
 222 μεθιστάμενος. αἷ τε γὰρ μονώσεις ἐπικίνδυνοι τοῖς
 εἰς τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ὄγκον καταστάσιν καὶ
 θεοῖς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητα ὅποσα παρὰ δίκην πρασσό-
 μενα ἀφανίζοι τοῦ νόμου τὸ ἑτέρως πράσσειν παρα-
 223 καλοῦν." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος ἔλεγεν, οὐ μὴν
 πιθανὸς ἦν Γαῖω καίπερ ὑπισχνουμένῳ, ἀλλὰ κατα-
 στάς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν τε Τιβέριον μαντείαις
 ἀναιρεῖ¹ ταῖς ἐκείνου² καὐτὸς ἐπιβουλῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 συντεθεισῶν μετ' οὐ πολὺ τελευτᾷ.
 224 (10) Τιβέριος δὲ³ τὸν⁴ Γάιον ἀποδείξας διάδοχον
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας⁵ ὀλίγας ἐπιβιούς ἡμέρας ἔθανεν σχῶν
 αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ πέντε⁶ μῆνας
 πρὸς ἐνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσι. Γάιος δὲ ἦν
 225 αὐτοκράτωρ τέταρτος. Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἦν μὲν πύστις
 τῆς Τιβερίου τελευτῆς εὐφραίνοντό τε τῷ ἀγαθῷ
 τῆς ἀγγελίας, οὐ μὴν πιστεύειν γε θάρσος ἦν αὐτοῖς,
 οὐ τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι, πρὸ πολλῶν γὰρ ἂν ἐτίμησαν

¹ Niese: αἰρεῖται codd.: αἵρεται E: extinxit Lat.: ἀναιρεῖται Cocceji: αἰρεῖ Hudson.

² <μὴ πειθόμενος> post ἐκείνου add. Richards et Shutt.

³ Τιβέριος δὲ] sed haec postea, tunc autem Tiberius Lat.

⁴ τὸν] MW: τὸν τε A: τότε τὸν E.

⁵ <καὶ> post ἡγεμονίας add. Petersen.

⁶ vi Lat.

^a Thackeray, in a pencilled note in his copy of Josephus, suggests that the author who here traces the nemesis upon the Roman emperor is the same one who read tragic significance into the history of the house of Herod (*Ant.* xviii. 127 ff.).

^b A.D. 14-37. In the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 180, the reign

time give thought to Tiberius too because he is your kinsman, and above all because you see that if Tiberius remains alive he will be a wall of defence for your empire and for your personal safety, but that if he departs, this will be the prelude to misfortune. Indeed, it is dangerous for those who have reached such a pinnacle of power to be isolated ; nor will the gods allow to go unpunished any acts that are contrary to justice and that annul the law with its injunction to the contrary." Such were the words that Tiberius spoke ; but Gaius, though he promised to do so, did not follow his advice. For when he was established on the throne, he put the younger Tiberius to death, just as the old man had divined. Not long afterwards a plot was contrived against Gaius himself whereby he met his death.^a

(10) After appointing Gaius as his successor to the empire, Tiberius lived on for a few days. He then died, having held the imperial rule for twenty-two years, five months, and three days.^b Gaius was the fourth emperor.^c When the news of Tiberius' death reached the Romans, they rejoiced at the good tidings.^d Nevertheless, they had misgivings about trusting it, not that they did not want it to be true—

Death of
Tiberius.

is said to have lasted twenty-two years, six months and three days, a reading with which the Latin version of our text is in agreement. Actually, as Thackeray *ad loc.* remarks, both statements differ slightly from the figures of Tacitus (twenty-two years, six months, and twenty-eight days) and Dio Cassius (twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days).

^c Counting Julius Caesar as the first emperor.

^d There was such joy in Rome at the news of Tiberius' death that, according to Suetonius, *Tib.* 75, people ran about yelling "To the Tiber with Tiberius." Others prayed to Mother Earth and the Manes to allow him no home below except among the damned.

χρημάτων τὸ ἐπαληθεύσαν τῶν λόγων, δέει δὲ μὴ
 ψευδοῦς τῆς ἀγγελίας γενομένης προεξαναστάντες
 ἐπὶ δηλώσει τοῦ αὐτῶν χάρματος εἶτ' ἀπολλύονται
 226 διαβολῆς αὐτῶν γενομένης· πλείστα γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰς
 οὗτος Ῥωμαίων τοὺς εὐπατρίδας εἰργάσατο δεινὰ
 δυσόργητος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὧν καὶ ἀνήκεστος εἰς τὸ
 ἐργάζεσθαι καταστάς, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς λόγου τὴν
 αἰτίαν ἐπανελοίτο τοῦ μισεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι μὲν οἷς
 κρίνειεν¹ ἐξαγριοῦν φύσιν ἔχων, εἰς θάνατον δὲ καὶ
 227 τῶν κουφοτάτων ἀνατιθεὶς τὴν ζημίαν. ὥστε
 ἡδονῇ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγου φέροντος² τὴν ἀκρόασιν
 εἰς ὅσον ἐβούλοντο ἀπολαύσματι χρῆσθαι ἐπεκεκώ-
 λυντο δείμασι κακῶν, ἃ προεωρᾶτο ψευσθεῖσι τῆς
 228 ἐλπίδος. Μαρσύας δὲ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ὁ ἀπελεύ-
 θερος πυθόμενος τοῦ Τιβερίου τὴν τελευτὴν ὠθεῖτο³
 δρομαῖος τὸν Ἀγρίππαν εὐαγγελιούμενος, καὶ
 καταλαβὼν ἐν ἐξόδοις ὄντα εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον συν-
 νεύσας πρὸς αὐτὸν γλώσση τῇ Ἑβραίων, "τέθνηκεν
 229 ὁ λέων," φησὶν. ὁ δὲ σύνεσιν τε τοῦ λόγου ποιη-
 σάμενος καὶ χάρματι τῷ ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιενεχθεὶς,
 "ἀλλὰ σοι τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε⁴ εὐαγ-
 γελίας χάριτες ἐν ἐμοὶ παντοῖαι γίνονται, μόνον
 230 ἀληθῇ τὰ λεγόμενα εἶη." καὶ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης,
 ὅσπερ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐφειστήκει τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, θεώ-
 μενος τὴν τε σπουδὴν μεθ' οἷας ὁ Μαρσύας ἀφίκετο
 καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων χάρμα τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνελθόν,

¹ ex corr. A : κρίνοιεν MW.

² φέροντες ed. pr.

³ A¹E : ἔθει MW et ex corr. A.

⁴ Bekker : τῶνδε codd.

for they would have given much money to insure that these words should prove true—but rather because they feared that if the news turned out to be in error, they might find themselves too soon off the mark in flaunting their delight and might be reported to their own destruction.^a Indeed, he had inflicted fearful wrongs in greater numbers on the Roman nobles than any other one man, for he was always quick to anger and relentless in action, even if his grounds for conceiving hatred of a man made no sense. It was his bent to turn savage in every case that he decided; and he inflicted the death penalty even for the slightest offences. And so, though the report that they had of his death gave them pleasure, they were prevented from enjoying it as much as they would have liked by fear of the dire consequences that they foresaw if hope played them false. But Marsyas, the freedman of Agrippa, having learned of the death of Tiberius, forced his way at top speed to announce the good news to Agrippa. Finding him on his way out to the bath, he beckoned to him and said in Hebrew, “The lion is dead.”^b Agrippa grasped his meaning and, giddy with joy at this announcement, said, “My unbounded thanks to you for your whole service and for this happy news. I only hope it is true.” Now the centurion, who commanded Agrippa’s guards, seeing in what a hurry Marsyas had come and how pleased Agrippa was as soon as he heard the message,

The news
comes to
Agrippa.

^a Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, p. 82, has, for the last clause, “they would be slanderously accused and lose their lives.”

^b Cf. Bab. *Shabbat* 30 b, where Solomon quotes Ecclesiastes ix. 4, “A living dog is better than a dead lion,” in speaking of his father David, who has just died and whose corpse is threatened by hungry dogs.

- ὑποτοπήσας καίνωσίν¹ τινα γεγονέναι τῶν λόγων
 231 ἤρετό σφας περὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος. οἱ
 δὲ τέως μὲν παρέτρεπον, ἐγκειμένῳ δὲ ἀποσημαίνει
 ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἥδη γὰρ φίλος ἦν, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσας.
 ὁ δὲ ἐκοινοῦτό τε τὴν ἡδονὴν τοῦ λόγου διὰ τὸ εἰς
 ἀγαθὰ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ φέρειν προϋτίθει τε αὐτῷ
 δεῖπνον. εὐωχουμένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ πότου
 προϊόντος παρῆν τις λέγων ζῆν τε τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ
 232 ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἐπανήξειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ὁ
 ἑκατοντάρχης δεινῶς θορυβηθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τὸ
 εἰς θάνατον ἀνακείμενα πεπραχέναι δεσμώτῃ τε
 καὶ ἐπ' ἀγγελία θανάτου αὐτοκράτορος συνδιητή-
 σθαι μετὰ χάρματος, ἀπωθεῖται τε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
 τοῦ κλινιδίου καί, "ἦπου," φησὶν, "λήσειν με ὑπο-
 νοεῖς θάνατον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατεψευσμένος, ἀλλ'
 οὐ κεφαλῇ τῇ σῇ τοῦτον ἀναμαξόμενος τὸν λόγον;"
 233 ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει δῆσαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν λελυκῶς
 πρότερον αὐτὸν φυλακὴν τε ἀκριβεστέραν αὐτοῦ ἢ
 πρότερον καθίσταται. καὶ νύκτα μὲν ἐκείνην ὁ
 234 Ἀγρίππας ἐν τοιούτοις ἦν τοῖς κακοῖς. τῇ δὲ
 ὑστεραία λόγος τε πλείων ἦν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἰσχυρι-
 ζόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου, ἐθάρρουν τε
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι φανερώς ἥδη θροεῖν² καὶ τινες καὶ
 θυσίας ἐπετέλουν, ἐπιστολαί τε ἀφίκοντο παρὰ τοῦ
 Γαῖου, ἥ μὲν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον τοῦ Τιβερίου δια-
 σαφoῦσα τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ παράληψιν

¹ AW: καὶ γνώσιν M: i. marg. γρ καίνισιν A: κοίνωσιν Ernesti.

² A: θρυλλεῖν M: θρυλεῖν W.

^a Thackeray, *Selections*, p. 83, suggests as an alternative translation "suspected the use of a strange language," namely Hebrew.

^b Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 50, also reports that after the first news

surmised that something novel had been said ^a and asked them about the message in question. For a time they put him off, but, when he insisted, Agrippa, being now on friendly terms with him, told him the truth without reserve. He joined in the rejoicing at the news because it was to Agrippa's advantage and treated him to a dinner. While they were feasting and the drinking was under way, someone came in and said that Tiberius was alive and would return to the city within a few days.^b The centurion was so shockingly perturbed at this report, since the penalty set for such things as he had done was death, that is, both to have dined together with a prisoner and to have rejoiced at the news of the emperor's death, that he pushed Agrippa off the couch and said: "So you thought you would fool me with a false report of the emperor's death, and would not pay for it with your own head?" With these words he ordered the manacles to be put on Agrippa, though he had previously taken them off, and a stricter guard to be kept than before. Such was the wretched condition of Agrippa through the night. On the following day, however, the reports of Tiberius' death were more numerous and assured in the city. The people now began to have the courage to speak of it without misgiving, and some even offered sacrifices. Two letters then arrived from Gaius: one to the senate informing that body fully of the death of Tiberius and of his own

had been received of Tiberius' death and Gaius Caligula and his supporters had started to rejoice, another message was received that Tiberius was actually recovering from his faintness and calling for food. In the ensuing panic only Macro, the prefect of the praetorian cohorts, was undaunted and simply ordered that Tiberius should be smothered under a heap of clothes.

- 235 τῆς ἡγεμονίας γενομένην, ἣ δὲ πρὸς Πείσωνα τὸν φύλακα τῆς πόλεως τοῦτό τε ἀγορεύουσα, καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μεταστῆσαι¹ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ἢ δεθῆναι δίαιταν εἶχεν. τότε ἐν θάρσει λοιπὸν ἦγεν τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς· φυλακὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τήρησις ἦν, μετὰ μέντοι ἀνέ-
 236 σεως τῆς εἰς τὴν δίαιταν. Γάιος δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρῆν ἄγων τοῦ Τιβερίου τὸ σῶμα, ταφάς τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται πολυτελεῖς νόμοις τοῖς πατρίοις, Ἀγρίππαν τε αὐθημερὸν λύνει ὄντα πρόθυμον κώλυμα Ἀντωνία ἦν οὗ τι μίσει τῷ πρὸς τὸν δεδεμένον προμηθεία δὲ τοῦ Γαίου εὐπρεποῦς, μὴ δόξαν ἀπάγοιτο ἡδονῇ δεχομένου τὴν Τιβερίου μετάστασιν² ἄνδρα ὑπ' ἐκείνου δεδεμένον λύνων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος.
 237 διελθουσῶν μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν μεταπεμφάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀποκείρει τε αὐτὸν καὶ μεταμφιέννυσιν, εἶτα δὲ τὸ διάδῃμα περιτίθῃσιν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ βασιλέα καθίστησιν αὐτὸν τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν, ἀλλάττει τε σιδηρὰ ἀλύσει χρυσοῦν ἰσόσταθμον. ἱππάρχην³ δὲ ἐπὶ⁴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκπέμπει Μάρυλλον.⁵

¹ Niese: μεταστήσειν AME: μεταστήσιν W.

² MWE (cf. Ant. xviii. 89): τελευτήν A: mortem Lat.

³ ἱππάρχην] codd.: magistrum equitum Lat.: ἑπαρχον Hudson: ὑπαρχον con. Niese.

⁴ ἐκ E.

⁵ Μάρυλλον M.

^a Josephus' statement is confirmed by Suetonius, *Calig.* 15, who speaks of the funeral oration which Gaius delivered weepingly before a vast crowd and of the magnificent burial that he accorded him. Dio Cassius lix. 3. 7, however, claims that Gaius brought in Tiberius' body at night and gave him a hasty funeral. M. P. Charlesworth, "The Tradition about Caligula," *Camb. Hist. Jour.* iv, 1933, p. 108, cites an entry

succession to his office, the other to Piso, the prefect of the city, containing both this statement and the order that Agrippa should be removed from the camp to the house where he had lived before his imprisonment. After that he had no hardship to fear, for though he was still guarded and watched, yet the watch on his daily activities was relaxed. After Gaius had arrived in Rome with the body of Tiberius and had given him a splendid funeral in the old Roman fashion,^a he was eager to release Agrippa on that very day. Antonia, however, restrained him, not that she wished the prisoner any harm, but she was concerned not to let Gaius commit an impropriety. It would give the impression, if he released so quickly one who had been imprisoned by Tiberius, that he joyfully welcomed Tiberius' death. ^b Not many days thereafter, he sent for Agrippa to come to his house, and he attended to cutting his hair and changing his clothes. This done, he put a diadem on his head and appointed him king of the tetrarchy of Philip,^c presenting him also with the tetrarchy of Lysanias.^d Furthermore, in exchange for his iron chain, he gave him a golden one of equal weight. As commander of the cavalry ^e in Judaea he dispatched Marullus.^f

Gaius
makes
Agrippa
king of
Philip's
tetrarchy.

from the Acts of the Arval Brethren and other epigraphical evidence which refute Dio and indicate that Gaius showed full respect for Tiberius.

^b Cf. the parallel passage in *B.J.* ii. 181.

^c See above, §§ 27-28, 106-108.

^d Cf. *Ant.* xv. 344, xix. 275, xx. 138 ; Dio Cass. lix. 8. 2.

^e Hudson emends, but without any evidence, to *ἐπαρχον*, "procurator," and is followed by E. Stein, "Marullus," *R.E.* xiv, 1930, p. 2053.

^f Otherwise unknown. E. M. Smallwood, "The Date of the Dismissal of Pontius Pilate from Judaea," *Jour. of Jewish Stud.* v, 1954, p. 14, adopts S. L. DeLaet's suggestion

- 238 (11) Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἡγε-
μονίας Ἀγρίππας ἡξίου συγχώρησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι
πλεύσαντι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι καὶ τὰ
239 ἄλλα εἰς δέον οἰκονομησαμένῳ ἐπανιέναι. καὶ συγ-
χωροῦντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παρῆν παρ' ἐλπίδας
τε ὥφθη πᾶσι βασιλεὺς πολλὴν τε τῆς τύχης ἐπε-
δείκνυν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς θεω-
ροῦσιν ἐκ λογισμῶν ἀπορίας τε τῆς πρότερον καὶ
τοῦ ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐδαίμονος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμακάρι-
ζον τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτία χρησαμένου τῶν ἐλπίδων, οἱ
δ' ἐν ἀπιστία περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἦσαν.
- 240 (vii. 1) Ἡρωδιάς δὲ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου
συνοικοῦσα Ἡρώδῃ, τετράρχης δὲ οὗτος ἦν Γαλι-
λαίας καὶ Περαιάς, φθόνῳ τᾶδελφοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν
ἐδέχετο ὁρῶσα ἐν πολὺ μείζονι ἀξιώματι γεγενη-
μένον ἀνδρὸς τοῦ αὐτῆς, διὰ τὸ φυγῇ μὲν ποιήσα-
σθαι τὴν ἔξοδον διαλῦσαι τὰ χρέα μὴ δυνάμενον,
κάθοδον δὲ μετ' ἀξιώματος καὶ οὕτως πολλοῦ τοῦ
241 εὐδαίμονος. ἐλυπεῖτο οὖν καὶ βαρέως ἔφερεν τῇ
ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ μεταβολῇ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅποτε
θεάσαιτο μετὰ τῶν εἰωθότων παρασῆμων τῆς βα-
σιλείας ἐπιφοιτῶντά τε τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ἐπικρύπτε-
σθαι οὐκ ἠνείχετο τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ φθόνου, ἀλλὰ
τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξῆρεν κελεύουσα ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πλεῖν
242 ἐπὶ μνηστεία τῶν ἴσων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι
σφίσι τὸ ζῆν, εἰ Ἀγρίππας Ἀριστοβούλου μὲν υἱὸς
ὦν θανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κατεγνωσμένου,¹ πενία

¹ ed. pr. et ut vid. Lat. : κατεγνωσμένος codd.

("Le Successeur de Ponce-Pilate," *Antiq. Class.* viii, 1939, pp. 418-419) that this Marullus (or Maryllus) is to be identified with the Marcellus whom Vitellius had appointed (*Ant.*

(11) In the second year of the reign of the emperor Gaius, Agrippa asked for permission to set sail and make his rule secure, as well as to get all other matters duly organized, and then to return to Rome. The emperor gave consent and he went. All were surprised to see him in his royal state. He was an object lesson in demonstrating the great power of fortune over mankind to those who beheld him and speculated on the contrast between his former distress and his present prosperity. Some thought him lucky not to have failed to attain his hopes, while others were incredulous about what had happened.

Agrippa
returns
home.

(vii. 1) ^a Herodias, the sister of Agrippa and wife of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, begrudged her brother his rise to power far above the state that her husband enjoyed. Agrippa had had to flee for lack of money to pay his debts, but now he had returned in grandeur and with such great prosperity. It was consequently painful and depressing for her to see so great a reversal in his fortunes. The spectacle of his royal visits in the customary regalia before the multitudes made her especially helpless to keep this unfortunate envy to herself. Instead she instigated her husband, urging him to embark for Rome and sue for equal status. For their life was unbearable, she said, if Agrippa, who was the son of that Aristobulus who had been condemned to death by his father, who had himself known such helpless

Herodias
eggs her
husband on
to seek a
similar
fortune.

xviii. 89) to take charge of the administration of Judaea, and that Gaius simply gave the acting governor the official position of procurator. But in addition to going counter to the unanimous authority of the manuscripts, this suggestion disregards ἐκπέμπει, which indicates that Gaius sent him forth from Rome.

^a §§ 240-255 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 181-183.

- δὲ ἀπόρῳ συνιών, ὡς τελέως¹ αὐτῷ ἐπικουφίζεσθαι
 τὰναγκαῖα τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμέρας, φυγῇ δὲ τῶν δεδανεικό-
 των τὸν πλοῦν πεποιημένος ἐπανεληλύθαι βασιλεύς,
 αὐτὸς δέ γε ὢν παῖς βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ συγγενοῦς²
 τῆς ἀρχῆς καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μεταποιήσει τῶν
 243 ἴσων³ καθέζοιτο ἀγαπῶν ἐν ἰδιωτεία διαβιοῦν. “ ἄλλ’
 εἰ καὶ πρότερόν γε, Ἑρώδῃ, μηδὲν ἐλύπει σε τὸ ἐν
 ἐλάσσονι τιμῇ πατρὸς οὐ γέγονας εἶναι, νῦν γοῦν
 ὀρέχθητι συγγενοῦς ἀξιώματος μηδὲ ὑπόμενε ἡσσᾶ-
 σθαι προὔχοντι τιμῆς ἀνδρὶ πλοῦτον τεθεραπευκότι
 τὸν σόν, μηδὲ πενίαν ἀποφῆνης τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς
 ἡμετέρας εὐπορίας ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον χρῆσθαι δυνα-
 μένην, μηδὲ δευτερεύειν ἀνεπαίσχυντον ἡγοῦ τῶν
 244 χθές τε καὶ πρώην ἐλέω τῷ σῷ διαβεβιωκότων. ἄλλ’
 ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἴωμεν, καὶ μήτε πόνου φειδώ τις
 ἔστω μήτε ἀργυρίου δαπάνης καὶ χρυσίου, διὰ τὸ
 μὴ ἐπ’ οὐδαμινοῖς ἐν⁴ βελτίοσιν γενέσθαι τὴν τήρη-
 σιν αὐτῶν ἀναλώσεως τῆς ἐπὶ κτήσει βασιλείας
 ἐσομένης.”
 245 (2) Ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἀπεμάχετο ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἡσυ-
 χίαν καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν ὄχλον δι’ ὑποψίας λαμ-
 βάνων ἀναδιδάσκειν τε αὐτὴν ἐπειρᾶτο, ἡ δ’ ἐφ’
 ὅσον ἐξαναχωροῦντα ἑώρα μειζόνως ἐπέκειτο κε-
 λεύουσα μὴ ἀνιέναι πάντα πράσσειν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ.
 246 καὶ πέρασ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἕως ἐξενίκησεν⁵ αὐτὸν ὁμο-
 γνώμονα αὐτῇ ἀκουσίως γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι
 ἄλλως ἀποφυγεῖν αὐτῆς τὸ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ψηφισά-
 μενον, παρασκευασάμενός τε ὡς ἐνῆν πολυτελῶς
 καὶ φειδοῖ μηδενὸς χρώμενος ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς

¹ ἐλέω (et ut vid. ὡστ’) Naber.

² <καὶ κοινωνοῦ> post συγγενοῦς add. Richards et Shutt.

³ τοῦ συγγενοῦς . . . ἴσων] et frater eius qui tetrarchiam

poverty that the necessities of daily life had entirely failed him, and who had set out on his voyage to escape from his creditors, should have returned as a king, while Herod himself, the son of a king, who was called by his royal birth to claim equal treatment, should rest content to live as a commoner to the end of his life. "Even if, O Herod," she said, "you were not distressed in the past to be lower in rank than the father from whom you sprang, now at least I beg of you to move in quest of the high position that you were born to. Do not patiently admit defeat by a man outranking you, who has bent the knee to your affluence. Do not inform the world that his poverty can make better use of manly qualities than our riches. Never regard it as anything but a disgrace to play second fiddle to those who were but yesterday dependent on your bounty for survival. Come, let us go to Rome; let us spare neither pains nor expense of silver and gold, since there is no better use for which we might hoard them than to expend them on the acquisition of a kingdom."

(2) For a while he resisted and tried to change her mind, for he was content with his tranquillity and was wary of the Roman bustle. The more, however, she saw him shying away, the more urgently she insisted, bidding him not to be remiss in seeking a throne at any cost. The upshot was that she never flagged till she carried the day and made him her unwilling partisan, for there was no way of escape once she had cast her vote on this matter. And so, supplied as lavishly as possible and sparing no expense, he

illam ante possederat, ut magis ei cognationis iure deberetur
Lat.

⁴ *av* coni. Niese.

⁵ Niese: ἐξέκίνησεν codd. E.

- 247 Ῥώμης ἅμα καὶ τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα ἀγόμενος. Ἀγρίπ-
 πας δὲ τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν
 αἰσθόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ-
 πεπλευκότας ἀκούει, πέμπει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ῥώμης Φορτουνᾶτον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων δωρὰ
 τε κομίζοντα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐπιστολὰς κατὰ
 τοῦ Ἡρώδου τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν διδάξοντα ἧ¹ καιρὸς
 248 τὸν Γάιον. ὁ δὲ ἐπαναχθεὶς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην
 καὶ δεξιῶ χρησάμενος τῷ πλῶ τοσόνδε ἀπελίπετο
 τοῦ Ἡρώδου, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἐντυχεῖν Γαίῳ, ὁ δὲ
 ἐπικατάγεται καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀπεδίδου. καὶ
 προσέπλευσαν ἀμφότεροι Δικαιαρχεία καὶ τὸν
 249 Γάιον ἐν Βαῖταις λαμβάνουσιν. πολύδριον² δ' ἐστὶ
 καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Καμπανίας ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πέντε
 τῆς Δικαιαρχείας κείμενον, βασιλικοὶ τέ εἰσιν οἰκή-
 σεις αὐτόθι πολυτελέσι κεχηρημένοι κατασκευαῖς
 φιλοτιμηθέντος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐκάστου τοὺς
 προγεγονότας ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, λουτρά τε παρέχεται
 τὸ χωρίον θερμὰ γῆθεν αὐτόματα ἀνιέντα ἀγαθὰ
 ἐπὶ τε ἰάσει τοῖς χρωμένοις καὶ ἄλλως τῷ ἀνειμένῳ
 250 τῆς διαίτης συμφέροντα. Γάιος δὲ ἅμα τε προσ-
 αγορεύων τὸν Ἡρώδην, πρῶτον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐνετύγ-
 χανεν, ἅμα τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιὼν
 ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου συγκειμένας, κατηγορεῖ
 δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁμολογίαν πρὸς Σηιανὸν κατὰ τῆς Τι-
 βερίου ἀρχῆς καὶ πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθον ἐπὶ
 251 τοῦ παρόντος κατὰ τῆς Γαίῳ ἀρχῆς, παράδειγμά
 τε ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μυριάσιν ἑπτὰ ὀπλιτῶν
 ἀρκέσουσα κατασκευὴ ἐν ταῖς Ἡρώδου ὀπλοθήκαις
 ἀποκειμένη, ἐκινεῖτό τε ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ

¹ ἧ A: εἰ MWE.² A: πολίδριον MWE: γρ πολίδριον ἢ πολίδιον i. marg. A.
 148

set sail for Rome, accompanied by Herodias. But Agrippa, when he learned of their plan and their preparations, made his own preparations. And when he heard that they had set sail, he himself also dispatched Fortunatus, one of his freedmen, to Rome, charged with presents for the emperor and letters against Herod, and ready to tell his story to Gaius himself as the opportunity presented itself. Fortunatus, putting out to sea in pursuit of Herod's party, had a favourable voyage and was so little behind Herod that while the latter had obtained an audience with Gaius, he landed and delivered his letters. Both of them had made port at Dicaearchia and had found Gaius at Baiae. This is a little city in Campania situated at a distance of about five furlongs ^a from Dicaearchia. There are royal residences there lavishly furnished, for each of the emperors was ambitious to outdo his predecessors. The locality also affords hot baths, which spring naturally from the ground and have a curative value for those who use them, not to mention their contribution to easy living in other ways. At the very time that he was greeting Herod, whom he interviewed first, Gaius was perusing the letters of Agrippa which were composed as an indictment of him. The letters accused Herod of conspiring with Sejanus against the government of Tiberius and of being now in league with Artabanus the Parthian against the government of Gaius. As proof of this charge the letters stated that equipment sufficient for 70,000 heavy-armed foot-soldiers was stored in Herod's armouries. Spurred by these

Agrippa
counters
this move
by accusing
Herod of
conspiracy.

^a Josephus has underestimated the distance, which is about three miles (or about two miles, as the crow flies, according to Mathieu-Herrmann).

ἤρετο τὸν Ἡρώδην, εἰ ἀληθὲς ὁ περὶ τῶν ὅπλων
 252 λόγος. τοῦ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ
 ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰπόντος εἶναι τὰ
 ὅπλα, πιστὰ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει
 κατηγορούμενα, τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν
 προσθήκην τῇ Ἀγρίππου βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖται καὶ τὰ
 χρήματα ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ δίδωσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ
 φυγῇ αἰδίῳ ἐξημίωσεν ἀποδείξας οἰκητήριον αὐτοῦ
 253 Λούγδουνον πόλιν τῆς Γαλλίας.¹ Ἡρωδιάδα δὲ
 μαθὼν Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὴν οὔσαν τά τε χρήματα
 ἐδίδου ὅποσα ἐκείνη ἰδίᾳ ἦν καὶ τοῦ μὴ κοινωνεῖν
 νομίσαι² τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς τεῖχος αὐτῇ τὸν
 254 ἀδελφὸν ἔλεγεν.³ ἡ δέ, “ ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, αὐτόκρατορ,”
 εἶπεν, “ μεγαλοφρόνως τε καὶ ἀξιώματι τῷ σουτοῦ
 πρεπόντως τάδε λέγεις, κώλυμα δέ μοί ἐστιν χρῆ-
 σθαί σου τῇ χάριτι τῆς δωρεᾶς εὖνοια ἢ πρὸς τὸν
 γεγαμηκότα, οὗ κοινωνόν με τῆς εὐδαιμονίας γενο-
 μένην οὐ δίκαιον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς τύχαις
 255 καθεσταμένον.” ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος αὐ-
 τὴν ποιησάμενος συνήλαυνεν καὶ αὐτὴν τῷ Ἡρώ-
 δῃ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ δίδωσιν.
 Ἡρωδιάδι μὲν δὴ φθόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ
 Ἡρώδῃ γυναικείων ἀκροασαμένῳ κουφολογιῶν
 256 δίκην ταύτην ἐπετίμησεν ὁ θεός. Γάιος δὲ τὸν μὲν
 πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς πάνυ μεγαλοφρόνως
 ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ μέτριον παρέχων αὐ-

¹ AW : Γαλιλαίας, λ secundum ex a corr. M : Γαλατίας E.

² conl. Niese : νομίσας codd. : om. E.

³ καὶ τοῦ . . . ἔλεγεν] arbitrans in consilio viri consciam

words, Gaius asked Herod whether the report about the arms was true. When Herod replied that the arms were there—for it was impossible for him to deny it in face of the truth—Gaius, regarding the accusations of revolt as confirmed, relieved him of his tetrarchy and added it to the kingdom of Agrippa. He likewise gave Herod's property to Agrippa and condemned Herod to perpetual exile, assigning him as his residence Lyons, a city in Gaul.^a When Gaius learned that Herodias was a sister of Agrippa, he offered to allow her to keep all her personal property and told her to regard her brother as the bulwark who had protected her from sharing her husband's fate. She, however, replied: "Indeed, O emperor, these are generous words and such as befit your high office, but my loyalty to my husband is a bar to my enjoyment of your kind gift, for it is not right when I have shared in his prosperity that I should abandon him when he has been brought to this pass." Gaius, angered at her proud mood, exiled her also, together with Herod, and presented her possessions to Agrippa. And so God visited this punishment on Herodias for her envy of her brother and on Herod for listening to a woman's frivolous chatter. As for Gaius, he administered the empire quite highmindedly during the first and second years of his reign.^b By exercising moderation he made great advances in popularity

Herod is banished and his tetrarchy is given to Agrippa.

^a According to the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 183, Herod was banished to Spain.

^b Dio Cass. lix. 2. 6 also has the good part of Gaius' reign lasting about two years, whereas from Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 13, and from Suetonius, *Calig.* 37, we conclude that it lasted about a year.

non fuisse; tutabatur etiam eam quod sororem Agrippae cognoverat Lat.

τὸν εἰς εὐνοίαν πολλὴν προὔχῳρει παρά τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.¹ προῦν δ' ἐξίστατο τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φρονεῖν ὑπὸ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκθειάζων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐπ' ἀτιμία τοῦ θείου πολιτεύειν ἦρτο.

- 257 (viii. 1) Καὶ δὴ στάσεως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γενομένης Ἰουδαίων τε οἱ ἐνοικοῦσι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τρεῖς ἀφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς στάσεως πρεσβευταὶ αἰρεθέντες παρήσαν ὡς τὸν Γάιον. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσβειων εἰς Ἀπίων, ὃς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐβλασφήμησεν ἄλλα τε λέγων καὶ ὡς
258 τῶν Καίσαρος τιμῶν περιορῶεν· πάντων γοῦν ὁπόσοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖς εἶεν βωμοὺς τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ νεῶς ἱδρυμένων τά τε ἄλλα πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων, μόνους τοῦσδε ἄδοξον ἡγείσθαι ἀνδριᾶσι τιμᾶν καὶ ὄρκιον αὐτοῦ

¹ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις] apud Graecos Lat.

^a The account of the strife is given at great length in Philo's treatise *In Flaccum*, and the story of the embassy in Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium*. The true cause of the tension was, it seems, the Jewish attempt to gain recognition of their claim to Alexandrian citizenship (so H. Box, ed., *Philonis Alexandrini In Flaccum*, 1939, pp. xxxviii ff.). The immediate occasion for the strife was the visit of Agrippa to Alexandria in A.D. 38 after he had been crowned king by Gaius Caligula. The Jews received him with great pomp, but the Greeks, who recalled his previous visit to the city when he was destitute, mocked him by dressing up an imbecile as king and addressing him as "Marin" (Aramaic for "our Lord"). Because they feared Caligula's displeasure, the Greeks then demanded the erection of statues of the emperor in every synagogue so that he could be worshipped as a god. The Roman governor, Flaccus, sided with the Greeks and proclaimed the Jews to be foreigners and aliens; and soon there was a pogrom against the Jews. The Jewish

both with the Romans themselves and with their subjects. But as time went on, he ceased to think of himself as a man and, as he imagined himself a god because of the greatness of his empire, he was moved to disregard the divine power in all his official acts.

(viii. 1) Meanwhile, there was civil strife in Alexandria between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks.^a Three delegates were chosen by each of the factions and appeared before Gaius.^b One of the Alexandrian delegates was Apion,^c who scurrilously reviled the Jews, asserting, among other things, that they neglected to pay the honours due to the emperor. For while all the subject peoples in the Roman empire had dedicated altars and temples to Gaius and had given him the same attentions in all other respects as they did the gods, these people alone scorned to honour him with statues and to swear by

Strife in
Alexandria
between
Jews and
Greeks.
Gaius re-
fuses to
hear Philo.

embassy was then sent to Caligula to ask him to reassert the traditional Jewish rights granted by the Ptolemies and confirmed by Augustus. On these events in Alexandria and on the embassy see further H. Willrich, "Caligula," *Klio* iii, 1903, pp. 397 ff.; H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924, pp. 10-21; Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*, pp. 125-135; and Box, *op. cit.* pp. xxxviii ff.

^b It is possible to date Philo's voyage to Rome (*Leg.* 190) as having occurred in the winter of 38-39 or 39-40, probably the latter (so J. P. V. Balsdon in his full discussion of the chronology of Gaius' dealings with the Jews, in *Jour. of Roman Stud.* xxiv, 1934, pp. 19-24). But cf. E. M. Smallwood, "The Chronology of Gaius' Attempt to Desecrate the Temple," *Latomus* xvi, 1957, pp. 3-17, who accepts the chronological indications in Philo in preference to those of Josephus where they conflict and dates the episode some months earlier. Philo, *Leg.* 370, says that he headed an embassy of five persons, and his evidence, being firsthand, is obviously to be preferred.

^c The notorious anti-Semite against whom Josephus wrote his *Contra Apionem*.

- 259 τὸ ὄνομα ποιείσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἀπίωνος εἰρηκότος, ὑφ' ὧν ἀρθῆναι¹ ἤλπιζε τὸν Γάιον καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν, Φίλων ὁ προεστὼς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἔνδοξος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου ἀδελφὸς ὢν καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος, οἷος² ἦν ἐπ' ἀπολογία χωρεῖν τῶν κατ-
 260 ηγορημένων. διακλείει³ δ' αὐτὸν Γάιος κελεύσας ἐκποδὼν ἀπελθεῖν, περιοργῆς τε ὢν φανερός ἦν ἐργασόμενός τι δεινὸν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Φίλων ἔξεισι περιυβρισμένος καὶ φησι πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, οἳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ὡς χρή θαρρεῖν, Γαίου λόγῳ μὲν αὐτοῖς ὠργισμένου, ἔργῳ δὲ ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἀντιπαρ-
 εξάγοντος.
- 261 (2) Γάιος δὲ ἐν δεινῷ φέρων εἰς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων περιῶφθαι μόνων πρεσβευτὴν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐκπέμπει Περρώνιον διάδοχον Οὐιτελλίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, κελεύων χειρὶ πολλῇ εἰσβαλόντι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ μὲν ἐκόντες δέχοιντο, ἰστᾶν αὐτοῦ ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ δ' ἀγνωμοσύνη χρῶντο, πολέμῳ κρατήσαντα τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ
 262 Περρώνιος Συρίαν παραλαβὼν ἡπείγετο διακονεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, συμμαχίαν τε πλείστην ὅσῃν ἡδύνατο ἀθροίσας καὶ τάγματα δύο

¹ ἐρεθισθῆναι coni. Richards et Shutt.

² τε post οἷος omisi. ³ διακλείει] ex secretario excludi Lat.

^a The word ὅρκιος is used of a god by whom one swears. So A. G. Roos, "Lesefruchte," *Mnemosyne*, iii Series, vol. 2, 1935, pp. 237-238.

^b Mentioned in §§ 159-160 as one who lent a large sum of money to Agrippa.

^c V. A. Tcherikover, in the prolegomena to his *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, i, 1957, p. 67, emphasizes that Philo represented the higher and wealthier circles of the

his name.^a And so Apion spoke many angry words by which he hoped that Gaius would be moved, as might be expected. Philo, who stood at the head of the delegation of the Jews, a man held in the highest honour, brother of Alexander the alabarch ^b and no novice in philosophy, was prepared to proceed with the defence against these accusations.^c But Gaius cut him short, told him to get out of his way, and, being exceedingly angry, made it clear that he would visit some outrage upon them. Philo, having thus been treated with contumely, left the room, saying to the Jews who accompanied him that they should be of good courage, for Gaius' wrath was a matter of words, but in fact he was now enlisting God against himself.

(2) ^d Indignant at being so slighted by the Jews, Petronius is alone, Gaius dispatched Petronius ^e as his legate to ^{sent to} Judaea to succeed Vitellius in this office. His orders ^{erect Gaius' statue in} were to lead a large force into Judaea and, if the Jews ^{the temple.} consented to receive him, to set up an image of Gaius in the temple of God. If, however, they were obstinate, he was to subdue them by force of arms and so set it up. Petronius took over Syria and hastened to carry out the commands of the emperor. Gathering together as many auxiliaries as possible, he marched

Jewish population in Alexandria, who sought a reconciliation with the Roman government and with the Greeks, whereas a strong segment of the masses of the Jews were opposed to such a reconciliation.

^a §§ 261-262 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 185-187. This incident is also mentioned by Philo, *Leg.* 188 and 207-208, and by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, both of whom note that Caligula ordered the Jews to set up his statue in the temple in Jerusalem, but that they chose to take up arms rather than to obey him.

^e Governor of Syria A.D. 39-42.

- τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἄγων ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖδος
 παρῆν αὐτόθι χειμάσων ὥς πρὸς ἕαρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν
 οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔγραφεν περὶ
 τῶν ἐπεγνωσμένων. ὁ δὲ ἐπῆναι τῆς προθυμίας
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκέλευεν μὴ ἀνιέναι πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πει-
 263 θομένοις ἐντεταμένως. Ἰουδαίων δὲ πολλὰι μυρι-
 áδες παρῆσαν ὥς τὸν Πετρώνιον εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα
 κατὰ δεήσεις μηδὲν ἐπὶ παρανομία σφᾶς ἐπαναγ-
 264 κάζειν καὶ παραβάσει τοῦ πατρίου νόμου.¹ “εἰ δέ
 σοι πάντως πρόκειται τὸν ἀνδριάντα φέρειν καὶ
 ἱστᾶν, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πρότερον μεταχειρισάμενος
 πρᾶσσε τὰ δεδογμένα· οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνάμεθα περιόντες
 θεωρεῖν² πράγματα ἡμῖν ἀπηγορευμένα ἀξιώματί
 τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ προπατόρων τῶν ἡμετέρων
 τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν αὐτὰ κεχειροτονηκότων.”
 265 Πετρώνιος δὲ ὀργὴν³ λαβὼν εἶπεν⁴. “ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν
 αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν βουλεύμασι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐμαντοῦ
 τάδε πράσσειν ἐπενόουν, κἂν⁵ δίκαιος ᾦν ὑμῖν πρὸς
 με οὗτος ὁ λόγος. νυνὶ δέ μοι Καίσαρος ἐπεσταλ-
 κότος πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διακονεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνῳ προ-
 ανεψηφισμένοις διὰ τὸ εἰς ἀνηκεστοτέραν φέρειν
 266 ζημίαν τὴν παρακρόασιν αὐτῶν.” “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὕ-
 τως φρονεῖς, ὦ Πετρώνιε,” φασὶν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, “ὥς
 μὴ ἂν ἐπιστολὰς τὰς Γαῖου παρελθεῖν, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτοὶ
 παραβαίημεν τοῦ νόμου τὴν προαγόρευσιν θεοῦ⁶
 πεισθέντες ἀρετῇ⁷ καὶ προγόνων πόνοις τῶν ἡμετέ-

¹ νόμου A : om. MWE.

² A : συγχωρεῖν MW : ammittere Lat.

³ ὀργὴν] codd. : ὀργῇ coni. Niese : πρὸς ὀργὴν coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ ὀργὴν . . . εἶπεν] respondit Lat.

⁵ ed. pr. : καὶ AW : om. ME.

at the head of two ^a legions of the Roman army to Ptolemaïs, intending to spend the winter there and towards spring to engage in war without fail. He wrote Gaius what he had in mind to do. The latter commended him for his zeal and bade him abate nothing but wage war vigorously against them if they persisted in disobedience. Meanwhile, many tens of thousands of Jews came to Petronius at Ptolemaïs with petitions not to use force to make them transgress and violate their ancestral code. "If," they said, "you propose at all costs to bring in and set up the image, slay us first before you carry out these resolutions. For it is not possible for us to survive and to behold actions that are forbidden us by the decision both of our lawgiver and of our forefathers who cast their votes enacting these measures as moral laws." To this Petronius indignantly replied: "If I were the emperor and intended to take this action of my own choice, you would have a right to speak as you do. As it is, I am Caesar's emissary and bound to carry out the decision he has already made, since to disregard it would bring on me irretrievable punishment." "Equal to this determination of yours, O Petronius," replied the Jews, "not to transgress the orders of Gaius, is our determination not to transgress the declaration of the law. We have put our trust in the goodness of God and in the labours

Jewish embassy to Petronius at Ptolemaïs protesting.

^a The parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 186, says that there were three legions. Thackeray's note *ad loc.* cites the statement of Philo, *Leg.* 207, that Petronius came with half his army; since there were four legions in Syria at this time Josephus' statement here is to be preferred.

⁶ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$] $\theta\epsilon\hat{\omega}$ | $\tau\epsilon$, $\theta\epsilon\hat{\omega}$ suppl., $\tau\epsilon$ ex $\theta\upsilon$ (h.e. $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$) corr. A : $\omicron\upsilon$ MW.

⁷ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\eta$] MW : $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\eta$ ($\kappa\alpha\iota$ suppl.) A.

ρων εἰς νῦν ἀπαράβατοι μεμενηκότες, οὐδ' ἂν τολμήσαιμεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κακοὶ γενέσθαι, ὥστε ὅποσα ἐκείνῳ δόξειεν μὴ πρασσόμενα ἀγαθοῦ ῥοπὴν ἡμῖν φέρειν αὐτοὶ παραβαίνειν ποτ' ἂν θάνατον φοβη-
 267 θέντες. ὑπομενοῦμεν δὲ εἰς τύχας ἰόντες ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τε πατρίων καὶ κινδυνεύειν προθεμένοις ἐλπίδα οὔσαν ἐξεπιστάμενοι καὶ περιγενέσθαι διὰ τε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ στησόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τε τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ δεινὰ ὑποδεχομένων καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα φιλοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι παρατυγχάνειν,
 268 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σοὶ πείθεσθαι πολλὴν μὲν λοιδορίαν τοῦ ἀνάνδρου προσκεισομένην ὡς δι' αὐτὸ¹ παράβασιν τοῦ νομίμου προσποιουμένοις,² καὶ ἅμα πολλὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ παρὰ σοὶ δικαστῇ γένοιτ' ἂν βελτίων Γαῖου."

269 (3) Καὶ ὁ Πετρώνιος ἐκ τῶν λόγων θεασάμενος δυσνίκητον αὐτῶν τὸ φρονοῦν καὶ μὴ ἂν ἀμαχεῖ δύναμιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι διακονήσασθαι Γαῖῳ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος πολὺν δὲ ἔσσεσθαι φόνον, τοὺς τε φίλους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ θεραπείαν, ἣ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδος ἡπείγετο χρήζων κατα-
 270 νοῆσαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἔχοι. καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μέγαν ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου κίνδυνον, πολὺ μείζονα δὲ κρίνοντες τὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν, αὖθις πολλαὶ μυριάδες ὑπηγντίαζον Πετρώνιον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα γενό-
 271 μενον, καὶ ἱκετεῖα χρώμενοι μηδαμῶς εἰς ἀνάγκας τοιαύτας αὐτοὺς καθιστᾶν μηδὲ μαιίνειν ἀνδριάντος

¹ δι' αὐτὸ] ed. pr. : δι' αὐτῶν A : δι' αὐτὸν MW : δέει αὐτῶν Cocceji.

² ὡς . . . προσποιουμένοις] quod timore transgressores legis efficimur Lat.

of our forefathers and have thus hitherto remained innocent of transgression. Nor could we ever bring ourselves to go so far in wickedness as by our own act to transgress, for any fear of death, the law bidding us abstain, where He thought it conducive to our good to do so. In order to preserve our ancestral code, we shall patiently endure what may be in store for us, with the assurance that for those who are determined to take the risk there is hope even of prevailing; for God will stand by us if we welcome danger for His glory. Fortune, moreover, is wont to veer now toward one side, now toward the other in human affairs. To obey you, on the other hand, would bring on us the grave reproach of cowardice, because that would be the explanation of our transgressing the law, and at the same time we should incur God's severe wrath—and He even in your eyes must be accounted a higher power than Gaius."

(3) ^a Now Petronius saw from their words that their spirit was not easily to be put down and that it would be impossible for him without a battle to carry out Gaius' behest and set up his image. Indeed there would be great slaughter. Hence he gathered up his friends and attendants and hastened to Tiberias, for he wished to take note of the situation of the Jews there. The Jews, though they regarded the risk involved in war with the Romans as great, yet adjudged the risk of transgressing the Law to be far greater. As before, many tens of thousands faced Petronius on his arrival at Tiberias. They besought him by no means to put them under such constraint nor to pollute the city by setting up a statue. "Will

Jewish petition to Petronius at Tiberias.

^a This account of Petronius, §§ 269-288, is parallel with *B.J.* ii. 192-202.

- ἀναθέσει τὴν πόλιν. “πολεμήσετε ἄρα Καίσαρι,”
 Περρώνιος ἔφη, “μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου παρασκευὴν λο-
 γιζόμενοι μήτε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν;” οἱ δ’
 “οὐδαμῶς πολεμήσαιμεν,” ἔφασαν, “τεθνηξόμεθα
 δὲ πρότερον ἢ παραβῆναι τοὺς νόμους.” ἐπὶ τε τὰ
 πρόσωπα κείμενοι καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς προδεικνύντες
 272 ἔτοιμοι κτιννύεσθαι ἔλεγον εἶναι. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπράσ-
 σετο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν
 ἀπερίοπτοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ὥρας
 οὔσης πρὸς σπόρῳ, πολλή τε ἦν προαίρεσις αὐτοῖς
 καὶ τοῦ θνήσκειν ἐπιθυμίας πρόθεσις, ἢ τὴν ἀνά-
 θεσιν θεάσασθαι τοῦ ἀνδριάντος.
- 273 (4) Ἐν τούτοις ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀριστό-
 βουλος ὁ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ
 Ἐλκίας ὁ μέγας¹ ἄλλοι τε οἱ κράτιστοι τῆσδε τῆς
 οἰκίας καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰσίασιν ὡς τὸν
- 274 Περρώνιον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν προ-
 θυμίαν ὀρᾷ τῆς πληθύος, μηδὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῆς
 παρακινεῖν,² ἀλλὰ γράφειν πρὸς Γάιον τὸ ἀνήκεστον
 αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδοχὴν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, πῶς τε
 ἀποστάντες τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἀντικαθέζονται, πολεμεῖν
 μὲν οὐ βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μηδ’ ἂν δύνασθαι, θανεῖν
 δ’ ἔχοντες ἡδονὴν πρὶν παραβῆναι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῖς,
 ὥστε ἀσπόρου τῆς γῆς γενομένης ληστεῖται ἂν
- 275 φύοιντο ἀδυναμία καταβολῆς τῶν φόρων. ἴσως

¹ ὁ μέγας] maior Lat.

² μηδὲν . . . παρακινεῖν] ut bene de negotio praesenti con-
 suleret neque de tantae multitudinis perditione cogitaret Lat. :
 pro παρακινεῖν legit παρακαλεῖν A.

^a The same words, “Will you then go to war with Caesar?”,
 are also found in the parallel account, *B.J.* ii. 196.

you then go to war with Caesar," ^a said Petronius, "regardless of his resources and of your own weakness?" "On no account would we fight," they said, "but we will die sooner than violate our laws." And falling on their faces and baring their throats, ^b they declared that they were ready to be slain. They continued to make these supplications for forty days. ^c Furthermore, they neglected their fields, and that, too, though it was time to sow the seed. ^d For they showed a stubborn determination and readiness to die rather than to see the image erected.

(4) At this juncture Aristobulus, the brother of King Agrippa, together with Helcias the Elder ^e and other most powerful members of this house, together with the civic leaders, appeared before Petronius and appealed to him, since he saw the deep feeling of the people, not to incite them to desperation but to write to Gaius telling how incurable was their opposition to receiving the statue and how they had left their fields to sit protesting, and that they did not choose war, since they could not fight a war, but would be glad to die sooner than transgress their customs. Let him point out that, since the land was unsown, there would be a harvest of banditry, because the requirement of tribute could not be met. For

Aristobulus and other leaders join in the appeal.

^b Cf. the similar phrase in § 59 in the description of the Jewish entreaty to Pilate.

^c Fifty, according to the parallel account in *B.J.* ii. 200.

^d Philo, *Leg.* 249, places this incident at the harvest time.

^e Mentioned in *Ant.* xix. 353 as the prefect and friend of King Agrippa. After the latter's death Helcias conspired with Herod, the ruler of Chalcis, to put to death their enemy Silas, Agrippa's general. He is apparently identical with the Alexas surnamed Helcias mentioned in *Ant.* xviii. 138 as the husband of Cypros, daughter of Herod the Great's daughter Cypros.

- γὰρ ἂν ἐπικλασθέντα τὸν Γάιον μηδὲν ὤμὸν δια-
 νοηθῆναι μηδὲ ἐπ' ἀναστάσει φρονῆσαι τοῦ ἔθνους·
 ἐμμένοντος δὲ τῇ τότε βουλῇ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τότε δὴ
 276 καὐτὸν ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ
 τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Πετρώνιον παρ-
 εκάλουν. Πετρώνιος δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν
 Ἀριστόβουλον παντοίως ἐπικειμένων διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ
 μεγάλων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δέησιν καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ
 277 χρησαμένων εἰς τὰς ἱκετείας, τοῦτο δὲ τῶν Ἰου-
 δαίων θεώμενος τὴν ἀντιπαράταξιν τῆς γνώμης καὶ
 δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τοσαῖσδε ἀνθρώπων μυριάσιν
 μανία τῇ Γαῖου διακονούμενος ἐπαγαγὼν θάνατον
 ἐν αἰτίᾳ τὸ πρὸς θεὸν σεβάσμιον ἔχειν καὶ μετὰ
 πονηρᾶς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βίον ἐλπίδος διαιτᾶσθαι,
 πολὺ κρεῖσσον ἡγείτο ἐπιστείλας τῷ Γαίῳ¹ τὸ ἀν-
 ἡκεστον αὐτοῦ² <τῆς> ὀργῆς³ φέρειν⁴ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ
 278 ὀξέως⁵ δεδιακονημένου αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς⁶. τάχα
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ πείσειν· καὶ τῇ τὸ πρῶτον μανίᾳ τῆς
 γνώμης ἐπιμένοντος ἄψεσθαι⁷ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς, εἰ δ' ἄρα τι καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τρέποι τῆς
 ὀργῆς,⁸ καλῶς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀρετῆς μεταποιουμένοις
 ὑπὲρ τοσῆσδε ἀνθρώπων πληθύος τελευτᾶν, ἔκρινε
 πιθανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν δεομένων τὸν λόγον.
- 279 (5) Συγκαλέσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα τοὺς Ἰου-
 δαίους, οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πολλαὶ μυριάδες, καταστὰς

¹ post Γαίῳ lacunam indicat Dindorf.

² ed. pr. : αὐτῶν AE : αὐτῷ MW.

³ <τῆς> ὀργῆς] Petersen : ὀργὴν codd. : ὀργῇ ed. pr.

⁴ Petersen : φέροντος codd.

⁵ ὀξέος Dindorf.

⁶ ὀργὴν : . . . ἐπιστολαῖς] om. E.

⁷ Bekker : ἄψασθαι codd. E.

perhaps Gaius would relent and not adopt a cruel plan or have the heart to exterminate the nation. But if he remained firm in his present policy of war, let Petronius then proceed with operations. When Aristobulus and the rest appealed to Petronius along such lines, he was influenced by them, for they brought pressure to bear upon him in every way, since the question at issue was of such importance, and employed every device to make their plea effective. Furthermore, he beheld the stubborn determination of the Jews to resist and thought it a terrible thing to bring death upon so many tens of thousands of men in carrying out the mad orders of Gaius, and to hold them guilty for their reverence to God, and thus to spend the rest of his life in foreboding. He considered it far better to send a letter to Gaius and to endure the latter's inexorable wrath aroused by his not carrying out the orders at once.^a Perhaps, moreover, he might even convince him. Nevertheless, if Gaius persisted in his original lunacy, he would undertake war against them. But if, after all, Gaius should turn some of his wrath against him, a man who made virtue his goal might well die on behalf of such a multitude of men. And so he decided to recognize the cogency of the plea of the petitioners.

Petronius
decides to
write Gaius.

(5) He now convened the Jews, who arrived in many tens of thousands, at Tiberias, stood up before

^a The text is very uncertain, though the meaning is clear from §§ 279-283. I have adopted Prof. Petersen's emendation. If *αὐτῶν* is retained, the meaning of the first part is "to send a letter to Gaius that they [the Jews] were beyond cure."

⁸ *ἐπιστείλας . . . ὀργῆς*] ut scriberet Gaio et aut eius animum mitigans nihil per eum iniquum contingeret; aut si forsitan indignatione concitaretur, quod eius minime mandata compleverit et adversus eum aliquid mali decerneret Lat.

ἐπ' αὐτῶν τήν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι στρατείαν οὐ
 γνώμης ἀπέφαινε τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ δὲ αὐτοκράτορος
 τῶν προσταγμάτων, τήν ὀργήν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολάς,
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπιφέρεισθαι τοῖς προστάγ-
 μασι¹ τοῖς παρακροᾶσθαι θάρσος εἰσφερομένοις·
 “ὦ² καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν τὸν γε τιμῆς τοσαύτης ἐπι-
 τετευχότα συγχωρήσει τῇ ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἐναντίον
 280 πράσσειν· οὐ μὴν δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι ἀσφάλειάν τε
 καὶ τιμὴν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ μὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου
 μὴ ἀπολουμένου τοσοῦτων ὄντων ἀναλοῦν δια-
 κονουμένων³ τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦ νόμου, ὃν πάτριον ὄντα
 περιμάχητον ἡγείσθε, καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀξιώσει καὶ
 δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗ⁴ τὸν ναὸν οὐκ ἂν περιδεῖν
 τολμήσαιοι ὕβρει πεσεῖν τῆς τῶν ἡγεμονευόντων
 281 ἐξουσίας. στέλλω δὲ ὥς Γάιον γνώμας τε τὰς
 ὑμετέρας διασαφῶν καὶ πῃ καὶ συνηγορία χρώμενος
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρὰ⁵ γνώμην πείσεσθαι⁶ οἷς⁷
 προὔθεσθε ἀγαθοῖς.⁸ καὶ συμπράσσοι μὲν ὁ θεός,
 βελτίων γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης μηχανῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ
 κατ' ἐκείνον ἐξουσία, πρυτανεύων ὑμῖν τε τὴν τήρη-
 σιν τῶν πατρίων καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνθρωπείαις
 παρὰ γνώμην βουλεύσεσι τιμῶν τῶν εἰωθυιῶν ἀμαρ-
 282 τεῖν. εἰ δ' ἐκπικρανθεὶς Γάιος εἰς ἐμὲ τρέψει τὸ

¹ τοῖς προστάγμασι] Thackeray : τοῖς πράγμασιν codd. om. Bekker, Holwerda.

² ed. pr. : ὦ (i. ras. A) AMW.

³ Hudson et Cocceji : διακονούμενον codd.

⁴ Cocceji : om. codd.

⁵ παρὰ] μὴ παρὰ Holwerda.

them and explained that the present expedition was not of his own choosing but by command of the emperor, whose wrath would descend instantly and without any delay upon those who assumed the audacity to disobey his commands. "It is only right that one upon whom such high position had been conferred by grant of the emperor should thwart him in nothing. I do not, however," he said, "deem it right not to hazard my own safety and position in order to save you, who are so numerous, from perishing. You are carrying out the precepts of your law, which as your heritage you see fit to defend, and serving the sovereign of all, almighty God, whose temple I should not have had the heart to see fall a prey to the insolence of imperial authority. Rather I am sending a dispatch to Gaius fully explaining your determination and also in some way advocating my own case for compliance, contrary to his decree, with the good object which you have proposed.^a May God assist you, since His might is above any human ingenuity or strength; may He enable you to maintain and to preserve your ancestral laws without His being deprived of His customary honours by capricious human plots. If, however, Gaius is embittered and makes me the object of his inexorable wrath, I

^a Or (with Hudson) "advocating your cause so as not to see you suffer for the good arguments that you proffered." Prof. Post, reading ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς μὴ παρὰ γνώμην πεισομένου, suggests "acting as your advocate to defend your refusal to obey contrary to your judgement and your moral principles."

⁶ Petersen: πεισομένην codd.: πεισομένου Cocceji: πειθομένου coni. Niese.

⁷ καθ' ἡμᾶς . . . οἷς] μὴ ὑμᾶς παρορᾶν πεισομένους ἐφ' οἷς Hudson.

⁸ καὶ πῃ . . . ἀγαθοῖς] quantum possum causam adiuvans et vestrum in bono propositum Lat.

- ἀνήκεστον τῆς ὀργῆς, τλήσομαι πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ
 πᾶσαν ταλαιπωρίαν συνιούσαν τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ
 τύχῃ¹ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ὑμᾶς τοσοῦσδε ὄντας ἐπὶ οὕτως
 283 ἀγαθαῖς ταῖς πράξεσι διολλυμένους θεωρεῖν. ἅπιτε
 οὖν ἐπὶ ἔργα τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι καὶ τῇ γῇ ἐπι-
 πονεῖτε. πέμψω δ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τὰ
 πάντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δι' ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐκ
 ἀποτραπήσομαι διακονεῖν.”
- 284 (6) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν
 σύλλογον προμηθεῖσθαι τῶν εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν ἡξίου
 τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ καθομιλεῖν τὸν λαὸν ἐλπίσι χρη-
 σταῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθυμεῖν τὸ πλῆθος ἔσπευδεν. ὁ
 θεὸς δὲ παρουσίαν² ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν αὐτοῦ Πετρω-
 285 νίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅλοις σύλληψιν· ἅμα τε γὰρ
 ἐπαύετο τοῦ λόγου, ὃν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν,
 καὶ αὐτίκα ὑετὸν ἡφίει μέγαν παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς
 ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον διὰ τὸ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν
 αἶθριον ἔωθεν οὖσαν οὐδὲν ὄμβριον ἀποσημαίνειν ἐκ
 τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔτος ἀνχμῷ με-
 γάλῳ κατεσχημένον ἐπ' ἀπογνώσει ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀν-
 θρώπους ὕδατος τοῦ ἄνωθεν, εἰ καὶ σύννεφόν ποτε
 286 θεάσαιντο τὸν οὐρανόν. ὥστε δὴ τότε πολλοῦ καὶ
 παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐτέρῳ δόξαν ἀφιγμένου
 ὕδατος τοῖς τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐλπίς ἦν ἐπ' οὐδαμοῖς
 ἀτυχῆσειν Πετρώνιον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόμενον, ὃ τε
 Πετρώνιος κατεπέπληκτο μειζόνως ὁρῶν ἐναργῶς
 τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων προμηθούμενον καὶ πολλὴν
 ἀποσημῆναντα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὡς μηδ' ἂν τοῖς
 ἔργῳ προθεμένοις τὰναντία φρονεῖν ἰσχὺν ἀντι-

¹ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ] A: καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ WE: καὶ ψυχῇ M: om. Lat.

² E: praesentiam Lat.: παρρησίαν codd.

^a Variant “soul.”

will endure every form of danger and every form of suffering that may be inflicted upon my body and my fortune ^a rather than behold you who are so numerous destroyed for deeds so virtuous. Go, therefore, each to your own occupation, and labour on the land. I myself will send a message to Rome and will not turn aside from doing every service in your behalf both by myself and through my friends."

(6) With these words he dismissed the assembly of the Jews and requested those in authority to attend to agricultural matters and to conciliate the people with optimistic propaganda. He thus did his best to encourage the masses. God, on His part, showed Petronius that He was with him ^b and would lend His aid in all matters. For as soon as Petronius had finished delivering this speech before the Jews, God straightway sent a heavy shower ^c that was contrary to general anticipation, for that day, from morning on, had been clear and the sky had given no indication of rain. Indeed, that entire year had been beset by so great a drought that it caused the people to despair of rainfall even if at any time they saw the sky overcast. The result was that, when much rain fell at that moment exceptionally and unexpectedly, the Jews were hopeful that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition on their behalf. Petronius, on his part, was struck with great amazement when he saw unmistakable evidence that God's providence was over the Jews and that He had shown His presence so abundantly that not even those who actually proposed to take the opposite view ^d had any heart left

Providential rainfall encourages the Jews.

^b MSS. "showed Petronius His frankness."

^c The account of this shower is omitted in the parallel passage in *B.J.* ii. 199-202.

^d *i.e.* that God was *not* favourable to the Jews.

- 287 λέξεως καταλελείφθαι.¹ ὥς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον
 σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ὅποσα ἔγραφεν, ἐπαγωγὰ δὲ ἦν τὰ
 πάντα² καὶ παντοίως παρακαλοῦντα μὴ τοσαύτας
 μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἀπονοεῖν, ἅς εἰ κτεῖνοι, οὐ γὰρ
 δίχα γε πολέμου παραχωρήσειν τοῦ νομίμου τῆς
 θρησκείας, προσόδου τε τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστερεῖ-
 σθαι καὶ τῷ ἀποτροπαίῳ³ τῆς ἀρᾶς ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν
 288 μέλλοντα αἰῶνα.⁴ καὶ ἄλλως θείου τοῦ προεστηκότος
 αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ὥς ἀκραιφνῇ ἀπέφαιναν καὶ μη-
 δὲν ἐνδοιαστὸν ἐπὶ δυνάμει τῇ αὐτῆς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι
 καταλείπουσαν. καὶ Περώνιος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
 289 (7) Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ ἐπὶ
 Ῥώμῃς διαιτώμενος, προὔκοπτε φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν
 Γάιον μειζόνως. καὶ ποτε προθεὶς δείπνον αὐτῷ
 καὶ πρόνοιαν ἔχων πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τέλεσί τε
 τοῖς εἰς τὸ δείπνον καὶ παρασκευῇ τοῦ εἰς ἡδονὴν
 290 φέροντος, ὥς μὴ ὅπως ἂν τινα τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀλλὰ
 μὴδ' αὐτὸν Γάιον πιστεύειν⁵ ποτε ἰσωθῆναι θελή-
 σοντα οὐχ ὅπως ὑπερβαλέσθαι· τοσοῦτον ὁ ἀνὴρ
 τῇ παρασκευῇ πάντας ὑπερῆρεν καὶ τῷ τὰ πάντα
 291 Καίσαρι⁶ ἐκφροντίσας⁷ παρασχεῖν.⁸ καὶ ὁ Γάιος

¹ ante ὥς lacunam statuit Hudson : post ἔγραφεν lacunam statuit Dindorf.

² γράμματα coni. Niese.

³ Cocceji : τροπαίῳ codd. : ἀποτροπῇ coni. Thackeray (cf. Ant. xix. 268).

⁴ καὶ τῷ . . . αἰῶνα] memoriam etiam non bonam Romani nominis in posteriora tempora derelinqui Lat. : καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὄνομα τῇ ἀρᾷ ὑποτίθεσθαι <εἰς> τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα coni. Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

⁵ A : om. MW Exc.

⁶ Καίσαρι] Hudson : Καίσαρος MW Exc. : ἡ Καίσαρος AE.

⁷ A : i. marg. γρ ἐκφορτίσας A : ἐκφροντίσαι MW Exc. : ἐκφροντίσει ed. pr.

⁸ τοσοῦτον . . . παρασχεῖν] om. Lat.

to dispute the fact. He included ^a this occurrence along with the other things of which he wrote to Gaius. It was all designed to induce him and entreat him in every way not to drive so many tens of thousands of men to desperation. For if he should slay them—and they would certainly not give up their accustomed manner of worship without war—he would be deprived of their revenue and would be put under the ban of a curse for all time to come. He said, moreover, that the Divinity who was in charge of them had shown His power to be unimpaired and was quite unambiguous in displaying this power. So much for Petronius.

(7) Meanwhile King Agrippa,^b who, as it happened, was living in Rome, advanced greatly in friendship with Gaius. Once he made a banquet for him with the intention of surpassing everyone both in the expenditure on the banquet and in provision for the pleasure of the guests. He was so successful that, to say nothing of the others, even Gaius himself despaired of equalling, much less surpassing it, if he should desire to do so. So far did this man surpass everyone in his preparations and in devising and providing everything for the emperor. Gaius thoroughly

Agrippa at Rome advances in favour with Galus.

^a There appears to be a lacuna in this sentence, though the meaning seems clear.

^b In Philo, *Leg.* 276-329, Agrippa is depicted as unaware of the emperor's order to Petronius, about which he learns from Caligula himself. He is taken aback by the announcement and faints. After recovering, he writes at length to the emperor urging him to follow the example of his predecessors and to show tolerance towards the Jews. There is no mention of a banquet, a setting which is reminiscent of the seventh chapter of the Book of Esther, where Esther makes a plea on behalf of her people to King Ahasuerus, who is ready to offer her half his kingdom.

ἐκθαυμάσας τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μεγαλο-
 πρέπειαν, ὥς ἐπ' ἄρεσκέια τῇ αὐτοῦ βιάζοιτο καὶ
 ὑπὲρ δύνάμιν τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορία χρήσασθαι,
 βουλόμενός τε μιμήσασθαι τὴν Ἀγρίππου φιλο-
 τιμίαν ἐφ' ἡδονῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ πρασσομένην, ἀνειμένος
 ὑπὸ οἴνου καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὸ ἱλαρώτερον ἐκτε-
 τραμμένος, φησὶν ἐν συμποσίῳ παρακαλοῦντος εἰς
 292 πότον· “ Ἀγρίππα, καὶ πρότερον μὲν σοι τιμὴν
 συνήδειν ἢ ἐχρῶ τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πολλὴν εὐνοίαν
 μετὰ κινδύνων ἀποδειχθεῖσαν, οἷς ὑπὸ Τιβερίου
 περιέστης δι' αὐτήν, ἐπιλείπεις τε οὐδὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ
 δύνάμιν ἀρετῇ χρήσθαι τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ὅθεν, αἰσ-
 χρὸν γὰρ ἡσασθᾶί με ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς, ἀνα-
 293 λαβεῖν βούλομαι τὰ ἐλλελειμμένα πρότερον· ὀλίγον
 γὰρ πᾶν ὁπόσον σοι δωρεῶν ἐχόμενον ἀπεμοιρασά-
 μην. τὸ πᾶν, ὅπερ σοι ῥοπήν ἂν προσθείη τοῦ
 εὐδαίμονος, δεδιακονήσεται γάρ σοι προθυμία τε
 καὶ ἰσχύι τῇ ἐμῇ.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν οἰό-
 μενος γῆν τε πολλήν¹ τῆς προσόδου² αἰτήσεσθαι³ ἢ
 294 καὶ τινων προσόδους πόλεων, ὁ δὲ καίπερ τὰ πάντα
 ἐφ' οἷς αἰτήσαι παρασκευασάμενος οὐκ ἐφάνερου
 τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀμείβεται τὸν
 Γάιον, ὅτι μήτε πρότερον κέρδος τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 καραδοκῶν παρὰ τὰς Τιβερίου ἐπιστολὰς θερα-
 πεύσειεν αὐτὸν οὔτε νῦν πρᾶσσειν τι τῶν εἰς χάριν
 295 τὴν ἐκείνου κερδῶν οἰκείων ἔν τισι λήψεσι. μεγάλα
 δὲ εἶναι τὰ προδεδωρημένα καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ θρά-
 σει χρωμένου τῶν ἐλπίδων· “ καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῆς σῆς
 ἐλάττονα γέγονεν δυνάμεως, τῆς γ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ εἰλη-

¹ γῆν τε πολλήν] Λ: τὴν τε πόλιν MW Exc.: τὴν τε πολλήν E.

² τῆς προσόδου] E: τῆς προσόδου codd.: om. ed. pr.

admired his ingenuity and magnificence and his forcible way of employing, in order to give him pleasure, an abundance of money even beyond his means. Gaius therefore wished to imitate the ambitious display that Agrippa had made to please him. Hence while he was relaxed with wine and while his mood was unusually genial, he said during the banquet when Agrippa invited him to drink: "Agrippa, I have known in my heart before how highly you regarded me and how you have proved your great loyalty even amidst the dangers with which, because of it, you were encircled by Tiberius. And now you never fail to show kindness to us, going even beyond your means. Consequently, inasmuch as it would be a stain on my honour to let you outdo me in zeal, I wish to make amends for past deficiencies. Indeed, all the gifts that I have allotted to you are but slight in amount; any service that can add its weight in the scale of prosperity shall be performed for you with all my heart and power." He spoke these words thinking that Agrippa would ask for a large accession of territory adjoining his own or for the revenues of certain cities. As for Agrippa, although he was quite ready to make his request, he did not reveal his intention. On the contrary, he at once replied to Gaius that it was not in expectation of any benefit from him that he had in the past paid court to him in spite of Tiberius' orders; nor were any of his present activities in giving him pleasure designed as a road to personal gain. He said that the gifts that Gaius had already presented to him were great and went beyond any expectations that he would dare to cherish. "For even if they have been inferior to your capacity, they

Gaius' offer
to grant
Agrippa
any request.

³ Hudson: *αἰρήσασθαι* codd. E Exc.

- 296 φότος διανοίας τε καὶ ἀξιώσεως μείζονα.” καὶ ὁ
Γάιος ἐκπλαγείς τὴν ἀρετὴν¹ αὐτοῦ πλειόνως ἐνέ-
κειτο εἰπεῖν, ὅ τι χαρίζοιτ’ ἂν αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος.
ὁ δέ, “ ἐπεὶ περ, ὦ δέσποτα, προθυμία τῇ σῇ δω-
ρεῶν ἄξιον ἀποφαίνεις, αἰτήσομαι τῶν μὲν εἰς ὄλβον
φερόντων οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ μέγας με ἐνδιαπρέπειν
297 οἷς ἤδη παρέσχες· ὅ τι δ’ ἂν σοὶ δόξαν προσποιῶ²
τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ τὸ θεῖον σύμμαχον ἐφ’ οἷς θελή-
σειας παρακαλοῖ³ κάμοι πρὸς εὐκλείας γένοιτο παρὰ
τοῖς πυνθανομένοις, ὡς μηθενὸς ὦν χρησαίμην ὑπὸ
τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας ἀτυχεῖν πώποτε γνόντι⁴. ἀξιῶ
γάρ σοι τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, ἣν ποιήσα-
σθαι κελεύεις Πετρώνιον εἰς τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἱερόν,
μηκέτι πράσσειν διανοεῖσθαι.”
- 298 (8) Καὶ ὁ μὲν καίπερ ἐπικίνδυνον τοῦτο ἡγού-
μενος, εἰ γὰρ μὴ πιθανὰ ἔκρινε Γάιος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ
εἰς θάνατον ἔφερεν, διὰ τὸ μέγας νομίζειν τε καὶ
εἶναι κύβον ἀναρριπτεῖν τὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἡγείτο.
- 299 Γάιος δέ⁵ ἅμα τε τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀνει-
λημμένος καὶ ἄλλως ἀπρεπὲς ὑπολαμβάνων ἐπὶ
τοσῶνδε μαρτύρων ψευδὴς γενέσθαι περὶ ὦν προ-
θύμως ἐβιάζετο αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν μετὰ τοῦ
- 300 ὀξέος μεταμέλῳ χρώμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίπ-
που τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμάσας ὅτι ἐν ὀλίγῳ (θέμενος)⁶
αὔξει⁷ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν ἥτοι προσόδοις χρημάτων
ἢ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει τοῦ κοινού⁸ τῆς εὐθυμίας ἐπιμελοῖτο

¹ A : διάνοιαν MW Exc. et i. marg. A : continentiam Lat.

² Niese : προσποιῶ codd. E Exc.

³ Niese : παρακαλῶ codd. Exc. : παρακαλῆ Bekker.

⁴ ὡς . . . γνόντι] quod nihil a te petierim ad usus pertinens temporalium rerum Lat. : γνόντι corruptum indicat Niese.

⁵ δέ] WE : δὲ καὶ AM.

⁶ <ὅτι> ἐν ὀλίγῳ <θέμενος>] Petersen : ἐν ὀλίγῳ codd. : ὅτι ἐν

exceed my thoughts and my claims as a recipient." Gaius, amazed at his character, insisted all the more on his telling what he might grant to please him. Agrippa replied : " Since, my lord, in your kindness you declare me worthy of gifts, I shall ask for nothing that would make me richer inasmuch as I am already extremely conspicuous because of the gifts that you have hitherto bestowed upon me. But I shall ask for something that will bring you a reputation for piety and will induce the Deity to help you in everything that you wish ; and it will bring me the renown, among those who hear of it, of never having known failure in anything that I desired your authority to obtain for me. Well, I ask you to abandon all further thought of erecting the statue which Petronius has your orders to set up in the temple of the Jews."

(8) Hazardous as he considered this petition—for if Gaius did not regard it with favour, it would bring him certain death—yet, because he thought the issue important, as it truly was, he chose to make the gamble on this occasion. Gaius was bound by Agrippa's attentions to him. Furthermore, if he repented quickly of his offer, he regarded it as unseemly to break his word before so many witnesses, when he had by his zealous constraint compelled Agrippa to make his request. At the same time he admired the character of Agrippa in that he set little store on adding to his personal authority either by increasing his revenue or by other privileges, but had regard to the happiness of the commonwealth, by giving prece-

Agrippa
persuades
Gaius to
desist from
setting up
the statue.

ὀλίγω Cocceji : post ὀλίγω lacunam indicat Ernesti, excidit θοῖτο vel aliud : post θαυμάσας <εἰ ποιοῖτο> vel sim. coni. Thackeray : ποιούμενος supplet Bekker.

⁷ ἐν ὀλίγω αὐξέειν] quod . . . non . . . amplificare cupiverit Lat. ⁸ κοινοῦ] MWE Exc. : κοινοῦ δὲ A.

πρεσβεύων τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ θεῖον, συνεχώρει καὶ
γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον, ἐκείνον τῆς τε ἀθροί-
σεως τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπαινῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς
301 αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπεσταλκός· “ νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν
φθάνεις τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐστακῶς, ἐστάτω¹. εἰ δὲ
μήπω πεποιῆσαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μηδὲν περαιτέρω
κακοπαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τε στρατὸν διάλυε καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐφ’ ᾧ τὸ πρῶτόν σε ἔστειλα ἄπιθι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι
δέομαι τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Ἀγρίππα
χαριζόμενος ἀνδρὶ παρ’ ἐμοὶ τιμωμένῳ μειζόνως ἢ
ὥστε με χρεῖα τῇ ἐκείνου καὶ οἷς κελεύσειεν ἀντει-
302 πεῖν.” Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πε-
τρώνιον πρότερον ἢ ἐντυχεῖν ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει κατα-
δοξάσας αὐτοὺς² ἐπείγεσθαι,³ μηδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον
ἀποσημαίνειν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον
303 ἄντικρυς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπειλεῖν.⁴ καὶ περιαλγῆσας
ὥς ἐπὶ πείρα τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ τετολμηκότων,
ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡσσων μὲν τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, κρείσσων
δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ἐφ’ οἷσιν κρίνειεν ὀργῇ
χρηῆσθαι παρ’ ὄντιν οὖν ἐπειγόμενος παίδευσιν αὐτῆς
οὐδ’ ἡντιν οὖν προστιθείς, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἡδονῇ τιθείς τῇ

¹ ἐστάτω] μὴ ἐστάτω Clementz.

² καταδοξάσας αὐτοὺς] Thackeray: καταδόξας αὐτοὺς A: αὐτοὺς κατὰ δόξας MW: διὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα Zonaras.

³ ἐντυχεῖν . . . ἐπείγεσθαι] ἐντυχεῖν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαῖς ἐμφαινουσῶν ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κατὰ δόξας αὐτοὺς ἐπείγεσθαι E, lacuna ex coniectura expleta: lacunam post ἐντυχεῖν indicat Niese.

⁴ πρότερον . . . ἀπειλεῖν] antequam seditio maior oreretur; nam ita iam mentes omnium tumebant, atque talia voluntatum eorum indicia monstrabantur, ut si forte contrarius nuntius adveniret parati essent apertum bellum gerere cum Romanis Lat.

dence to religion and the law. So he yielded and wrote to Petronius commending him for having assembled his army and for having sent him his dispatch on the subject. "Now, therefore," he said, "if you have already set up my statue, let it stand.^a If, however, you have not yet dedicated it, do not trouble yourself further but dismiss the army and betake yourself to those matters for which I originally dispatched you. For I no longer require the erection of the statue, showing favour to Agrippa in this, a man whom I hold in too high esteem to gainsay his request and his bidding." Gaius had written this to Petronius before reading the latter's message from which he wrongly concluded that the Jews were bent on revolt ^b and that their attitude indicated no other intent than a threat of downright war against the Romans. Upon receiving this letter, he was in agony at the thought that they had dared to put his authority to the test. Since he was a man who always yielded to baseness but was strong in resisting the claim of an ideal, one who beyond all others rushed into a rage against anyone who came under his censure, exercising no control over it whatsoever but considering the pleasure derived from indulging it

Petronius' letter to Gaius arrives.

^a H. Clementz, in his German translation of Josephus, says that the meaning must be "let it not stand" since otherwise the promise of Gaius to Agrippa would not be fulfilled. But since Agrippa had asked that Gaius abandon all *further* thought of erecting the statue, Gaius could sophistically have claimed that his message to Petronius was in accordance with the promise, and that Agrippa had not requested that he *remove* the statue.

^b The text is doubtful. If we follow the reading of the Epitome, the meaning would be "before reading Petronius' letters which showed that the Jews were in thought already bent on revolt."

ἐκείνης τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος, γράφει πρὸς τὸν
 304 Πετρώνιον· “ ἐπειδὴ δῶρα ὅποσα σοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι
 παρέσχον ἐν μείζονι λόγῳ τῶν ἐμῶν πεποίησαι ἐν-
 τολῶν διακονεῖσθαι τὰ πάντα ἡδονῇ τῇ ἐκείνων
 ἀρθεῖς ἐπὶ παραβάσει τῶν ἐμῶν ἐντολῶν, κελεύω
 σε σαυτῷ κριτὴν γενόμενον λογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ
 ποιητέου σοι ὑποστάντα¹ ὀργῇ τῇ ἐμῇ, ἐπεὶ τοι
 παράδειγμα ποιοῦντό σε οἷ τε νῦν πάντες² καὶ ὁπό-
 σοι ὕστεροι γένοιτ’ ἂν,³ μηδαμῶς ἀκυροῦν αὐτο-
 κράτορος ἀνδρὸς ἐντολάς.”

305 (9) Ταύτην μὲν γράφει Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπιστολήν,
 οὐ μὴν φθάνει γε ζῶντος Πετρώνιος δεξάμενος
 αὐτὴν βραδυνθέντος τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς φέρουσιν εἰς
 τοσόνδε, ὥστε Πετρωνίῳ γράμματα πρὸ αὐτῆς
 ἀφικέσθαι, δι’ ὧν μανθάνει τὴν Γαΐου τελευτήν.
 306 θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἄρ’ ἀμνημονήσειν ἔμελλε Πετρωνίῳ
 κινδύνων, οὓς ἀνελήφει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Γάιον ἀπο-
 σκευασάμενος ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπὶ σεβασμῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ
 πράσσειν ἐτόλμησε, τὸν μισθὸν χρεολυτεῖν.⁴ συν-
 εργεῖ⁵ τῷ Πετρωνίῳ ἢ τε Ῥώμη καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχή,
 μάλιστα δ’ ὅποσοι τῆς βουλῆς προὔχοιεν ἀξιώματι,
 διὰ τὸ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀκράτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι τὸν

¹ ὑποστάντι Bekker : ὑπεκστάντα conl. Niese.

² ποιοῦντό . . . πάντες] codd. : ποιοῖμι (ποιοῖμι’ E) ἂν σε τοῖς
 τε νῦν πᾶσι E et i. marg. A.

³ ἐπεὶ τοι . . . γένοιτ’ ἂν] ut exemplum efficiare cunctis et
 praesentibus et futuris Lat.

⁴ lacunam post χρεολυτεῖν indicat Niese.

his criterion of happiness, he wrote to Petronius as follows: "Since you have held the gifts that the Jews have bestowed upon you in higher regard than my orders and have presumed to minister in everything to their pleasure in violation of my orders, I bid you act as your own judge and consider what course it is your duty to take, since you have brought my displeasure upon yourself. For I assure you that you shall be cited as an example by all men now and all that will come hereafter to point the moral that an emperor's commands are never to be flouted." ^a

Gaius' angry letter to Petronius is nullified by Gaius' death.

(9) Such was the letter that he wrote to Petronius. But Petronius did not receive it while Gaius was alive since the voyage of those who brought the message was so delayed that before it arrived Petronius had received a letter with news of the death of Gaius. ^b Indeed, God could never have been unmindful of the risks that Petronius had taken in showing favour to the Jews and honouring God. No, the removal of Gaius in displeasure at his rashness in promoting his own claim to worship was God's payment of the debt to Petronius. In fact, Rome and all the empire, and especially those of the senators who were outstanding in merit, favoured Petronius, since Gaius had vented his wrath against them without mercy. And so

^a The parallel passage in *B.J.* omits the whole account of Agrippa's intercession with Caligula and merely mentions (ii. 203) Gaius' angry reply threatening to put Petronius to death for his tardiness in executing his orders.

^b Gaius died on 24 January A.D. 41. According to the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 203, those who bore Gaius' letter to Petronius were weather-bound for three months at sea and arrived twenty-seven days after those who brought news of Gaius' death.

⁶ MW: συνευεργετῆν A: συνευεργετῆται coni. Niese.

- 307 Γάιον.¹ καὶ τελευτᾷ μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἢ
 γράψαι τῷ Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανεῖν ἀνακει-
 μένην ἐπιστολήν, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἧς τελευτᾷ, καὶ
 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸν τρόπον ἀφηγήσομαι προϊόντος
 308 τοῦ λόγου. Πετρωνίῳ δὲ προτέρα μὲν παρῆν ἡ
 διασαφοῦσα τοῦ Γαίου τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπιστολή, μετ'
 οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἡ κελεύουσα αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν αὐτόχειρα,
 καὶ ἦσθη τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ τοῦ ὀλέθρου, ὃς τὸν Γάιον
 309 κατέλαβεν, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐξεθαύμασεν
 οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος μισθὸν αὐτῷ
 τιμῆς τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ βοηθείας τῆς Ἰου-
 δαίων σωτηρίας παρασχομένου.² καὶ Πετρωνίῳ
 μὲν οὕτως μὴ ἂν τοπασθεῖς³ διεφεύχθη ῥαδίως ὁ
 κίνδυνος τοῦ θανεῖν.
- 310 (ix. 1) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοπο-
 ταμίᾳ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οἰκοῦντας
 Ἰουδαίους συμφορὰ δεινὴ καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἡστινος
 ἐλάσσων φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολὺς καὶ ὁπόσος οὐχ
 ἱστορημένος πρότερον. περὶ ὧν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐπ'
 ἀκριβὲς διηγησάμενος ἐκθήσομαι καὶ τὰς αἰτίας,
- 311 ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος συνέτυχεν. Νέαρδα⁴ τῆς
 Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶ πόλις ἄλλως τε πολυανδροῦσα καὶ

¹ ἀλλὰ . . . Γάιον] sed Gaium de medio auferens mercedem illi dignam pro illius impietate restituit, cooperatus est autem Petronio; nam tanta illi dilectio comparata est tam Romae quam in unoquoque regno, ut dei gratia super eum evidens appareret [ut . . . appareret om. cod. A]. Romae namque omnes senatorii ordinis et quotquot dignitatibus eminebant tam virtutis merito quam odio Gaii, quod propter crudelitatem iniquitatemque concaeperant, circa Petronium magno favore ferebantur Lat.

² Hudson: παρασχόμενον codd.

Gaius died not long after having written to Petronius this letter consigning him to death ^a; the cause of Gaius' death and the manner in which the plot was formulated I shall relate in the course of my work.^b Thus Petronius first received the letter which reported clearly the death of Gaius, and, not long afterwards, the one which ordered him to take his life with his own hand. He rejoiced at the coincidence that Gaius' disaster came when it did, and marvelled at the providence of God, who swiftly and punctually had paid him his reward for showing honour to the temple and coming to the rescue of the Jews. Thus for Petronius the menace of death was easily dispelled in a manner that could hardly have been foreseen.

(ix. 1) The Jews of Mesopotamia and especially those inhabiting Babylonia now met with a terrible and unparalleled disaster and were massacred in such numbers as never before in recorded history. I shall tell the whole story in detail, setting forth also the causes that were the occasion of their misfortune. Nearda ^c is a city in Babylonia that is not only populous but also possesses a rich and extensive district,

The Jews
in Baby-
lonia.
Their trea-
sure cities,
Nearda and
Nisibis.

^a The parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 203, says that Gaius merely threatened to put Petronius to death.

^b *Ant.* xix. 15-114.

^c Not far from Sippar and near the junction of the Euphrates and the *Nahr Malka*—the "King's Canal," which made the city difficult to attack: *cf.* *Bab. Kiddushin* 70 b, *Shabbat* 108 b. It is to be identified with Nehardea, the seat, in Talmudic times, of the exilarch and of a famous academy headed by Samuel in the third century.

³ οὕτως μὴ ἂν τοπασθεῖς] A: οὕτως μὴ ἀντοπισθεῖς M: οὕτως μὴ ἀντοπιθεῖς W: οὕτως μὴ αὐτῷ ὀφθεῖς Hudson: τρόπον μὴ προὔπτον coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ Νέαρδα] Νεαρδὰ MW: Νεέρδα A: Νεερδὰ E: Neerda Lat.: Νάαρδα apud Steph. Byz. vocatur.

- χώραν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν ἔχουσα καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάπλεων.¹ ἔστιν δὲ καὶ πολεμίοις οὐκ εὐέμβολος περιόδω τε τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἐντὸς αὐτὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντος καὶ κατα-
 312 σκευαῖς τειχῶν. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Νίσιβις² πόλις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ περίρρουν, ὅθεν Ἰουδαῖοι τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων πεπιστευκότες τό τε δίδραχμον, ὃ τῷ θεῷ καταβάλλειν ἐκάστοις πάτριον, ταύτῃ κατετίθεντο καὶ ὅποσα δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, ἐχρῶντό τε ὥσπερ ταμιεῖω ταῖς πόλεσιν.
 313 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνεπέμπετο ἡ καιρός, πολλαί τε ἀνθρώπων μυριάδες τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν χρημάτων παρελάμβανον δεδιότες τὰς Παρθυαίων ἀρπαγὰς ὑποτελούσης ἐκείνοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.³
 314 καὶ ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀσιναιῖος καὶ Ἀνιλαῖος Νεερδάται μὲν τὸ γένος, ἀλλήλων δὲ ἀδελφοί. καὶ αὐτοὺς, πατὴρ δ' ἦσαν ὀρφανοί, ἡ μήτηρ προσέταξεν ἱστῶν⁴ μαθήσει ποιήσεως,⁵ οὐκ ὄντος ἀπρεποῦς τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ὥστε τοὺς ἄνδρας ταλασιουργεῖν⁶ παρ' αὐτοῖς. τούτοις ὁ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφεστῶς, καὶ γὰρ

¹ Hudson (ex Lat.): ἀνάπλεως codd.

² AM: Νίσιβης (η minus clarum) W: Nesebis (Nesibis cod. Canon.) Lat.

³ δεδιότες . . . Βαβυλωνίας] om. Lat. ⁴ ἱστῶν Naber.

⁵ ἱστῶν . . . ποιήσεως] ut navium operarentur velamina Lat.

⁶ ταλασιουργεῖν] ut . . . exerceantur operibus quae usui marino proficiant Lat. (h.e. θαλασσοουργεῖν).

^a Apparently to be distinguished from the more famous city in north-eastern Babylonia, since, as noted by J. Sturm, "Nisibis," no. 3, Pauly-Wissowa, xvii¹, 1936, p. 757, Josephus' city is on an island in the Euphrates near Nearda, whereas the other Nisibis is between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

^b The equivalent of the half shekel (Ex. xxx. 13) paid by all Jews twenty or more years of age.

which, in addition to its other advantages, is also thickly settled. It is, moreover, not easily exposed to hostile invasion because it is entirely encompassed by a bend of the Euphrates and the construction of walls. There is also a city Nisibis ^a situated on the same bend of the river. The Jews, in consequence, trusting to the natural strength of these places, used to deposit there the two-drachm coins ^b which it is the national custom for all to contribute to the cause of God, as well as any other dedicatory offerings. Thus these cities were their bank of deposit. From there these offerings were sent to Jerusalem at the appropriate time. Many tens of thousands of Jews shared in the convoy of these monies because they feared the raids of the Parthians, to whom Babylonia was subject. Now there were two brothers, Asinaeus and Anilaeus, who were natives of Nearda. Since they had lost their father, their mother apprenticed ^c them to learn the weaving trade, for it is not considered undignified by the inhabitants of that country for men to spin wool.^d The man in charge of their

The brothers Asinaeus and Anilaeus, being outraged, collect a robber band.

^c On the normal conditions of apprenticeship in Palestine and Babylonia see S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, ii, 1911, pp. 255-256.

^d On weaving as a disgraceful occupation see Mishnah, *Eduyoth* i. 3, which states that there is no craft lower than that of a weaver, and Bab. *Baba Batra* 21 a, where the word used is clearly derived from *γερδικός*, "weaver." See, in general, Krauss, *op. cit.* i, 1910, pp. 149 and 560 notes 271-275, who quotes (p. 560 n. 273) the proverb emanating from Babylonia and given in *Abodah Zarah* 26 a: "A year's scanty earnings will alter [improve] a weaver if he be not a proud fool." F. M. Heichelheim, "Roman Syria," in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv, 1938, p. 191, notes that Borsippa and Nearda in Babylonia produced large quantities of linen and woollen goods (*cf.* Strabo xvi. 39, which he cites). The Latin version interprets our passage

- ἐμεμαθήκεσαν παρ' αὐτῷ, βραδυτήτα ἐπικαλέσας
 315 τῆς ἀφίξεως ἐκόλασε πληγαῖς. οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ὕβρει τὴν
 δικαίωσιν λογιζόμενοι, κατασπάσαντες τῶν ὄπλων
 πολλὰ ὅποσα ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας φυλασσόμενα
 ὥχοντο εἰς τι χωρίον, διάρρηξιν μὲν ποταμῶν λεγόμενον,¹
 νομὰς δὲ ἀγαθὰς παρασχεῖν πεφυκὸς καὶ
 χιλὸν ὁπόσοι² εἰς τὸν χειμῶνα ἀποτιθοῖντο. συν-
 ἦεσάν τε ὡς αὐτοὺς τῶν νέων οἱ ἀπορώτατοι, καὶ
 τούτους τοῖς ὅπλοις φραγνύντες στρατηγοὶ τε ἦσαν
 καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἡγεμόνες οὐκ ἐκωλύοντο εἶναι.
 316 προελθόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμαχον καὶ κατασκευά-
 σαντες ἀκρόπολιν διέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς νέμοντας
 φόρον αὐτοῖς κελεύοντες καταβάλλειν τῶν βοσκη-
 μάτων, ἣ ἀρκούσα ἐπιτροφὴ γίνοιτ' ἄν, προστιθέντες
 φιλίαν τε πειθόμενοις καὶ ἄμυναν τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν
 ποθὲν πολεμίων, σφαγὰς δὲ τῶν ποιμνίων ἀπειθοῦ-
 317 σιν. οἱ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα παρ' αὐτὰ ποιεῖν,
 ἡκροῶντο καὶ τῶν προβάτων ἔστελλον ὅποσα
 κελευσθεῖεν, ὥστε δὴ καὶ πλείων αὐτοῖς συνελέγετο
 ἰσχὺς κύριοί τε ἦσαν ἐφ' οἷς βουλευσείαν ἐκ τοῦ
 ὀξέος ἐλαύνοντες κακουργεῖν. θεραπεύειν τε αὐτοὺς
 ἤρκετο³ πᾶς προστυγχάνων, καὶ ἦσαν φοβεροὶ καὶ
 τοῖς πειρασομένοις, ὥστ' ἤδη προὔκοπτε λόγος περὶ
 αὐτῶν καπὶ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως.
 318 (2) Ὁ δὲ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σατράπης μαθὼν ταῦτα
 καὶ βουλευθεὶς ἔτι φυομένους⁴ κωλύσαι πρὶν τι μεῖ-
 ζον κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναστῆναι, συλλέξας στρατὸν

¹ A : ποιούμενον MWE.² ὁπόσοι] ὅποσα τε conl. Niese.³ AM : ἤρητο W : ἤρτο conl. Niese.⁴ ἔτι φυομένους] Gutschmid : ἐπιφυομένους codd.

to mean that the two brothers were apprenticed as sail-makers

work, from whom they had learnt their trade, called them to task for arriving late and punished them with a whipping. Because they accounted such punishment a personal indignity they dragged down a quantity of weapons which were stored on the house-top and went off to a certain district called the "Parting of the Rivers." It was capable of providing good pasturage and green fodder in sufficient quantity to be stored for winter. Young men of the poorest class gathered about them, and these they armed. They acted as their generals and leaders in mischief without let or hindrance. When it came to the point where they were unbeatable and had built themselves a citadel, they used to issue orders to the herdsmen to pay a tribute from their flocks sufficient to support them. They, in turn, proffered friendship to those who obeyed them and a defence against all their enemies from any other quarter, threatening to destroy their flocks if they refused. The inhabitants, since they had no alternative, complied and dispatched the imposed quotas of livestock. This strengthened them even further and put them in a position to injure any that they saw fit by sudden raids. All and sundry began to defer to them, while they were a source of terror to any who thought of attacking them. Hence their fame kept increasing, even making its way to the ears of the Parthian king.^a

(2) When the satrap of Babylonia took note of this, ^{The} he chose to cut them off while they were still growing ^{brothers} and before some greater mischief should arise through ^{rout a Par-} ^{thian force} ^{on the Sab-} ^{bath.} (whence Naber's emendation), but sails would be of linen, and *ταλασιουργεῖν* can refer only to the spinning of wool. Moreover, sail-making is nowhere mentioned as a separate trade in antiquity.

^a Artabanus III. Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 48 ff.

ὅσον ἐδύνατο πλείστον καὶ τῶν Παρθυαίων καὶ τῶν
 Βαβυλωνίων ἤλασε πρὸς αὐτούς, φθῆναι θέλων
 προσβαλὼν ἐξελεῖν πρὶν ἐξάγγελτος γενέσθαι κατα-
 319 σκευάζων τὸν στρατόν. περικαθίσας δὲ τὸ ἔλος
 ἡσύχαζεν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν, ἣν δὲ σάββατον
 ἀργίας παντὸς χρήματος Ἰουδαίοις ἡμέρα, οἰόμενος
 οὐ τολμήσειν ἀντιστατήσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους,
 ἀλλὰ ἀμαχεῖ λαβὼν ἄξιον δεδεμένους, κατὰ βραχὺ
 δὲ προσήει χρήζων αἰφνίδιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπίπτω-
 320 σιν. Ἀσιναῖος δὲ ἐτύγχανε σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις καθ-
 εζόμενος καὶ τὰ ὄπλα παρέκειτο αὐτοῖς. “ ἄνδρες,”
 φησί, “ χρεμετισμός μοι ἵππων προσέπεσεν οὐ φορ-
 βάδων, ἀλλ’ οἷος γένοιτ’ ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβεβη-
 κότων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τινος ἀνακρούσεως αἰσθάνομαι
 χαλινῶν· δέδια, μὴ λελήθασιν ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι
 περιστάντες. ἀλλὰ τις προῖτω¹ κατόπτης ἀπαγ-
 γελίαν ἡμῖν σαφῇ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων ποιησόμενος.
 321 εἴη δὲ ἐπὶ ψευδέσι μοι λελέχθαι τὰ εἰρημένα.” καὶ
 ὁ μὲν τάδε εἶπεν, καὶ ὥχοντό τινες προσκοποῦντες
 τὸ γινόμενον καὶ ἧ τάχος παρελθόντες, “ καὶ οὔτε
 αὐτὸς ψεύδῃ σαφῆς² εἰκαστῆς εἶναι τῶν πρασσο-
 μένων τοῖς πολεμίοις οὔτε ἐκείνοι³ πλειόνως ἐπι-
 322 τρέψειν ἤμελλον ἡμῖν ὑβριεῖν.⁴ περιειλήμμεθα δόλῳ
 μηδὲν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες· τοσῆσδε ἵππου
 πληῆθος ἐπελαύνουσιν ἡμῖν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χειρῶν κει-
 μένοις διὰ τὸ κατείργεσθαι προαγορεύσει τῶν πα-
 323 τρίων εἰς τὸ ἀργεῖν.” Ἀσιναῖος δὲ οὐκ ἄρα γνώμη
 τοῦ κατασκόπου κρίνειν ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις,

¹ Niese : προσίτω codd. E : procurrat Lat. : ἵτω Suidas.

² ψεύδῃ σαφῆς] MW : ψευδῆς σαφῆς τε A : ψευδῆς σαφῆσαι ed. gr. : ψευδῆς ἔφασαν Dindorf : ψευδῆς φασὶν ex Lat. Hudson.

³ Hudson : ἐκείνοις codd. ⁴ corruptum indicat Niese.

them. He therefore mustered as large an army as he could both of Parthians and Babylonians and marched against them ; his aim was to drive his attack home and annihilate them before it was even reported that he was shaping up an army. He got his men in position about the marsh and made no move. The following day was the Sabbath, a day of rest for the Jews from all work. Assuming then that the enemy would not venture to resist him and could be seized without a battle and made prisoners, he advanced little by little, eager that his attack should be unexpected.^a As it happened, however, Asinaeus was sitting with his companions, and their arms were lying beside them. "Men," he said, "a neighing of horses has fallen upon my ears, not like that of horses grazing but like that of horses with riders, for I also catch the jingling of bridles. I fear that the enemy have surrounded us unperceived. Let someone, therefore, go forth as a scout in order to give us a full report of what is upon us. And may my statement prove to have no foundation." No sooner were the words spoken than a few men were off to see what was going on. They returned with all speed, saying : "You were not mistaken but correctly conjectured what the enemy are doing ; and we might have known that they would not let us insult them any longer. We are caught in a trap like so many animals at pasture. There are all these horsemen approaching and our hands are tied because the commandment of our ancestral law orders us to do no work." But Asinaeus, as it appeared, was not going to let the scout's pronouncement decide for him the question of duty.

^a Cf. the similar plan of Mithridates to attack Anilaeus on the Sabbath (§ 354).

- ἀλλὰ νομιμώτερον ἡγησάμενος τοῦ ἐπ' ἀπράκτοις
 τελευτῶντας εὐφραίνειν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἀλκῇ¹
 δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνάγκης εἰς ἣν ἐνεπε-
 πτώκει παρανομεῖν τιμωρίαν ἀπολαμβάνων,² εἰ δέοι,
 τελευτᾶν,³ αὐτὸς τε ἀναλαμβάνει τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοῖς
 σὺν αὐτῷ θάρσος ἐνεποιεῖ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἀρετῆς.
- 324 ὁμόσε ἴασι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς κτείναντες
 αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα
 χωρεῖν εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται τὸ λοιπόν.
- 325 (3) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο
 αὐτῷ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς μάχης, ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ τολμή-
 ματι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν δι'
 ὄψεως καὶ λόγων, καὶ πέμπει τὸν πιστότατον τῶν
- 326 σωματοφυλάκων λέγοντα, ὅτι “ βασιλεὺς Ἀρτάβα-
 νος καίπερ ἡδικοημένος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρήσεως αὐ-
 τοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ γενομένης ἐν ἐλάσσονι τὴν καθ' αὐτὸν
 ὀργὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ποιησάμενος ἀπέστειλέν
 με δεξιὰς τε καὶ πίστιν δώσοντα ὑμῖν, συγχωρῶν
 ἄδειάν τε καὶ ἀσυλίαν ὀδῶν, χρήζων ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ προσ-
 χωρεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν δόλου τε καὶ ἀπάτης χωρίς,
 δῶρά τε δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ τιμὴν, ἣτις ὑμῖν
 πρὸς τῇ νῦν οὕσῃ ἀρετῇ μελλήσει δυνάμει τῇ
- 327 ἐκείνου ὠφελεῖν.” Ἀσιναῖος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπερ-
 βάλλεται ὁδοὺς τὰς ἐκεῖ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀνιλαῖον
 ἐκπέμπει μετὰ δώρων ὅποσα πορίσαι ἦν. καὶ ὁ
 μὲν ὥχχeto καὶ εἴσοδος αὐτῷ γίνεται παρὰ βασιλέα.
 Ἀρτάβανος δὲ ἐπεὶ θεᾶται τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον καταμόνας
 ἦκοντα, ἤρετο τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ κατὰ⁴ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον

¹ E: ἀλκῆς codd.² Dindorf: ἀπολαμβάνοι codd.: ἀπολαμβάνοντας ed. pr.

He thought it better observance of the law, instead of gladdening the foe by a death without anything accomplished, to take his courage in his hands, let the straits into which he had fallen excuse violation of the law, and die, if he must, exacting a just vengeance. So he armed himself and emboldened his comrades to emulate his valour. When they engaged the foe in battle, they slaughtered them in great numbers, since they came on contemptuously, as if the prey were theirs for the taking, and put the remainder to flight.

(3) When the news of the battle reached the ears of the Parthian king, he was amazed at the bold adventure of the brothers and longed to see and speak with them. And so he sent the most trustworthy of his bodyguards with this message: "King Artabanus, notwithstanding the injury you have done him in attacking his realm, has let respect for your feats outweigh his own resentment. He has consequently dispatched me to give you a solemn pledge. He grants you safe conduct and an inviolate passage, for he wants you to visit him as friends without guile and deceit; and he promises to give you both gifts and an office, which, with the prestige of your present feats, is likely to give you the benefit of authority from him." Asinaeus, for his part, postponed any journey there, but sent forth his brother Anilaeus with all the gifts that he could manage. The latter departed and was admitted to the king's presence. When Artabanus observed that Anilaeus had come alone, he inquired why Asinaeus had stayed behind.

Artabanus,
king of
Parthia, en-
lists their
services.

³ τὸ . . . τελευτᾶν] oportere iudicat, ut non sine hostium uitione morentur Lat.

⁴ coni. Niese: καὶ codd.: om. E.

- 328 ἐφυστερηκότος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πυνθάνεται αὐτὸν δέισαντα
 ἐν τῷ ἔλει ὑπομένειν, ὁ δὲ τοὺς τε πατρώους θεοὺς
 ἐπώμνυτο μηδὲν κακὸν δράσειν αὐτοὺς πίσκει τῇ
 αὐτοῦ προσκεχωρηκότας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐδίδου,
 ὅπερ μέγιστον παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις
 329 παράδειγμα τοῦ θαρσεῖν γίνεται τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσιν· οὐ
 γὰρ ἂν ψεύσαιτό τις δεξιῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δόσεων γε-
 νομένων οὐδὲ πιστεύειν ἐνδοιάσειεν, εἰ τοιαῦδε
 ἀσφαλείας δόσις γίνοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἐν ὑποψία ἀδι-
 κήσειν καθεστηκότων. καὶ Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα
 πράξας ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον πείσοντα τὸν
 330 ἀδελφὸν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἔπρασεν δὲ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς
 χρήζων ἐνστομισμάτων¹ τῇ ἀρετῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 ἀδελφῶν εἰς φιλίαν κτήσασθαι τῶν ἐκείνου σατρα-
 πειῶν ἐν ἀποστάσει τε οὐσῶν καὶ διανοία τοῦ
 331 ἀποστησομένου μέλλων ἐλάσειν ἐπ' αὐτούς.² ἔδε-
 δίδει γάρ, μὴ καὶ περιεχομένου πολέμῳ τῷ ἐκείνῃ
 κατὰ χεῖρωσιν τῶν ἀφεστηκότων αὐξηθῶσιν ἐπὶ
 μέγα οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν
 ἦτοι γε συστήσονται ἐπ' ἀκροάσει τῇ αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ
 τούτου γε ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ κακῶσαι μειζόνως οὐ
 διαμάρτοιεν.
- 332 (4) Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκπέμπει τὸν
 Ἀνιλαῖον, ὁ δὲ πιθανὸς ἦν τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν τε ἄλλην
 προθυμίαν εἰσηγούμενος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὄρκιον
 τὸ γεγεννημένον, ὥστε δὴ ἠπείγοντο ὡς τὸν Ἀρτά-
 333 βανον. ὁ δὲ ἡδονῇ αὐτοὺς δέχεται παραγενομένους
 ἐθαύμαζεν τε τὸν Ἀσιναῖον τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν
 εὐψύχου, θεωρῶν παντελῶς ὄντα ὀφθῆναι βραχύν

¹ ἐνστομισμάτων] codd. E Suid. : ἐνστόμισμα ed. pr. : ἐνστό-
 μισμα τῶν Holwerda : ἐπιστόμισμα Herwerden : ἐνστόμισμά τι
 Post : ante τῇ lacunam indicat Holwerda.

Informed that he had remained in the marsh because of fear, Artabanus swore by his ancestral gods that he would do no evil to them, if they visited him in reliance on his pledge. He offered him his right hand, and that is for all the barbarians of those parts the highest assurance of security in making visits. For no one would ever prove false when he had given his right hand, nor would anyone hesitate to trust one that he suspected might harm him, once he had received that assurance of safety. Having taken this step, Artabanus sent off Anilaeus to persuade his brother to return with him. The king's purpose in this was to use the prowess of the Jewish brothers as a curb to ensure the loyalty of his satrapies, for some of them were in rebellion, and some were considering whether to rebel; and he was on the point of marching against them. Hence he was afraid that while he was occupied with the war in those parts and subduing the rebels, Asinaeus would grow much stronger and would either win over Babylonia to his jurisdiction or, even if he had no such success, would unfailingly inflict still greater damage.

(4) With this calculation in mind, he dispatched Anilaeus. The latter prevailed on his brother, setting forth, among other evidences of the king's goodwill, the oath that he had taken. And so they hastened to Artabanus. He welcomed them upon their arrival and was astonished at Asinaeus' courage in action, when he observed that he was quite short in outward

Artabanus plays a double game. The brothers control Mesopotamia.

² ἐπρασσεν . . . αὐτούς] agebat autem haec imperator opus habens illis fratribus pro tutamine illius satrapiae propter quod in illa regione facile possent ab imperio suo decedere, ut antequam aliquid tale contingeret ipse illos per amicitiam occuparet Lat.

- τε¹ καὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον ὅψει συνελθοῦσιν ἐνδοῦναι καταφρονήματος ἀφορμὰς ὥς οὐδενὶ² κρίνοιεν αὐτόν, φησὶ τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὥς μείζονα ἐν τῇ παραθέσει παρέχοιτο τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος, παρά τε πότον δεικνὺς τὸν Ἀσιναῖον Ἀβδαγάσῃ τῷ αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδάρχῃ τό τε ὄνομα διασαφε³
- 334 καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν, ἣ χρῶτο εἰς πόλεμον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀβδαγάσου κελεύοντος συγχώρημα αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κτείναντα αὐτὸν ἅποινα ἀπολαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑβρίσειεν εἰς τὴν Παρθυαίων ἀρχήν, “ ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἄν,” εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς, “ συγχώρημα διδοίην ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμὲ τεθαρρηκότι καὶ προσέτι δεξιάν τε πέμψας καὶ θεῶν ὅρκοις πιθανὸς γενέσθαι
- 335 σπουδάσας. εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ τυγχάνεις τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθός, μηδὲν ἐπιιορκίας χρήζων τῆς ἐμῆς Παρθυαίων ἐκδίδει τὴν ἀρχὴν περιυβρισμένην· ἐπαναχωροῦντι γὰρ ἐπιθέμενος περιγίνου κράτει τῷ περὶ
- 336 σὲ καὶ μετ’ ἀγνοίας τῆς ἐμῆς.” ἔωθεν δὲ μετακαλέσας τὸν Ἀσιναῖον, “ ὦρα σοι,” φησὶν, “ ὦ νεανία, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ σαντοῦ, μὴ καὶ πλείοσιν τῶν ἐνθάδε στρατηγῶν τὴν ὀργὴν ἐρεθίσειας ἐπιχειρεῖν σου τῇ
- 337 σφαγῇ καὶ δίχῃ γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς. παρακαταθήκην δέ σοι δίδωμι τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν γῆν ἀλήστευτόν τε καὶ ἀπαθῇ κακῶν ἐσομένην ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν φροντίδων. ἄξιον δέ μοι τυγχάνειν σου χρηστοῦ ἀνεπίκλητόν σοι παρασχόμενος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πίστιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ κούφοις ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀνακει-
- 338 μένοις.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ δῶρα δοὺς τὸ τηνίκα⁴ ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀσιναῖον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν παραγενόμενος φρούρια κατασκευάζει καὶ ὅποσα

¹ τε] codd. : ὥστε Gutschmid.

² οὐδενὶ] A : οὐδὲν εἰ MW : οὐδὲν Naber.

appearance and thus gave those who got sight of him for the first time reason to disregard him and judge him of no account. Indeed the king said to his friends that Asinaeus had a soul that by comparison was greater than his body. Once, while drinking, he pointed out Asinaeus to Abdagases, who was his military chief of staff, giving his name and a full account of his prowess in war. Abdagases proposed that permission be given him to slay the man and so get revenge for his insolent treatment of the Parthian realm. "No," said the king, "I cannot grant you permission against this man who puts confidence in my pledge. Moreover, I have given him my right hand and have made a point of winning his trust by swearing by the gods. If, however, you are truly a brave man in war, you do not need any breach of my oath. Punish him yourself for his trespass against the honour of Parthia. As he is going home, attack him with your own forces and get the better of him without my knowledge." But at dawn he called for Asinaeus and said: "It is high time, young man, for you to go to your own territory, for fear of rousing the wrath of several of the generals here who may make attempts on your life even without my consent. I am granting to you the land of Babylonia as a trust to be kept free of pillage and of other abuses by your care. I deserve kindness of you since I have kept unimpeachable faith with you when no trifles were at stake, but the means of preserving your life." With these words he gave gifts to Asinaeus and sent him away at once. On reaching his own territory, Asinaeus built forts and added to the strength of any

³ AW : *Ἀβδαγάση* M : Abdagati Lat.

⁴ A : *ὀπηνίκα* MWE.

- πρότερον ὠχύρου, μέγας τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ γεγόνει καὶ οἷος¹ οὐκ ἄλλος τῶν πρότερον ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς
 339 ἄψασθαι πραγμάτων ἐν τόλμῃ γεγονότων, Παρ-
 θυαίων τε αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευον οἱ ταύτῃ καταπεμπό-
 μενοι στρατηγοί· μικρὸν γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τῆς κατ'
 αὐτὸν ἥσσον ἀρετῆς ἢ ἐκ Βαβυλωνίων προϋούσα
 τιμῇ. ἦν τε ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει, πάντα τε
 ἤδη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦρτο
 πράγματα, προὔκοπτόν τε αὐτῶν² ἡ εὐδαιμονία ἐπὶ
 ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα.
- 340 (5) Ἀκμαζόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρχῇ
 αὐτοὺς ἐπικαταλαμβάνει κακῶν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας,
 ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἣ προὔκοψαν ἐπὶ μέγα δυνά-
 μεως, ἐκτρέπουσιν εἰς ὕβριν ἐπὶ παραβάσει τῶν
 πατρίων ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῆς. ἐμπεσόντες
 τῶν Πάρθων τινί, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀφίκετο τῶν ταύτῃ
 341 χωρίων, ᾧ δὴ καὶ εἶπετο γαμετὴ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ
 εἰς τὸ ἐπαινέσθαι προειληφύια πασῶν καὶ μείζονα
 ῥοπὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λαμβάνουσα θαύματι τοῦ εὐπρε-
 342 ποῦς. ταύτης εἴτε ἀκοῇ τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἐκμαθὼν
 εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως αὐτόπτης γενόμενος Ἀνιλαῖος ὁ
 τοῦ Ἀσιναιίου ἀδελφὸς ἐραστής τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ
 πολέμιος, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἄλλως ἐλπίζειν ἐκ-
 πράσσεσθαι τὴν σύνοδον τῆς γυναικὸς μὴ τὴν ἐξ-
 ουσίαν ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῇ κτηθείσῃ παραλαβὼν, τὸ δὲ
 343 ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσαντίλεκτον κρίνειν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ἅμα

¹ Hudson : ὅποσα codd. Lat.

² AM : αὐτῷ W : eius Lat.

^a A.D. 20-35.

^b Debevoise, *op. cit.* pp. 163-164, remarks that the virtual independence of Anilaeus and Asinaeus well illustrates the situation in the Parthian empire at this time. The constant

that had existed before. He had grown great in a brief time ; there was none his equal of all who had ventured from such a beginning to grasp the reins of office. The Parthian generals who were sent down through his territory courted his favour. For the honour extended to him by the Babylonians seemed petty and less than he merited. And so he enjoyed dignity and authority ; he held sway from now on over all Mesopotamia, and for fifteen years ^a the brothers' prosperity kept on increasing.^b

(5) When their success was at its peak, their situation began to deteriorate for the following reason. Their manly qualities had raised them to the height of power ; but now they diverted these to the service of lawlessness, into which they plunged in violation of the Jewish code at the bidding of lust and self-indulgence. The trouble arose when they met a certain Parthian, who had arrived as commander in those regions. He was accompanied by his wife, whose praises were sung beyond all other women for other qualities, yet it was her marvellous beauty that gave her most effective control over him.^c Whether Anilaeus, the brother of Asinaeus, had learned about her beauty through hearsay or else had seen her with his own eyes, he became at once her lover and her enemy. He was her foe partly because he had no hope of union with her unless he were to get her in his power as a captive, partly because he considered his lust hard to gainsay. Therefore her husband

Anilaeus' affair with a Parthian general's wife creates a scandal.

struggles for the throne had brought Parthia to the verge of anarchy. It would seem that Artabanus was forced to grant quasi-independence to large areas of his empire, and that Parthian troops and officials were helpless.

^c Or "and her wonderful beauty inclined the scale of praise still more in her favour."

τε οὖν πολέμιος ἐπ' αὐτῆς¹ ἀνὴρ κεχειροτόνητο
 κτιλίων² καὶ μάχης ἐπάκτου γενομένης πεσόν-
 τος ἀνηρημένου ἀλοῦσα ἐγεγάμητο τῷ ἐραστῇ. οὐ
 μὴν δίχα γε μεγάλων δυστυχιῶν Ἀνιλαίῳ τε ἅμα
 αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀσιναίῳ ἡ γυνὴ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸν οἶκον
 αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τινι μεγάλῳ κακῷ διὰ τοιαύτην
 344 αἰτίαν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τᾶνδρὸς τεθνηκότος αἰχμάλω-
 τος ἦγετο, τὰ ἀφιδρύματα τῶν θεῶν, ἅπερ τῷ ἀνδρὶ
 καὶ αὐτῇ πατρῷα ἦν, ἐπιχώριον δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ
 πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τε τῆς οἰκίας ἔχειν σεβάσματα
 καὶ ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ ξένης συνεπάγεσθαι, περιστέλλουσα
 καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦ πατρίου τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔθος συν-
 ἀπήγετο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λεληθότως αὐτῶν
 θρησκείαν ἐποιεῖτο, γαμετὴ δὲ ἀποδειχθεῖσα ἤδη
 τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῆς εἰωθότι καὶ μεθ' οἷων νομίμων
 345 ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς ἐθεράπευεν αὐτούς. καὶ
 τῶν ἐταίρων οἱ μάλιστα τιμώμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ
 μὲν πρῶτον ἔλεγον Ἀνιλαίῳ ὥς³ οὐδαμῶς πράσ-
 σοι Ἑβραϊκὰ οὐδὲ ὁπόσα νόμοις τοῖς αὐτῶν
 πρόσφορα γυναικα ἡγμένος ἀλλόφυλον καὶ παραβαί-
 νουσιν θυσιῶν καὶ σεβασμῶν τῶν αὐτοῖς εἰωθότων
 τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· ὁρᾷν οὖν, μὴ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ
 τοῦ σώματος συγχωρῶν ἀπολέσειε τὴν ἀρχὴν⁴ τοῦ⁵
 εὐπρεποῦς καὶ τὴν εἰς νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου προελθοῦ-

¹ αὐτῆς] A : αὐτοῖς MW Exc. : αὐτῇ ὁ conl. Niese.

² κτιλίων] Κτιλίῳ Κιτίῳ W : κτιλλίων κτιτίων M : κτεινῶν
 κιτιῶν A (κιτίωνα ex corr. A, i. marg. γρ κτιλίωνα) : κτίνων
 Exc. : Κιτίῳ omisi.

³ πρῶτον ἔλεγον Ἀνιλαίῳ ὥς] E : πρῶτον codd. : primum
 (quidem) ad ipsum Anilaeum locuti sunt quia Lat. : πρῶτον
 ἐπέσκηπτον ὥς ed. pr. : plura excidisse velut προσελθόντες τοῦ
 Ἀνιλαίου ἀναδιδάσκειν ἐπειρῶντο τὸ εἰς τὴν γυναικα προπετὲς
 λέγοντες ὥς putat Niese.

was at once declared an enemy and a "dead man"^a and forced into a battle, in which he fell. After he had been slain, his widow was captured and became the wife of her passionate wooer. Nevertheless, she did not enter the family without a train of great disasters. Of one such I shall relate the occasion, affecting not only Anilaeus but Asinaeus as well. When after the death of her husband she had been taken captive, she took along the ancestral images of the gods belonging to her husband and to herself—for it is the custom among all the people in that country to have objects of worship in their house and to take them along when going abroad.^b She too, therefore, secretly carried them off in observance of her national custom in these matters. At first she worshipped them without attracting attention, but after she had been given the status of wife, she proceeded to worship them in her accustomed manner and with the rites that she had employed during the lifetime of her former husband. At first those who ranked highest at the court of the brothers merely told Anilaeus that his actions were quite contrary to Hebraic custom and not consonant with their laws, in that he had taken a gentile wife—one who transgressed the strict rules of their accustomed sacrifices and rituals. Let him beware, then, lest by too great indulgence of fleshly lust, he should lose the authority that he had gained by seemly conduct and the dominion that hitherto had

^a Here I adopt a suggestion of Professor Abraham Schalit of the Hebrew University that *ἀνὴρ . . . κτιλίων* represents an Aramaic phrase *gavra ktīla*. See p. 533.

^b The story is reminiscent, in some degree, of the account of Rachel and Laban's images (Gen. xxxi. 19 ff.).

⁴ AW : ἡδονήν M.

⁵ τοῦ] ἐκ τοῦ conl. Post.

346 σαν ἐξουσίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τινα αὐτῶν τὸν μάλιστα τιμώμενον ὅτι πλέوني
 παρρησία χρήσαιτο ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ὃς ἀποθεώ-
 μενος¹ εὐνοίας τε² τῶν νόμων καὶ³ τοῦ κτείνοντος
 αὐτὸν τιμωρίαν ἐπηράσατο αὐτῷ τε Ἀνιλαίῳ καὶ
 Ἀσιναίῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐταίροις ὁμοίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχ-
 347 θρῶν ἐπαχθεῖσαν γενέσθαι τελευτήν, τοῖς μὲν ὥς
 ἡγεμόσι παρανομιῶν γεγονόσι, τοῖς δέ, ὅτι μὴ
 βοηθοῖεν αὐτῷ τοιάδε πάσχοντι διὰ τὸ ἐκδικεῖν τοῖς
 νόμοις, οἱ δὲ ἐβαρύνοντο μὲν, ἡνείχοντο δέ, μνημο-
 νεύοντες οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλης αἰτίας ἀλλ' ἰσχύι τῇ ἐκείνων
 348 τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνελθόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν θερα-
 πείαν ἀκροῶνται τῶν θεῶν τῶν Παρθυαίοις τιμω-
 μένων, οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὸν ἡγούμενοι τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου τὸ
 ὑβρίζον εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον ἐλθόντες
 349 καὶ πλείονες ἤδη κατεβόων τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου, φάμενοι
 καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ πρότερον κατ' αὐτὸν ἑώρα τὸ
 ὠφελοῦν ἀλλὰ νῦν γοῦν ἐπιστροφὴν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ
 γεγονότος πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ πᾶσι
 τοῖς ἄλλοις γενέσθαι εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀνακειμένην, τόν
 τε γάμον τῆς ἀνθρώπου λέγοντες οὐ μετ' αὐτῶν⁴
 οὐδ' αὐτοῖς εἰωθότων τεθεῖσθαι νόμων καὶ τὴν
 θρησκείαν ἣν ἐπιτηδεύοι ἢ γυνὴ ἐπ' ἀτιμώσει θεοῦ
 350 τοῦ αὐτοῖς σεβασμίου πράσσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
 ᾗδει μὲν τὴν ἁμαρτάδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μεγάλων αἰτίαν

¹ Post (ex B.J. ii. 310 ap. Thackeray, *Lexicon*): . . . θεώ-
 μενος, i. marg. γρ κτεινόμενος A: κτεινόμενος MWE Exc.:
 moriens Lat.: ἀποθανούμενος Petersen.

² εὐνοίας τε] εὐνοία τῇ E.

been increased by God's favour. The appeal was fruitless. In fact, he even put to death a man of highest rank because he had spoken too frankly. He, fixing his mind on loyalty to the laws and on vengeance against his slayer, pronounced a curse on Anilaeus himself and Asinaeus and all their companions, to suffer a similar end at the hands of their enemies—the brothers because they had been the leaders in transgressing the laws, the others because they failed to come to his rescue when they saw how he was treated for championing the Law. These others were distressed at this, but did nothing about it, for they had not forgotten that they owed their prosperity to no other instrument than the strength of those very men. But when they further heard of the worship of the gods that were esteemed among the Parthians, they regarded the trampling on the Law by Anilaeus as no longer to be borne. They went to Asinaeus and now in greater numbers inveighed against Anilaeus. They said that it did not matter if he had not previously seen for himself the expedient course. Now, however, he must certainly take notice of the thing that had been done before the guilty act resulted in the ruin of himself and everybody else. For they said that Anilaeus' marriage with this woman had taken place without their consent and was not in accordance with the laws which they were accustomed to follow, and that the worship which the woman practised showed disrespect for the God of their religion. Asinaeus, to be sure, knew without prompting that the sin of his brother was and would be the cause of great mis-

³ καὶ] om. E.

⁴ μετ' αὐτῶν] μετὰ ὑγιῶν Gutschmid.

- οὐσαν κακῶν καὶ ἐσομένην, οὐ μὴν ἀπείχετό γε¹
 εὐνοία τοῦ συγγενοῦς νικώμενος καὶ συγγνώμην
 νέμων ὡς ὑπὸ κρείσσονος κακοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας
 351 νικωμένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείους τε ὁσημέραι συνεστρέ-
 φοντο καὶ πλείους ἦσαν αἱ καταβοαί, τηνικαῦτα δὴ
 φησιν περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἀνιλαῖον τοῖς τε πρῶτον
 γεγονόσιν ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ παύσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν κε-
 λεύων τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀποπεμφάμενον εἰς τοὺς συγ-
 352 γενεῖς. ἐπράσσετο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν λόγων· καὶ ἡ
 γυνὴ δὲ αἰσθανομένη μὲν τοῦ θροῦ τοῦ κατέχοντος
 τοὺς λαοὺς δι' αὐτήν, δεδοικυῖα δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀνι-
 λαίου, μὴ καὶ τι πάθοι ἔρωτι τῷ πρὸς αὐτήν,
 φάρμακον τῷ Ἀσιναίῳ δοῦσα ἐν τοῖς σιτίοις μεθ-
 ίστατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀδεής τε ἦν ἐπὶ κριτῇ τῶν
 περὶ αὐτὴν πραχθησομένων τῷ ἐραστῇ γενομένη.
 353 (6) Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ καταμόνας ἤδη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
 παραλαβὼν ἐξάγει στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὰς Μιθριδάτου
 κώμας ἀνδρὸς πρῶτου ἐν τῇ Παρθυηνῇ καὶ βα-
 σιλέως Ἀρταβάνου τὴν θυγατέρα γεγαμηκότος,
 διὰ λείας τε ἤγεν αὐτάς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα
 καὶ ἀνδράποδα εὕρισκεται, πολλὰ δὲ πρόβατα ἄλλα
 τε πολλὰ ὅποσα ἐπὶ προσλήψει τοῦ εὐδαίμονος
 354 ὠφελεῖ τοῖς ἔχουσιν. Μιθριδάτης δέ, ἐτύγχανε
 γὰρ τῇδε ὢν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκούει τῶν κωμῶν τὴν ἄλωσιν
 ἐν δεινῷ φέρων, ὅποτε μὴ προάρξαντος ἀδικεῖν
 Ἀνιλαῖος ἄρξαιτο καὶ παρόντος τοῦ ἀξιώματος
 ὑπεριδῶν, ἱππέας συναγαγὼν πλείστους ὅσους ἐδύ-
 νατο καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοὺς² ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παρῆν ὡς
 προσμίζων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον καὶ ἕν τι

¹ οὐ μὴν ἀπείχετό γε] Λ : οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνείχετό γε (γε om. E) MWE Exc. et i. marg. Λ : verum tamen . . . tolerabat Lat.

fortunes. Yet he did not restrain him because he found the ties of blood too strong and excused his brother as mastered by his passion, a vice that he could not resist. But when day after day they gathered in greater and greater numbers, and their clamours became louder and louder, then at last he spoke about these matters to Anilaeus, rebuking him for his former deeds and urging him to put an end to them for the future and to send back the woman to her kinsfolk. He accomplished nothing, however, by these words. Furthermore, the woman, perceiving that the people were murmuring because of her, and fearing that Anilaeus might come to grief through his love for her, put poison in Asinaeus' food. She thus dispatched the man with impunity, since her fate would be decided by her lover.

She poisons
Asinaeus.

(6) Anilaeus, who had now taken over sole command, led out an army against the villages of Mithridates, a leader among the Parthians who had married the daughter of King Artabanus. He plundered these villages and gained there an abundance of money, captives, and livestock, as well as much else that adds to the prosperity of the possessors. But when Mithridates, who happened to be there, heard of the capture of the villages, he was indignant that Anilaeus had without provocation taken the initiative in doing him wrong and had disregarded his high rank to his face. And so he gathered together all the cavalry that he could, selected from this number those who were in their prime, and was ready to join battle with the forces of Anilaeus. He had camped

Anilaeus
captures
the Par-
thian Mith-
ridates but
releases
him.

² τῶν πλείστων τοὺς] codd. : τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς coni. Niese : τῶν πελατῶν τοὺς Holwerda : τοὺς πλείστοις τῶν Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

κώμη τῶν αὐτοῦ σχῶν¹ ἡσύχαζεν, ὡς τῇ ἐπιούσῃ
 μαχησόμενος διὰ τὸ εἶναι σαββάτων² ἡμέραν τοῖς
 355 Ἰουδαίοις ἐν ἀργίᾳ διαγομένην. Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ
 ταῦτα πυθόμενος παρὰ ἀνδρὸς Σύρου ἀλλοφύλου
 ἐξ ἐτέρας κώμης τά τε ἄλλα φράζοντος ἀκριβῶς
 καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα Μιθριδάτης ἤμελλεν δαίνυσθαι,
 δειπνοποιησάμενος καθ' ὥραν ἤλαυνε νυκτὸς ἀμα-
 θέσι τῶν ποιουμένων χρήζων τοῖς Παρθυαίοις ἐπι-
 356 πεσεῖν. καὶ περὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν ἐπιπεσὼν τοὺς
 μὲν ἔτι κοιμωμένους ἀναιρεῖ τοὺς δὲ εἰς φυγὴν
 τρέπει, Μιθριδάτην δὲ ζωγρίᾳ λαβὼν ἤγεν ὡς αὐτὸν
 ἐπὶ ὄνον γυμνὸν ἀναθέμενος, ἥπερ ἀτιμιῶν μεγίστη
 357 νομίζεται παρὰ Παρθυαίοις. καταγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν
 ὕλην³ μετὰ τοιοῦδε ὑβρίσματος,⁴ [καὶ]⁵ κελευόντων
 τῶν φίλων ἀναιρεῖν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνεδίδασκεν
 αὐτοὺς σπεύδων αὐτὸς ἐναντία· μὴ γὰρ καλῶς
 ἔχειν ἀναιρεῖν ἄνδρα γένους τε ὄντα τοῦ πρώτου
 παρὰ Παρθυαίοις καὶ ἐπιγαμία τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
 358 μειζόνως τιμώμενον· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀνεκτὰ εἶναι τὰ
 πεπραγμένα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ περιύβρισταί Μιθριδάτης,
 ἀλλ' οὖν σωτηρία τῆς ψυχῆς εὐεργετούμενον χά-
 359 ριτος μνήσεσθαι⁶ τοῖς τὰ τοιάδε παρασχοῦσιν, πα-
 θόντος δέ τι ἀνήκεστον οὐκ ἀτρεμήσειν βασιλέα μὴ
 οὐ μεγάλην σφαγὴν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
 ποιησάμενον,⁷ ὧν φεῖδεσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν διὰ τε τὴν

¹ A : κατασχῶν MW.

² Niese : σάββατον codd. E.

³ εἰς τὴν ὕλην] codd. : ad locum proprium Lat. : εἰς τὸ ἔλος conl. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ Gutschmid : ὀρίσματος codd.

⁵ suspectum om. E.

⁶ χάριτος μνήσεσθαι] Niese : χάριτος μνήσασθαι codd. : με-
 μνήσεται χάριτος E.

⁷ ποιησόμενον E.

in one of the latter's villages, where he rested with the intention of fighting on the following day, inasmuch as it would be the Sabbath, a day on which the Jews abstain from work.^a But Anilaeus learned of this from a Syrian gentile of another village who told him everything in detail, including the place where Mithridates intended to dine. Anilaeus, therefore, dined betimes and made a night march intent on attacking the Parthians while they were unaware of what he was doing. About the fourth watch ^b he fell upon them, dispatching some as they slept and putting the others to flight. Mithridates he captured alive and brought home mounted naked upon an ass, which is considered the highest disgrace by the Parthians. When he had brought him into the forest in this insulting way,^c Anilaeus' friends bade him put Mithridates to death, but he argued with them, zealously advocating just the contrary. For, he said, it was not a good idea to kill a man who belonged to the first family of the Parthians and who ranked even higher because of his marriage connexion with the king. As it was, what they had hitherto done was tolerable. For even though Mithridates had been insulted wantonly, yet the granting of his life was a favour which he would remember to the advantage of those who had granted it. But if Mithridates should suffer an incurable fate, the king would not rest until he had inflicted a great slaughter on the Jews in Babylon. It was right that they should spare these

^a Cf. the similar plan (§ 319) of the Babylonian satrap to attack Asinaeus and Anilaeus on the Sabbath.

^b About 3 A.M.

^c Gutschmid's emendation has been adopted since the manuscript reading makes little sense and cannot mean "with this determination."

συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀναστροφὴν¹ εἶναι ἂν αὐ-
 τοῖς πταίσματός τινος γενομένου ἀπολόμενον² τὸ³
 360 κατ' ἐκείνους ἀκμῆς πληθύνει χρώμενον. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς καὶ φράσας ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ πιθανὸς
 ἦν ἀφίεται τε Μιθριδάτης, ἐλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὠνείδι-
 ζεν ἢ γυνή, εἰ μὴ προθυμήσεται⁴ βασιλέως τε γαμ-
 βρὸς ὧν καὶ ταύτῃ συνοικῶν⁵ τιμωρηθήσεται τοὺς
 361 ὑβρίσαντας εἰς αὐτὸν περιορώμενος, ἀγαπῶν δὲ τὴν
 σωτηρίαν μετὰ αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν
 γενομένην. “καὶ νῦν ἐπανάδραμε τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἣ θεοὺς
 ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιλείους ἢ μὴν παραλυθήσεται
 362 τῆς πρὸς σέ ἐπὶ γάμῳ κοινωνίας.” ὁ δὲ αὖ τοῦτο
 μὲν τῶν ὀνειδῶν τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀχθηδόνα μὴ φέ-
 ρων, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην δε-
 διώς, μὴ παραλύοιτο αὐτοῦ τῶν γάμων, ἄκων μὲν
 καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος συνάγει δ' οὖν στρατὸν ὅσον
 ἐδύνατο πλεῖστον καὶ ἤλαυνεν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ὑπο-
 λαμβάνων ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ Παρθναῖος
 ὧν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίου περιωθοῖτο ἀντιπολεμοῦντος.
 363 (7) Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ ὡς μανθάνει προσελαύνοντα δυνά-
 μει πολλῇ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἄδοξον ἡγησάμενος τὸ
 μένειν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φθάσας ὑπαντιάζειν
 τοὺς πολεμίους, εὐτυχία τε τῇ πρότερον ἐλπίζων
 ὅμοια πράξειν καὶ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν τοῖς τολμῶσι καὶ

¹ ἀποστροφὴν Ernesti.

² ἀπολόμενον supplevi: ἀπόλοιτο supplet Petersen.

³ τὸ] A: τε MW: τῇ Lowthius: τό τε Liezenberg.

⁴ MWE: προμηθήσεται A: festinaret Lat.

⁵ Post: τιμωρῶν codd.

^a The Jews of Babylon.

^b The text is difficult. Prof. Post suggests: “because they would have no place of refuge in case of a defeat; whereas these people had among them an abundance of the

Jews both because of their kinship with them and because these Jews would have no place of refuge if any disaster overtook them,^a and those of their numbers perished who were in the prime of life.^b When he put his thoughts before the conference in this way, he won them over, and Mithridates was released. On his return home, his wife upbraided him if, though he was the king's son-in-law and her husband,^c he should not set his heart on vengeance, but should overlook the perpetrators of his disgrace, being content to have come off alive after being made a prisoner by Jews. "And now," she said, "recover your valour, or I swear by the royal gods that I will verily dissolve my marriage partnership with you." Mithridates, for his part, unable to endure the painful upbraiding of his wife day after day and alarmed lest her pride should lead her to sever the marriage bond with him, reluctant and unwilling though he was, nevertheless mustered the largest army that he could and set out. He himself conceived that he could no longer bear to survive if he, a Parthian, were to be driven from pillar to post in a war with a Jew.

Mithridates, egged on by his wife, makes war on Anilaeus.

(7) When Anilaeus learned that Mithridates was marching against him with a great force, he regarded it as inglorious to lurk in the marshes rather than anticipate the enemy in seeking an encounter. Hoping for the same good fortune as in the past and expecting that success in battle ever attends those who are

very best." Another possible translation is : "because if any disaster befell them, their [*i.e.* Babylon's Jews'] great numbers of men in the prime of life would not be available to them [*i.e.* Anilaeus' followers]."

^c The manuscript reading "and avenging her" is difficult to understand. It cannot mean "avenging himself for her sake."

εἰωθόσιν¹ θαρρεῖν παρατυγχάνειν,² ἐξῆγε τὴν δύ-
 364 ναμιν. πολλοί τε πρὸς τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατῷ προσ-
 εγεγόνεσαν αὐτῷ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
 τραπησόμενοι καὶ ὄψει πᾶν³ προεκπλήξοντες τοὺς
 365 πολεμίους. προῖοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς σταδίους ἐνενή-
 κοντα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου τῆς πορείας γενομένης
 καὶ μεσημβρίας τά τε ἄλλα⁴ περιῆν τότε⁵ τὸ δίψος
 καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐπιφανεῖς προσέβαλε τεταλαιπωρη-
 μένοις ἀπορία τοῦ πιεῖν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν ὥραν
 366 φέρειν τὰ ὄπλα μὴ δυναμένοις. τροπή τε οὖν γί-
 νεται τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον αἰσχυρὰ διὰ τὸ ἀπηγο-
 ρευκότας ἀκραιφνέσι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ φόνος πολὺς
 πολλαί τε μυριάδες ἔπεσον ἀνδρῶν, Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ
 καὶ ὅσον περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν συνεστηκὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης
 ἐπανεχώρουν φυγῇ μεγάλην⁶ νίκης τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χα-
 367 ρὰν Μιθριδάτῃ παρεσχηκότες.⁷ Ἀνιλαῖω δὲ προσ-
 ῆι πλήθος ἀπορον⁸ ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν⁹ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν
 σωτηρίαν ποιουμένων ραστώνης χάριτι τῆς εἰς τὸ
 παρόν, ὥστε ἀντανίσωμα τὴν τούτων πρόσδοτον γε-
 νέσθαι πλήθους¹⁰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων· οὐ μὲν ὁμοιοί
 368 γε ἦσαν τοῖς πεπτωκόσι διὰ τὸ ἀμελέτητον. οὐ
 μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις¹¹ ἐπιφοιτᾷ ταῖς κώμαις τῶν
 Βαβυλωνίων ἀνάστατά τε ἦν πάντα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῆς
 369 Ἀνιλαίου ὕβρεως. καὶ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ οἱ ὄντες¹²

¹ καὶ τὴν τε . . . εἰωθόσιν] litt. καὶ τὴν . . . εἰ i. ras. m. 2 A : καὶ τὴν τε τόλμῃσιν καὶ εἰωθόσι MW.

² καὶ τὴν . . . παρατυγχάνειν] audentibus virtutis etiam robur adcrecere Lat.

³ A : πάλιν MW.

⁴ τά τε ἄλλα] A : om. MWE.

⁵ περιῆν τότε] A : τότε περιῆν τε MW : περιῆν τὸ E.

⁶ Gutschmid : μεγάλη codd.

⁷ Μιθριδάτῃ παρεσχηκότες] ed. pr. : Μιθριδάτου παρεσχηκότες codd.

bold and never afraid, he led forth his forces. In addition to his own army he was joined by many who hoped to plunder other people's property and by their mere appearance to cause consternation among the enemy. When they had advanced ninety furlongs, since there was no water along their route and it was now midday, they were indeed suffering from thirst. Then Mithridates appeared and attacked them, miserably short as they were of anything to drink, and incapable of wearing armour because of thirst and the time of day. Consequently the followers of Anilaeus suffered a disgraceful rout, since they, in their exhausted condition, were engaging men who were fresh. The slaughter was great and many tens of thousands of men fell. Anilaeus and all those who were banded together about him withdrew in flight to the forest, having afforded great joy to Mithridates at his victory over them. Anilaeus was now joined by an indigent ^a horde of scoundrels who held their lives cheap to gain some ease for the moment. Thus the addition of these men compensated for the multitude of those who had perished. Yet, owing to lack of training, they were not of the same quality as those who had fallen. Nevertheless, even with these he ravaged the villages of the Babylonians, and everything in the region was laid waste by the violence of Anilaeus. The Babylonians and those

^a Or "unmanageable." Hudson's emendation, based upon the Latin version, would mean "endless."

⁸ ἄπῃρον ed. pr. : ἄπειρον Hudson.

⁹ πλῆθος . . . πονηρῶν] infinita multitudo hominum pessimorum Lat. : πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν δι' ἀπορίαν E.

¹⁰ ex corr. AE et ut vid. Lat. : πλῆθος MW.

¹¹ Lowthius : cum hac multitudine Lat. : ταύταις codd.

¹² καὶ οἱ ὄντες] codd. : καμόντες Gutschmid.

- ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ¹ πέμπουσιν ἐς τὰ Νέαρδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίους Ἀνιλαῖον ἐξαιτούμενοι, καὶ μὴ δεξομένοις τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, οὐδὲ γὰρ βουλομένοις ἔκδοτον παρασχεῖν δυνηθῆναι, εἰρήνην προὔκαλοῦντο· οἱ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι χρήζειν ἔλεγον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συμβάσεων καὶ πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἄνδρας, οἱ διαλέξοιντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον.
- 370 οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι κατοπτίας αὐτοῖς γενομένης μαθόντες τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἰδρυμένος ὁ Ἀνιλαῖος ἦν, ἐπιπεσόντες κρύφα νυκτὸς μεθύουσι καὶ καθ' ὕπνον τετραμμένοις κτείνουσιν ἀδεῶς πάντας ὅσους ἐγκατέλαβον καὶ Ἀνιλαῖον αὐτόν.
- 371 (8) Βαβυλώνιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τῆς Ἀνιλαίου βαρύτητος, ἐπιστόμισμα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν μίσει τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, αἰεὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ διάφοροι καθεστήκεσαν αἰτία τῆς ἐναντιώσεως τῶν νόμων καὶ ὁποτέροις παραγένοιτο θαρρεῖν πρότεροι ἀλλήλων ἥπτοντο εἰ μὴ² καὶ τότε οὖν ἀπολωλότων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἱ
- 372 Βαβυλώνιοι. οἱ δ' ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενοι τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ἐκ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ μήτε ἀντιτάξασθαι μάχῃ δυνάμενοι μήτε ἀνεκτὸν ἡγούμενοι τὴν συνοικίαν ὥχοντο εἰς Σελεύκειαν τῶν ἐκείνη πόλιν ἀξιολογώτατην Σελεύκου κτίσαντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νικάτορος.³ οἰκοῦσιν δ' αὐτὴν πολλοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνων, πλείστοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Σύρων οὐκ ὀλίγον τὸ

¹ καὶ οἱ . . . πολέμῳ] quamvis ad bellum parati Lat.

² εἰ μὴ] codd. : λύμης Gutschmid : αἰεὶ Herwerden.

who were engaged in this war sent envoys to the Jews in Nearda, demanding that they should deliver up Anilaeus. When the Neardaeans refused this request—for they were not in a position to deliver him up even if they had wished—the envoys invited them to make peace. The Jews replied that they themselves desired a treaty of peace, and they sent men with the Babylonians to negotiate with Anilaeus. The Babylonians, discovering through reconnaissance the place where Anilaeus and his men were quartered, fell secretly upon them at night while they were drunk and given over to sleep, and slew unmolested all those whom they had trapped, including Anilaeus himself.^a

Anilaeus is defeated and killed.

(8) The Babylonians were now rid of the pressure imposed by Anilaeus, which had curbed their hatred against the Jews—for in general they always quarrelled with them because of the contrariety of their laws, and whichever party happened to feel more self-confident would initiate an attack on the other. Accordingly, now that Anilaeus and his men were no more, the Babylonians began to attack the Jews. The latter were indignant at the insolent conduct of the Babylonians, but neither were able to face them in battle nor considered it tolerable to live together with them. So off they went to Seleucia,^b the most notable city of the region, which Seleucus Nicator^c had founded, whose inhabitants consisted of many Macedonians, a majority of Greeks, and not a few

The Jews migrate to Seleucia, where the Syrians and Greeks unite to slaughter them.

^a A.D. 35 or 36.

^b On the Tigris. Cf. § 49.

^c Founder of the Seleucid kingdom in Syria. He ruled from 312 to 280 B.C. The manuscript spelling is "Nicanor": the same error occurs in *Ant.* xii. 119 and xiii. 213.

³ Dindorf: Νικάνωρος codd. E Lat.

373 ἐμπολιτευόμενον. εἰς μὲν δὴ ταύτην καταφεύγου-
σιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἔτη ἀπαθεῖς κα-
κῶν ἦσαν, τῷ δὲ ἕκτῳ ἔτει μεθ' ὃ¹ πρῶτον φθορὰ
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι² ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ καιναὶ κτίσεις³ ἐκ
τῆς πόλεως καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἄφιξις εἰς τὴν Σελεύκει-
αν⁴ ἐκδέχεται μείζων αὐτοὺς συμφορὰ δι' αἰτίαν, ἣν
ἀφηγήσομαι.

374 (9) Σελευκέων τοῖς Ἑλλησι πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους ὡς
ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν στάσει καὶ διχονοίᾳ ἐστὶν ὁ βίος καὶ
κρατοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες. τότε οὖν συνοικούντων⁵ αὐ-
τοῖς Ἰουδαίων γενομένων ἐστασίαζον, καὶ οἱ Σύροι
καθυπέρτεροι ἦσαν ὁμολογία τῇ Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐ-
τοὺς φιλοκινδύνων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ πολεμεῖν προθύμως

375 ἐντεταγμένων. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες περιωθούμενοι τῇ
στάσει καὶ μίαν ὀρῶντες αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἀνα-
σώσασθαι τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν παῦσαι
ταῦτὸν λέγοντας⁶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σύρους, διελέγοντο
ἕκαστοι πρὸς τῶν Σύρων τοὺς αὐτοῖς συνήθεις πρὸ
τοῦ γεγονότας εἰρήνην τε καὶ φιλίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι.

376 οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο ἄσμενοι. ἐγίνοντο οὖν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων
λόγοι καὶ τῶν πρώτων παρ' ἑκατέροις ἀνδρῶν πρᾶσ-
σόντων ἐπιδιαλλαγὰς⁷ τάχιστα ἢ σύμβασις⁸ ἐγένετο,

¹ μεθ' ὃ Bekker : μετὰ τὸ codd.

² Babylonia Lat.

³ κτίσεις] MW : κτήσεις ex corr. A : αἱ κτήσεις Gutschmid :
μετοικήσεις Hudson.

⁴ καὶ καιναὶ . . . Σελεύκειαν] et ruina et hoc plurimi Seleu-
ciam magis magisque confugiunt Lat.

⁵ συνοίκων Cocceji.

⁶ ταῦτὸν λέγοντας] ed. pr. : τὸν λέγοντα codd. : ὁμονοῦντας
E.

⁷ ἐπιδιαλλαγὰς] A : ἐπὶ διαλλαγὰς MW : ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς coni.
Post.

⁸ AW : συμβίβασις M.

Syrians holding civic rights.^a Here then the Jews took refuge. For five years^b they lived there unmolested, but in the sixth year after they were first despoiled in Babylon and formed new settlements upon leaving that city, and in consequence came to Seleucia, there ensued a greater misfortune, the cause of which I shall relate.

(9) At Seleucia life is marked by general strife and discord between the Greeks and the Syrians, in which the Greeks have the upper hand. Now when the Jews came to live in the city there was continued strife, and the Syrians got the upper hand by coming to terms with the Jews, who were adventurous and joined the ranks in battle with gusto. Now the Greeks, harried by this civil conflict, saw that there was only one possibility of regaining their former prestige, namely, by breaking up the alliance between Jews and Syrians. To this end various groups among the Greeks parleyed with any of the Syrians with whom they had formerly been on intimate terms, offering a promise of peace and friendship. The Syrians on their part gladly assented. Proposals were put forward by the two parties. The leading men on both sides effected a reconciliation and an agreement was very speedily reached. Once they

^a During the latter part of the first century, somewhat after this period, Seleucia had 600,000 inhabitants, according to Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 122, but such figures are often exaggerated. The city prided itself on its Greek tradition, as is clear from Tacitus' statement, *Ann.* vi. 42, that the city had never lapsed into barbarism but had clung loyally to its founder Seleucus. It appears to have attracted natives of Babylon, however, since Strabo xvi. 743 remarks that it was normal to describe a man of Seleucia as a Babylonian. See E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, i, 1902, p. 253.

^b A.D. 35/36-40/41.

ὁμονοήσαντές τε μέγα τεκμήριον ἐκάτεροι εὐνοίας
 παρ¹ ἀλλήλοις ἡξίουν παρασχεῖν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰου-
 δαίους ἔχθος, ἐπιπεσόντες τε αἰφνίδιον αὐτοῖς κτεί-
 νουσι μυριάδας ὑπὲρ πέντε ἀνδρῶν, ἀπώλοντό τε
 πάντες πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐλέω φίλων ἢ γειτόνων ἐπιχω-
 377 ρηθὲν αὐτοῖς ἔφυγον. τούτοις δὲ ἦν εἰς Κτησιφῶντα
 ἀποχώρησις πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ τῆς Σελευκείας
 πλησίον κειμένην, ἔνθα χειμάζει τε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ
 πᾶν ἔτος καὶ πλείστη τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτοῦ τῇδε
 ἀποκειμένη τυγχάνει. ἀσύνετα² δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὴν
 ἰδρυσιν πεποιημένοις³ τιμῆς⁴ τῆς βασιλείας Σελευ-
 378 κέων μὴ πεφροντικότων.⁵ ἐφοβήθη δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ
 τῇδε Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος⁶ τοὺς τε Βαβυλωνίους καὶ τοὺς
 Σελευκεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὅπόσον ἦν Σύρων ἐμπολιτεῦον
 τοῖς τόποις ταῦτόν ἔλεγον τοῖς Σελευκεῦσιν ἐπὶ πο-
 379 λέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. καὶ συνελέγησαν
 ὥστε πολὺ εἰς τε τὰ Νέαρδα καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ὀχυ-
 ρότητι τῶν πόλεων κτώμενοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ
 ἄλλως πληθὺς ἅπασα μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν κατοικεῖται.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ
 κατωκημένους τοιαῦτα ἦν.

¹ om. E.

² ἀσύνετα Hudson : ἀνέλπιστα conl. Richards et Shutt.

³ ἀσύνετα . . . πεποιημένοις] nulla tamen eis iam spes vi-
 vendi fuerat derelicta Lat.

⁴ Hudson : τιμῇ codd.

⁵ μὴ πεφροντικότων] Hudson : πεφροντικότων codd.

⁶ A : γένος MWE.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 49. V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 1959, p. 503 n. 74, rightly cites Strabo xvi. 743, who terms Ctesiphon "a large village" and concludes that the Greeks did not regard it as a *polis*: hence Josephus

were on good terms, both parties agreed, as a great proof of mutual loyalty, to show enmity to the Jews. They fell upon them suddenly and slew more than 50,000 men. Indeed all were slain except for some who were mercifully granted the chance to flee by friends or neighbours. Those who escaped retreated to Ctesiphon,^a a Greek city situated near Seleucia, where the king spends the winter each year and where most of his baggage is stored, as it happens. But it was without prudence that they settled there,^b since the Seleucians had no respect for the authority of the crown.^c All the Jewish people in this region now became terrified of both the Babylonians and the Seleucians since all the Syrians who were citizens of these places fell in line with the Seleucians and made war against the Jews their policy. Most of the Jews flocked to Nearda and Nisibis,^d where they were safe because these cities were fortified and were furthermore populated by men who were valiant fighters every one. Such is the story of the Jewish inhabitants of Babylonia.

is wrong in calling it a Greek city. Eusebius and Jerome identify it with the Biblical Calneh (Gen. x. 10), but on insufficient evidence. On Ctesiphon as the winter residence of the Parthian kings see Strabo xvi. 743. See, in general, Boettger, *Topographisch-Historisches Lexicon*, pp. 95-96.

^b Hudson's emendation, ἀσύνθετα, would yield the following meaning: "They could put no solid confidence in settling there." A similar meaning is given by Richards and Shutt's emendation.

^c For seven years (c. 37-44) the Seleucians were in revolt and were actually independent of Parthian overlordship. See Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 9, and numismatic evidence cited by Debevoise, pp. 164-165.

^d Cf. §§ 311-312.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΘ

(i. 1) Γάιος δὲ οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τοὺς ὅποσοι τῇδε οἰκοῦσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο τῆς ὕβρεως τὴν μανίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης

^a T. Mommsen's theory (" Cornelius Tacitus und Cluvius Rufus," *Hermes* iv, 1870, p. 322) that Josephus' source for the long account of the conspiracy against Gaius and the accession of Claudius is the historian Cluvius Rufus has won rather general acceptance (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Groag, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 1901, pp. 123-125). The chief support for this theory is the conversation recorded between Cluvius and a senator named Bathybius in which Cluvius gives an apt quotation from Homer urging Bathybius to be silent (§§ 91-92). Such an anecdote, it has been said (see Mommsen, p. 320; accepted by R. Syme, *Tacitus*, i, 1958, p. 287), can derive only from Cluvius Rufus himself, and not verbally, but precisely from his writings. Moreover, M. P. Charlesworth, "The Tradition about Caligula," *Camb. Hist. Jour.* iv, 1933, p. 116, cites a number of examples from this section of Book XIX in which Josephus' style is more metaphorical and more highly coloured than is usual for him; and he suggests that Josephus had before him a Latin original written in a highly rhetorical and metaphorical style, namely Cluvius Rufus. It has even been argued by A. Momigliano, " Osservazioni sulle fonti per la storia di Caligola, Claudio, Nerone," *Rend. d. Accad. d. Lincei* viii, 1932, p. 305, that Cluvius was the main source not only of Josephus but also of the two other chief extant writers on the subject of Gaius' assassination, Suetonius and Dio Cassius. But Mommsen's theory seems to rest on rather flimsy evidence. In the first place, there is no indica-

BOOK XIX

(i. 1) ^a GAIUS not only exhibited the madness ^b of his insolence in relation to the Jews who dwelt in Jerusalem and throughout Judaea, but he also sent

Insolence
and mad-
ness of
Gaius
Caligula.

tion that Cluvius Rufus' history covered the period of Gaius and Claudius, since the references to it in Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 20 and xiv. 2, and in Pliny, *Epist.* ix. 19. 5, deal with the period of Nero alone. The anecdote in §§ 91-92 might well have been recorded by another writer, perhaps Servilius Nonianus or Aufidius Bassus (see Syme, i, pp. 287-288) or, because it was so striking, might well have been transmitted orally. There is no indication that Josephus' style in Book XIX is more metaphorical than it is in large parts of the rest of the work; and even if it is, there is no evidence that these metaphors were borrowed from Cluvius, about whose style we know almost nothing firsthand, inasmuch as his works are lost except for very slight fragments (H. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliq.* ii, 1906, p. 114). The rhetorical style was widely cultivated among the Romans, and Josephus might have borrowed these metaphors from another writer who worked within the same rhetorical tradition. Several reasons have been advanced for the length of this digression on Gaius' murder and Claudius' accession. But Josephus' own moralistic reasons (§ 16), coupled with his desire to glorify the Jewish king Agrippa, who played a key rôle in Claudius' accession (§§ 236 ff.), seem sufficient.

^b Cf. Suetonius, who divides his biography of Gaius Caligula into two parts, Caligula the emperor and Caligula the monster (*Calig.* 22). Gaius' madness is also referred to by Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 34, Dio Cass. lix. 29. 1, Tac. *Ann.* xi. 3, and Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18. 1 (cited by J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula)*, 1934, p. 212).

JOSEPHUS

ἔσομένην γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔστελλεν αὐτήν, ὅποση
 Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακούει, μυρίων τε ἀνέπλησεν αὐτήν
 2 κακῶν ὅποσα μὴ ἰστόρητο πρότερον. μάλιστα δὲ
 ἡσθάνετο τοῦ δεινοῦ τῶν πρασσομένων ἢ Ῥώ-
 μη κατ' οὐδὲν αὐτήν τιμιωτέραν τῶν λοιπῶν πό-
 λεων ἡγουμένου, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἄγοντος καὶ
 φέροντος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ ὅποσοι
 τούτων εὐπατρίδαι καὶ προγόνων ἐπιφανείαις τι-
 3 μώμενοι. μυρία τε εὐρίσκετο καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱππέων
 μὲν καλουμένων, ἀξιώματι δὲ καὶ δυνάμει χρη-
 μάτων ὅμοια τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως
 ἀγομένων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τούτων εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἶναι
 κατακλήσεις· ὧν ἀτίμωσις ἦν καὶ μετανάστασις
 κτεινομένων τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα συλωμένων διὰ τὸ
 καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐπ' ἀφαιρέσει τῶν
 4 χρημάτων αὐτοῖς συντυγχάνειν. ἐξεθείαζέν τε ἑαυ-
 τὸν καὶ τὰς τιμὰς οὐκέτ' ἀνθρωπίνως ἡξίου γίνε-
 σθαι παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῷ· εἰς τε τοῦ Διὸς
 φοιτῶν τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ Καπετώλιον¹ μὲν καλοῦσιν

¹ ed. pr. : Καπιτώλιον (ι ante τ i. ras. A) AME: Καπειτώλιον W.

^a At first, according to Dio lix. 6. 1, Gaius showed great deference to the senators. But later, according to Suetonius, *Calig.* 26, Gaius made some of the senators run for several miles in their togas beside his chariot and serve as waiters when he dined. He abused the senate as having been adherents of Sejanus and as having acted as informers against his mother and brothers (Suet. *Calig.* 30). See also Sen. *De Ira* iii. 18. 3-19. 2 and *De Ben.* ii. 12. 1-2, and Dio lix. 23. 3.

^b Cf. Suetonius, *Calig.* 35, who notes that Caligula deprived the noblest men of their ancient family emblems. Thus he took away Torquatus' gold collar, Cincinnatus' lock

it forth to spread over every land and sea which was subject to the Romans, and infected the empire with countless ills, such as had never before been chronicled in history. Rome above all felt the horror of his actions, since he gave it no more privilege than other cities, but harried the citizens, especially the senators^a and those who were of the patrician class or had special honours because of distinguished ancestors.^b He also devised countless attacks upon the equites,^c as they were called. The standing and financial influence of this group gave them equal status with the senators in the eyes of the city because it was from their ranks that the senate was recruited. He deprived the equites of their privileges and expelled them from Rome or put them to death and robbed them of their wealth ; for it was usually as a pretext for confiscating their property that he had them slain.^d He would also have deified himself and demanded from his subjects honours that were no longer such as may be rendered to a man. When he visited the Temple of Jupiter^e which they call the Capitol^f and which is first in honour among their

of hair, and Gnaeus Pompey's surname " the great," which the Pompeian family had long held.

^e According to Suetonius, *Calig.* 30, Gaius asserted that the equestrian order had incurred his displeasure because of their excessive devotion to attending dramas and sporting events.

^d Cf. the story of how Gaius interrupted a game of dice, went out into the courtyard, caused two rich *equites* who passed by to be arrested, confiscated their property, and then returned to the game boasting of his good luck (Suet. *Calig.* 41).

^e The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus stood on the Capitoline hill, so called on account of the temple.

^f The temple of Jupiter was also called the *aedes Capitolina* ; see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 5. 16, 6. 19 ; xxxv. 4. 14.

τιμιώτατον δ' ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἱερῶν, ἀδελφὸν
 5 ἐτόλμησε προσαγορεύειν τὸν Δία· καὶ τὰλλα ἔπρασ-
 σεν μανίας οὐδὲν ἀπολελειμμένα,¹ ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ
 Δικαιοαρχείας² τῆς πόλεως ἐν Καμπανίᾳ κειμένης
 εἰς Μισηνοὺς³ ἐτέραν πόλιν ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τὴν
 6 διάβασιν δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τριήρει περατοῦν, καὶ
 ἄλλως ἐπιβάλλειν ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ δεσπότῃ ὄντι
 τῆς θαλάσσης ταῦτα καὶ ὅποια καὶ παρὰ γῆς
 ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπ' ἄκρων ἐπ' ἄκρα σταδίους τριάκοντα
 μέτρον τῆς θαλάσσης⁴ ζεύξας⁵ καὶ εἶσω τὸν κόλπον
 ἀπολαβὼν πάντα ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῇ γεφύρᾳ τὸ ἄρμα·

¹ ex Lat. : ἀπολελειμμένος codd. E.

² Dindorf : Δικαιορχίας codd. E.

³ Hudson : Μεσηνοὺς codd. E : Mesena Lat.

⁴ ταῦτα . . . θαλάσσης] om. W.

⁵ E : om. codd.

^a It was here that the consuls made their first public sacrifice, here that the senate met, here that triumphal processions ended, and here that archives dealing with foreign relations were kept. Cf. S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 1929, pp. 297-302.

^b Suetonius, *Calig.* 22, notes that Gaius would engage in conversation with Jupiter Capitolinus, alternately whispering and shouting angry threats. Gaius finally announced that Jupiter had persuaded him to live with him, and so he built a bridge connecting the imperial palace with the Capitol. Dio lix. 4. 2 remarks that though at first he forbade anyone to set up images of himself, he even went on to manufacture statues himself and to order temples to be erected and sacrifices offered to himself as a god. Dio also (lix. 28. 5 ; similarly Suet. *Calig.* 22) notes that Gaius called himself Jupiter Latiaris, i.e. Jupiter of Latium, and remarks (lix. 26. 5) that he used to impersonate all the gods.

^c Of Baiae.

^d Roman Puteoli. See *Ant.* xviii. 160.

^e mss. Meseni (for other instances of the plural " Miseni " see Pauly-Wissowa, xv², 1932, p. 2046) ; modern Miseno. This was the chief naval base in Italy at the time.

temples,^a he had the audacity to address Jupiter as brother.^b His other actions too did not fall short of madness. For instance, it was insufferable, he thought, to cross the bay ^c from the city of Dicaearchia ^d in Campania to Misenum,^e another maritime city, in a trireme. Then, too, he considered it his privilege as lord of the sea to require the same service from the sea as he received from the land. So the thirty ^f furlongs of sea from headland to headland were connected by pontoons, which cut off the whole bay, and over this bridge ^g he drove in his chariot.

^f Twenty-six furlongs in Dio lix. 17. 1, who says that the bridge extended from Puteoli to Bauli.

^g For a further description of this bridge see Dio lix. 17. 1-3, who notes that it had resting-places, lodging-rooms, and even running water for drinking. Gaius celebrated the dedication of the bridge by throwing some people off it. Suetonius, however, by including the building of this bridge among the acts of Caligula the emperor (*Calig.* 19) rather than of Caligula the monster indicates, as Balsdon, *op. cit.*, p. 52, points out, that the bridge was not mere irrational caprice. Suetonius gives three reasons for the building of the bridge: (1) to improve upon Xerxes' feat of bridging the much narrower Hellespont; (2) to arouse the awe of the Germans and Britons; and (3) to fulfil the prophecy of Thrasyllus the astrologer, who had assured Tiberius that Gaius had no more chance of becoming emperor than of riding over the Gulf of Baiae with horses. Suetonius says that he heard the last reason from his own grandfather, who asserted that it had been revealed to him by courtiers in Caligula's confidence. Seneca, *De Brev. Vitae* 18. 5-6, like Josephus, alludes to it as an instance of Gaius' madness; for, he says, at a time when Rome had enough food for at most seven or eight days, Gaius was making bridges of boats and playing with the resources of the empire. Josephus and Seneca apparently place the episode in the last few months of Gaius' reign, while Dio lix. 17. 1-3 and Suetonius seem to put it before A.D. 39; but this discrepancy gives no ground for the conjecture that the whole incident may have been fabricated.

θεῶ γὰρ ὄντι τοιαύτας ποιεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν τὰς
 7 ὁδοὺς.¹ τῶν τε ἱερῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι
 ἀσύλητον κατέλιπεν, ὅποσα γραφῆς ἢ γλυφῆς ἐχό-
 μενα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κατασκευὰς ἀνδριάντων καὶ
 ἀναθημάτων ἄγεσθαι κελεύσας παρ' αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ
 ἐν ἐτέρῳ τὰ καλὰ κεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ἢ ἐν τῷ
 καλλίστῳ, τυγχάνειν δὲ τοῦτο οὕσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων
 8 πόλιν. ἐκόσμηι τε τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀγομένοις τὴν τε
 οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους ὅποσαι τε αὐτῷ καταγωγαὶ
 διὰ γῆς τῆς τῶν Ἰταλῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον
 τιμώμενον Δία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὕτως ὠνο-
 μασμένον Ὀλύμπιον² Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου πε-
 ποιηκότος ἐτόλμησε κελεῦσαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
 9 μεταφέρειν. οὐ μὲν ἔπραξέν γε τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων
 φαμένων πρὸς Μέμμιον Ῥῆγλον,³ ὃς ἐπετέτακτο τῇ
 κινήσει τοῦ Διός, ἀπολεῖσθαι τοῦργον κινήσεως αὐ-
 τοῦ γενομένης. λέγεται δὲ Μέμμιον διὰ ταῦτα καὶ
 σημείων μειζόνων γενομένων, ἢ ὥς ἂν τινα μὴ⁴

¹ καὶ ἄλλως . . . ὁδοὺς] subicere sibi etiam hoc elementum posse velut domino maris existenti talia volebat etiam in fluctibus gerere, qualia solet terrae natura sustinere. voluit ergo, ut a litore ad litus stadia ferme trecenta in medio mari et intra tam vastum sinum pontem construeret, super quem carrucis et diversis vehiculis itinera valeret efficere Lat.

² τὸν Ὀλύμπιον . . . Ὀλύμπιον] Iovem Olympium, qui maxime apud gentiles venerabilis habetur Lat.

That way of travelling, said he, befitted his godhead. Of the Greek temples ^a he left none unpillaged, giving orders that paintings and sculptures and all other statues and dedicatory offerings with which they were furnished should be brought to him; for it was not right, he said, that beautiful objects should stand anywhere but in the most beautiful place, and that was the city of Rome. With the spoils which he brought from Greece, he adorned his palace and gardens and all his residences throughout the land of Italy. He even dared ^b to give orders to transport to Rome the "Zeus" that was worshipped by the Greeks at Olympia and was therefore called Olympian, a work of the artist Phidias of Athens. He did not, however, carry out this intention, for the chief technicians reported to Memmius Regulus,^c who had the assignment of moving the Zeus, that the work would be ruined if it were moved. It is said that Memmius postponed removing the statue not only

^a Dio lix. 28. 1 reports that Gaius desired to appropriate to his own use the large and very beautiful temple that the Milesians were building for Apollo.

^b A.D. 40. Cf. Dio lix. 28. 3, who says that Gaius blamed Jupiter for occupying the Capitoline hill ahead of him and consequently hastened to build another temple on the Palatine, to which he proposed to transfer the statue of Olympian Zeus after remodelling it to resemble himself. The transfer of the statue is also mentioned by Suetonius, *Calig.* 22.

^c Publius Memmius Regulus, consul suffectus in 31 and later governor of Moesia, Macedonia, and Achaia. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 47, when Nero was ill and his flatterers said that if anything befell him the empire would come to an end, he replied that the state still had a resource, namely, Memmius Regulus.

³ ^{ov} 'Ρήγλον, ἡ in *ι* corr. A : 'Ρηγοῦλον MW : 'Ρίγλον E.
⁴ om. E (sed extat in Busb.).

- 10 πιστὰ ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. καὶ γράφει τάδε πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐπ' ἀπολογία τοῦ ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδιακόνητον τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀπολέσθαι τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ κινδύνου γενομένου σώζεται φθάνοντος ἤδη Γαίου τελευτῆσαι.
- 11 (2) Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προῦβη τὸ μανικὸν αὐτῷ, ὥστε δὴ καὶ θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἀνακομίσας ἐπὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι κατατίθεται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, κοινὸν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ γεγονέναι τὸ τέκνον καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖν αὐτῆς πατέρας, ὁπότερον
- 12 μείζονα φάμενος ἐν μέσῳ τε καταλιμπάνειν.¹ καὶ τάδε ἡνείχοντο πράσσοντα αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ἐπεχώρησε² δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐφ' οἷσιςιν ἐθελήσειαν ἐγκλήμασιν· δεινὰ γὰρ πάντα ἦν, ὅποσα μέλλοι λέγεσθαι,³ διὰ τὸ χάριτί τε καὶ ὑπαγορεύσει τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ
- 13 πολλὰ γίνεσθαι, ὥστε ἤδη καὶ Κλαυδίου ἐτόλμα ποιήσασθαι Πολυδεύκης ὁ δοῦλος κατηγορίαν, καὶ Γάιος ἡνείχετο κατὰ πατρώου τοῦ αὐτοῦ δίκης θανάτου λεγομένης ἐπ' ἀκροάσει συνελθεῖν ἐλπίδι τοῦ παραλαβεῖν δύναμιν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. οὐ μὴν ἐξ-

¹ ὁπότερον . . . καταλιμπάνειν] om. Lat.

² conl. Niese: ἐπεχειρήσε codd.: i. marg. γρ ἐπέτρεψε A: molitus est . . . (servos) . . . excitare Lat. ³ A: γενέσθαι MW.

^a Dio lix. 28. 3 reports that the ship built to transport the statue was shattered by thunderbolts and that loud laughter was heard whenever anyone approached as if to take hold of the pedestal of the statue.

^b The Epitome omits the μή: "that were beyond what anyone could believe." This would indicate that Josephus did not accept the story.

^c Cf. the similar rescue of Petronius (*Ant.* xviii. 305), who had similarly violated an order of Gaius, by the death of the emperor. According to Dio lix. 28. 3, Gaius, after hearing

for this reason but because of certain portents ^a that were too serious to be discredited.^b He sent Gaius a letter reporting these matters and explaining his failure to carry out his orders. In consequence, he risked being executed, but he was saved by the death of Gaius which intervened.^c

(2) So far did Gaius' frenzy go, that when a daughter was born to him he actually carried her to the Capitol ^d and deposited her on the knees of the statue,^e remarking that the child belonged to both him and Zeus and that he had appointed two fathers for her, but left open the question which of the two was the greater. Such was the behaviour that the world had to put up with. He also permitted ^f servants to bring accusations against their masters on whatever charges they pleased. Anything that was reported was bound to have serious consequences, because most of the charges were brought for his gratification or at his suggestion. Thus Polydeuces, the slave of Claudius, dared to bring an accusation against Claudius, and Gaius was tolerant enough to attend court when a capital charge was brought against his own uncle, expecting to receive authority to put him to death. He was, however, disappointed.

why the statue could not be transported, uttered threats against the statue and set up a new one of himself.

^a The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

^e According to Suetonius, *Calig.* 25, Gaius carried his daughter, Julia Drusilla, to the temples of all the goddesses before finally placing her in the lap of Minerva, whom he called upon to direct his child's growth and education. Dio lix. 28. 7 says that Gaius placed her on the knees of Jupiter, thereby hinting that she was Jupiter's child, and put her in charge of Minerva to be suckled.

^f Niese's emendation. Variants "entrusted to," "attempted to arouse."

- 14 ἐγένετό γε αὐτῷ. ἀναπεπληρωκότι δὲ αὐτῷ συκοφαντιῶν καὶ κακῶν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἧς ἐπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν δουλοκρατίαν ἐπηρμένου τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐπιβουλαὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη συνίσταντο, τῶν μὲν ἐπ' ἀμύνη ὧν πάθοιεν ὀργὴν ποιουμένων, τῶν δὲ πρὶν ἐμπεσόντες κακῶν τυχεῖν μεγάλων¹ τι-
- 15 θεμένων τὸ μεταχειρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.² ὅθεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς τε ἀπάντων νόμοις καὶ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μεγάλην συνήνεγκεν εὐδαιμονίας ῥοπὴν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἔθνει τε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οὐδὲ εἰς ὀλίγον ἐξεγεγόνει μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι μὴ ταχείας αὐτῷ τελευτῆς παραγενομένης, βούλομαι³ δι' ἀκριβείας τὸν πάντα
- 16 περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον διελθεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς ἐν τύχαις κειμένοις καὶ σωφρονισμόν τοῖς οἰομένοις αἰδίδιον τὴν εὐτυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιμεταφέρειν⁴ κακῶς ἀρετῆς αὐτῇ μὴ παραγενομένης.
- 17 (3) Ὅδους μὲν δὴ τρεῖς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ παρσκευάζετο καὶ τούτων ἐκάστης ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχον. Αἰμίλιός τε γὰρ Ῥῆγγλος ἐκ Κορδύβης τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γένος συνείχεν τινας ἢ δι' ἐκείνων ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ πρόθυμος ὦν ἄρασθαι Γάιον.
- 18 ἑτέρα δὲ αὐτοῖς συνεκροτεῖτο, ἧς Χαιρέας Κάσσιος χιλιάρχος ἡγεμὼν ἦν. Βινουκιανὸς⁵ δὲ Ἀννίος⁶

¹ μέγα coni. Richards et Shutt.

² τῶν δὲ . . . ἄνθρωπον] ab aliis autem praevenire homines cupientibus, cum sibi ab eis pro culpis suis aliquod supplicium imminere sentirent Lat.

³ βούλομαι] Hudson ex Lat. : βούλομαι δὲ codd. : βούλομαι δὴ coni. Niese.

⁴ ἐπιμεταφέρειν] AM : ἐπιφέρειν W : ἐπὶ μήκιστον φέρειν ed. pr. : ἐπὶ μέγα φέρειν coni. Niese.

⁵ [vel Βινυκιανὸς] coni. Niese (vol. iii, praef., p. xviii) : Μινουκιανὸς codd.

⁶ Ἀννίος Busb. : om. Lat.

As he had made all of the inhabited world over which he ruled a prey to informers and their evil work and had raised high the power of slaves over their masters, conspiracies were now commonly formed against him. Some of the conspirators were angry and sought vengeance for the wrongs they had endured, others counted on doing away with the creature before they fell foul of him and suffered disaster. Therefore, since his death not only was of great importance in the interest of all men's laws and the safeguarding of them, but our own nation was brought to the very verge of ruin and would have been destroyed but for his sudden death, I am resolved to give an exact account of everything that happened. I have another particular motive in that the story provides good evidence of God's power.^a It will comfort those who are in unhappy circumstances, and will teach a lesson in sobriety to those who think that good fortune is eternal and do not know that it ends in catastrophe unless it goes hand in hand with virtue.

Josephus' reasons for recounting Gaius' death.

(3) There were three schemes in preparation for his death, and each of them had good men as leaders. Aemilius Regulus of Cordova in Iberia was the centre of one ring and heartily hoped to dispose of Gaius either by the hands of his colleagues or by his own. A second ring was in process of organization to aid them, of which Cassius Chaerea the military tribune^b was leader. Finally, Annius Vinicianus^c was no

Three conspiracies against Gaius.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 306.

^b According to Suetonius, *Calig.* 56, he was tribune of a cohort of the praetorian guard.

^c There seems to be a good deal of confusion in Josephus in the name: he seems to use the name Minucianus for both Vinicianus and Marcus Vinicius. This is clear from § 102,

- οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα παρεσκευα-
 19 σμένων ἦν. αἰτία δ' αὐτοῖς μίσους τοῦ πρὸς Γάιον
 συνελθεῖν, Ῥήγλῳ μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὀργίλον καὶ
 μίσει χρώμενον πρὸς τὰ μετ' ἀδικίας ἐξαγόμενα·
 καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τι θυμοειδὲς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἐλευ-
 θέριον, ὑφ' οὗ μὴδὲ στέγειν προστίθεσθαι τῶν βου-
 λευμάτων· πολλοῖς γοῦν ἀνεκοινώσατο καὶ φίλοις
 20 καὶ ἄλλοις δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ δραστηρίοις. Βινουκια-
 νὸς¹ δὲ τὰ μὲν Λεπίδου τε ἐκδικήσων,² φίλον γὰρ
 αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα ὄντα τοῦτον καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν σὺν
 ὀλίγοις ἀναιρεῖ Γάιος, καὶ ἄλλως φοβηθεὶς τὰ περὶ
 αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τὸν Γάιον ἐπὶ θάνατον
 ἀνακειμένην ἐπαφιέναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγχεί-
 21 ρησιν ἦλθεν.³ Χαιρέας⁴ δὲ αἰσχύνην φέρων τὰ
 ὀνειδῆ⁵ τὰ⁶ εἰς τὴν ἀνανδρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου προφερό-
 μενα,⁷ καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ἐφ' ἡμέρα κινδυνεύειν φιλία καὶ
 θεραπείᾳ τὴν Γαίου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀνελεύθερον⁸ ὑπο-
 22 λαμβάνων.⁹ οἱ δὲ καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ προτεθῆναι τὴν

¹ conl. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανὸς codd.

² Petersen : ἐκδικία codd. ³ Cocceji : ἐλθεῖν codd.

⁴ Dindorf : Χαιρέαν codd.

⁵ φέρων τὰ ὀνειδῆ] Dindorf : φέροντα ὀνειδῆ codd.

⁶ Hudson : τε codd.

⁷ Hudson : προφερομένου A : προσφερομένου MW.

⁸ οὐκ ἀνελεύθερον] Hudson : οὐ πάντ' ἐλεύθερον codd.

⁹ συνελθεῖν . . . ὑπολαμβάνων] om. E.

where the mss. similarly have Μινουκιανὸς and where (cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 15) Vinicius must be meant (so also Niese, preface to vol. iii, p. xviii). Here, though the mss. have Minucianus, it appears from Dio lx. 15. 1 that Vinicianus is meant. The latter had been accused of treason in 32 by Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 9) and was one of the Arval Brethren. He took his own life in 42 after an unsuccessful conspiracy against Claudius (Dio lx. 15. 1 ff.).

^a mss. Minucianus ; cf. note on § 18.

slight addition to those who were enlisted against the tyranny. The reasons for their hatred of Gaius were as follows: Regulus was moved by general indignation and a detestation of unjust proceedings. For he had in him a free man's independent spirit, so much so that he even threw his weight against keeping any of the plots a close secret. At any rate he informed many friends of them as well as others who won his approval as men of action. Vinicianus ^a joined the plot partly to avenge Lepidus, ^b a special friend of his and one of the best citizens, ^c who had been put to death by Gaius, and partly from fear for himself, because when Gaius gave vent to his anger, it was a death-dealing fury that made no exceptions. Chaerea joined because he felt disgraced by the slurs cast on his manliness ^d by Gaius; moreover, there was daily peril in his intimate attendance on Gaius, and he considered it the part of a free man to put an end to him. ^e These three men thought that the

^b M. Aemilius Lepidus; *cf.* § 49. Seneca, *Epist.* 4. 7, reports that Gaius ordered him to bare his neck for the axe of the tribune Dexter. There is no evidence to support Balsdon's suggestion (p. 42) that he was a cousin of Gaius, but he did marry Gaius' sister Drusilla (Dio lix. 11. 1 and 22. 6). After the latter's death in 38, Caligula chose him as his successor (Dio lix. 22. 7). Several writers (Suet. *Calig.* 24, Dio lix. 22. 6, Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 2) report his adultery with Agrippina. He and Gaetulicus were involved in a conspiracy against Gaius (Suet. *Calig.* 24, *Claud.* 9), as was Livilla, Gaius' sister (Suet. *Calig.* 24), and he was put to death in 39.

^c A less likely meaning is "along with a few other citizens."

^d Suetonius, *Calig.* 56, says that Gaius persistently taunted Chaerea, who was well along in years, for his supposed effeminacy.

^e Text emended. Variant "because he considered the daily danger of his friendship with and attendance upon Gaius to be a task quite unbecoming a free-born man."

- ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι σκέψιν¹ τήν τε ὕβριν θεωμένοις
καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀκμήν ἐπ' ἄλλων² ἀκμάζουσιν
διαφυγεῖν ἀραμένοις τὸν Γάιον· ἴσως μὲν γὰρ ἂν
κατορθῶσαι, καλῶς δὲ κατορθοῦσι τηλικούτων ἀγα-
θῶν σχεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς
ἡγεμονίας πονοῦσι καὶ μετὰ ὀλέθρου ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ
23 πράγματος.³ παρὰ πάντα δὲ Χαιρέαν ἐπείγεσθαι
ὀνόματός τε ἐπιθυμία μείζονος καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἀδεέστερον προσίεναι τῷ Γαίῳ διὰ τὴν χιλιαρχίαν
ῥαστώνης αὐτῷ κτείνειν ἐσομένης.
- 24 (4) Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἵπποδρομῖαι ἦσαν· καὶ σπουδά-
ζεται γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ἥδε ἡ θεωρία δεινῶς, συνίασιν
τε προθύμως εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον καὶ ἐφ' οἷς χρή-
ζοιεν δέονται τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ πλῆθος
συνελθόντες, οἱ δὲ ἀναντιλέκτους τὰς δεήσεις κρί-
25 νοντες οὐδαμῶς ἀχαριστοῦσιν. ἐκέλευον δὴ καὶ
τὸν Γάιον ἐκθύμῳ τῇ ἱκετείᾳ χρώμενοι τῶν τε τε-
λῶν ἐπανιέναι καὶ τῶν φόρων⁴ ἐπικουφίζειν τι τοῦ
ἐπαχθοῦς. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἠνείχετο, καὶ πλέον τι τῇ βοῇ
χρωμένων ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διαπέμψας κελεύει τοὺς
βοῶντας λαβεῖν τε καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀνελεῖν
26 προαγαγόντας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκέλευε ταῦτα καὶ οἷς
προσετέτακτο ἔπρασσον, πλείστοί τε ἦσαν οἱ ἐπὶ τοι-

¹ σκέψιν] σκέψιν φασὶ E. ² coni. Niese: ἀλλήλων codd.

³ οἱ δὲ . . . πράγματος] ceteri vero cupiebant super hoc habere commune consilium videntes tantas iniurias et exemplum pravum dari cupientibus principatum, omnes ergo ut tantis cladibus liberarentur desiderabant adversus Gaium aliquid geri; decere namque ad talia negotia bonos viros accedere pro salute pietatis et imperii macula auferenda etiam cum suo discrimine Lat. ⁴ τῶν φόρων] A: om. MWE.

^a Suetonius, *Calig.* 40, notes that under Caligula there were no goods or services that were not taxed. The new tax
226

matter should be laid for general consideration before everyone who had been spectators of the emperor's insolence and who desired, by removing Gaius, to avoid the sharp sword that was raging against others. Perhaps they would succeed; and a high thing it would be to achieve such good ends by their efforts, when they were ready in any case to strike for the preservation of city and empire even if it meant their own destruction. Chaerea was especially bent on action, both because he desired to win a better reputation, and because, by his freer access to Gaius as tribune, he would more easily find an opportunity to kill him.

(4) At this time occurred chariot races. This is a kind of spectator sport to which the Romans are fanatically devoted. They gather enthusiastically in the circus and there the assembled throngs make requests of the emperors according to their own pleasure. Emperors who rule that there can be no question about granting such petitions are by no means unpopular. So in this case they desperately entreated Gaius to cut down imposts and grant some relief from the burden of taxes.^a But he had no patience with them, and when they shouted louder and louder, he dispatched agents among them in all directions with orders to arrest any who shouted, to bring them forward at once and to put them to death. The order was given and those whose duty it was carried it out. The number of those executed in such summary fashion was very

Gaius' savagery to petitioners at the chariot races.

regulations were announced orally. When the people entreated him to put them in written form, he finally agreed, but had them written in so cramped a place and in so small a script as to cause people to incur the penalties by ignorance of the law. Cf. also Dio lix. 28. 11.

- ούτοις ἀποθανόντες. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἑώρα μέν, ἡνεί-
 χετο δὲ παυσάμενος τῆς βοῆς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ¹ ἕνεκα τῶν
 χρημάτων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶντες τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις
 27 παραίτησιν εἰς θάνατον αὐτοῖς φέρουσιν. ταῦτα
 Χαιρέαν ἐνήγαγε μειζόνως ἄπτεσθαί τε τῆς ἐπι-
 βουλῆς καὶ παύειν κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηγριω-
 κότα τὸν Γάιον, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὰς
 ἐστιάσεις ἐμέλλησεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπεί-
 χετο λογισμῷ, τὸ μὲν κτείνειν οὐκέτ' ἐνδοιαστὸν
 κεκρικῶς, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν περισκοπῶν, ὅπως μὴ εἰς
 κενόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καταπράξει τῶν βεβουλευμένων
 ταῖς χερσὶ χρῶτο.
- 28 (5) Ἐστραγγεύετο² δὲ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον οὐχ
 ἡδονῇ φέρων Γαῖου τὴν ἀναστροφὴν.³ ἐπεὶ δὲ
 αὐτὸν ἴσταται Γάιος εἰσπραξόμενον τοὺς τε φόρους
 καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα καταβαλλόμενα εἰς τὸν Καίσαρος θη-
 σαυρὸν ἐφυστερῇκει τοῖς καιροῖς διὰ τὸ ἐπιδιπλασιάζ-
 εσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, χρόνον ἐκεῖ⁴ ποιεῖται τῇ
 ἐκπράξει⁵ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ χρώμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ
- 29 Γαῖου προστάξει, διὰ τὸ φειδοῖ χρῆσθαι τὰς τύχας⁶
 οἴκτῳ λαμβάνων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν εἴσπραξιν εἰς ὀργὴν
 προὔκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάιον μαλακίαν ἐπικαλοῦντα αὐτῷ
 τοῦ σχολῇ συνάγεσθαι αὐτῷ τὰ χρήματα. καὶ δὴ
 τά τε ἄλλα ὕβριζεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ὅποτε τὸ σημεῖον
 αἰτοῖ⁷ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας καθηκούσης εἰς αὐτόν, θήλεά
- 30 τε ἐδίδου τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ταῦτα αἰσχύνῃς ἀνάπλεα

¹ ἐν ὀλίγῳ] om. E.

² Naber: ἐστρατεύετο codd.: militabat Lat.

³ A: συναναστροφὴν MW.

⁴ ἐκείνων vel ἐκεῖνος coni. Herwerden.

⁵ εἰσπράξει E.

⁶ τὰς τύχας] om. E.

⁷ Post: αὐτῷ codd.: αἰτοῖτο coni. Niese: παρείχε post αὐτῷ
 add. E.

large. The people, when they saw what happened, stopped their shouting and controlled themselves, for they could see with their own eyes that the request for fiscal concessions resulted quickly in their own death. This strengthened still further Chaerea's determination to embark on the plot and to put an end to Gaius and his brutal fury against mankind. Often at entertainments he had been on the point of acting, yet nevertheless refrained when he calculated his chances. He no longer had any hesitation in his resolve to kill the man, but his search for the best moment continued, since he wished not to resort to violence fruitlessly, but to ensure the success of his plans.

(5) Progress had been blocked ^a now for some time and Chaerea was disgusted with the conduct of Gaius.^b But when Gaius appointed him to the duty of enforcing payment of any taxes or other sums that were payable to the imperial treasury and that were overdue because the rate had been doubled, he took his time about these exactions and followed his own bent rather than the instructions of Gaius. Because he was merciful out of pity for the misfortunes which the people suffered under the exactions, he incensed Gaius, who called it womanly weakness to be so slow in collecting the money. Moreover, he not only insulted Chaerea in other ways, but whenever Chaerea as officer of the day asked for the password, Gaius would give him women's words and such as had quite obscene connotations.^c And yet, Gaius

Cassius
Chaerea is
appointed
tax-collector and in-
sulted by
Gaius.

^a MSS. "he had been soldiering" or "he had been carrying on his campaign."

^b Variant "Chaerea found his relations with Gaius no pleasure."

^c Suetonius, *Calig.* 56, and Seneca, *De Const. Sap.* 18. 3,

καὶ ταῦτα ἔπρασεν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος ἐν
 τινων τελεταῖς μυστηρίων, ἃς αὐτὸς συνίστατο,
 στολὰς τε ἐνδυνόμενος γυναικείους καὶ τινων περι-
 θέσεις πλοκαμίδων ἐπινοῶν ἄλλα τε ὅποσα ἐπι-
 καταψεύσασθαι θηλύτητα τῆς ὄψεως ἔμελλεν, αὐτὸς
 τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰσχύνῃν ἐτόλμα Χαιρέα προσ-
 31 καλεῖν. Χαιρέα δὲ καὶ ὅποτε μὲν παραλαμβάνοι
 τὸ σημεῖον¹ ὀργῇ² παρίστατο, μειζόνως δ' ὅποτε
 παραδιδοίῃ, γελῶμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παραλαμβανόντων,
 ὥστε καὶ οἱ συγχιλιάρχοι παιδιὰν ἐποιοῦντο αὐτόν·
 ὅποτε γὰρ αὐτὸς μέλλοι τὸ σημεῖον παρ' αὐτοῦ
 Καίσαρος κομίζειν, προὔλεγον τινα τῶν εἰωθότων
 32 φέρειν εἰς παιδιάν. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θάρσος
 παρίστατο κοινῶνους τινας παραλαμβάνειν, ὡς οὐκ
 ἐπ' ὀλίγοις³ ὀργῇ χρώμενος. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Πομπή-
 διος⁴ συγκλητικὸς μὲν, τὰς ἀρχὰς δὲ διεληλυθὼς
 σχεδὸν ἀπάσας, Ἐπικούρειος δ' ἄλλως καὶ δι' αὐτὸ
 33 ἀπράγμονος ἐπιτηδευτῆς βίου. τοῦτον ἐνδείκνυσιν
 Τιμίδιος ἐχθρὸς ὢν ὡς λαιδορία χρησάμενον ἀ-
 πρεπεῖ κατὰ τοῦ Γαῖου μάρτυρα παραλαμβάνων
 Κυντιλίαν γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπιφανεία

¹ τὸ σημεῖον] haec vestimenta Lat.

² Hudson: ὀργῇ codd. E.

³ A: ὀλίγοις MW: causis minoribus Lat.

⁴ Πομπή | ιος A¹: Pompidius Lat.

remark that when Chaerea would demand the password, Caligula would give him "Priapus" or "Venus." Dio lix. 29. 2 says that Gaius habitually called Chaerea, who was the hardest of men, a wench, and that he would give him such passwords as "Love" or "Venus."

^a A similar account of the accusation of Pompeidius is

himself was not free from the same taint in the rites of certain mysteries which he had himself contrived. He would put on women's robes and devise wigs or other means of counterfeiting a feminine appearance. Yet now he actually had the effrontery to invite mockery of Chaerea on the same score. Whenever Chaerea received the password he was furious, and still more when he passed it on and was derided by those who received it from him. As a result, even his fellow tribunes made fun of him; whenever he was due to go to bring them the password from Caesar, they would mention beforehand one of the words that lent themselves to jests. As a consequence, he gained courage to seek partners in his plot, for he had good reason to be angry. Now there was one Pompedius,^a of senatorial rank, who had held nearly all the offices of state, but except for that was an Epicurean^b and consequently lived a life of ease. This Pompedius was accused by his enemy Timidius of applying opprobrious epithets to Gaius.^c Timidius called as a witness Quintilia, an actress who enjoyed

found in Dio lix. 26. 4, where, however, he is called Pomponius and where Timidius is not mentioned by name but is merely called a friend. The attempted identification of Pompedius with the senator Pompeius Pennus (Sen. *De Ben.* ii. 12. 1-2) has, as noted by Stein, "Timidius," in Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, vi¹, 1936, p. 1256, little to recommend it.

^b Epicureanism, preaching both a cosmopolitanism and the happiness of the individual, taught its adherents to avoid political careers so as to maintain maximum personal liberty. See N. W. De Witt, *Epicurus and His Philosophy*, 1954, who quotes (p. 187) Cicero's remark to Atticus the Epicurean in 44 B.C. after the assassination of Julius Caesar: "You mention Epicurus and dare to warn me μή πολιτεύεσθαι" ["to keep out of politics"] (Cic. *Ad Att.* xiv. 20. 5).

^c Dio lix. 26. 4 says that Pomponius (*i.e.* our Pompedius) was accused of having actually plotted against Gaius.

- τοῦ ὠραίου περισπούδαστον πολλοῖς τε οὔσαν καὶ
 34 τῷ Πομπηδίῳ. καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, ψεῦδος γὰρ ἦν,
 δεινὸν ἡγούμενης μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἔρα-
 στοῦ παρασχεῖν, βασάνων ἔχρηζεν ὁ Τιμίδιος, καὶ
 Γάιος παρωξυμμένος κελεύει τὸν Χαιρέαν μηδὲν
 εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' εὐθέως βασανίζει τὴν Κυντιλίαν,¹
 χρώμενος τῷ Χαιρέα πρὸς τε τὰ φονικὰ καὶ ὅποσα
 στρεβλώσεως δέοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ νομίζειν ὠμότερον δια-
 κονήσεσθαι τὴν λαιδορίαν φεύγοντα τῆς μαλακίας.
 35 Κυντιλία δ' ἐπὶ τὴν βάσανον ἀγομένη τῶν συνιστό-
 ρων τινὸς ἐπιβαίνει τῷ ποδὶ ἀποσημαίνουσα θαρ-
 σεῖν καὶ μὴ τὰς βασάνους αὐτῆς δεδιέναι· διοίσειν
 γὰρ μετ' ἀνδραγαθίας. βασανίζει δ' αὐτὴν ὡμῶς ὁ
 Χαιρέας, ἄκων μὲν, κατ' ἀνάγκας δὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδοῦσαν ἤγεν εἰς τὴν ὄψιν τὴν
 Γαῖου διακειμένην² οὐκ ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς θεωροῦσι.
 36 καὶ ὁ Γάιος παθὼν τι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς Κυντιλίας
 δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγυδόνων διακειμένης τοῦ τε
 ἐγκλήματος ἠφίει καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Πομπήδιον,
 ἐκείνην δὲ καὶ χρημάτων δώσει τιμῇ παραμυθίας
 ἐσομένων λώβης τε ἣν ἐλελώβητο εἰς τὴν εὐπρέ-
 πειαν τοῦ τ'³ ἀφορήτου τῶν ἀλγυδόνων.
 37 (6) Ταῦτα δεινῶς ἠνίασεν τὸν Χαιρέαν ὡς αἴτιον⁴
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὑπὸ Γαῖου παρηγορίας ἀξίοις⁵ κακῶν

¹ W : Κυῖντιλλίαν A : Κυντιλίαν M : Quintillam cod. A Lat.

² δεδεγμένην coni. Marcus.

³ τοῦ τ'] coni. Niese : τοῦ codd.

⁴ ὡς αἴτιον] om. Petersen.

the devotion of Pompedius and many others because of her striking beauty. This poor woman, since the charge was false, was indignant at the thought of bearing witness that would be fatal to her lover. Timidius then called for torture. Gaius in a passion ordered Chaerea not to waste a moment, but to put Quintilia to torture at once. He employed Chaerea in cases of murder and any others that called for torture, because he calculated that Chaerea's performance would be more cruel since he would not want to be abused as a weakling. Quintilia, when brought in for torture, trod on the foot of one of those privy to the conspiracy as a sign that he should keep cool and have no fear of her yielding to torture, for she would hold out bravely. Chaerea, reluctantly, but forced by superior authority, tortured her cruelly, but when she showed no weakness, he brought her—she was now in a state that brought no delight to the eyes of onlookers—into the presence of Gaius. Even Gaius was affected by the sight of Quintilia, who was in a sorry state as a result of her suffering. He acquitted both her and Pompedius of the charge and conferred a gift of money ^a on her as consolation for the maltreatment that marred her beauty and for the intolerable agonies that she had undergone.

(6) These things grievously distressed Chaerea, for he had been, so far as it was in his power, a source of misery to persons who were considered even by

Chaerea
plots with
Clemens
and
Papinius.

^a So also Dio lix. 26. 4. Suetonius, *Calig.* 16, reports that Gaius, to make known his encouragement of noble action, awarded 800,000 sesterces to a freedwoman—he does not give her name—who, despite the most severe torture, kept silent about her patron's guilt.

⁵ ἀξιουμένους Richards et Shutt.

- ὅσον ἐπ'¹ αὐτῷ γινόμενον,² φησὶν³ τε πρὸς Κλή-
 μεντά τε καὶ Παπίνιον, ὧν Κλήμης μὲν ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν
 στρατοπέδων, Παπίνιος⁴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν χιλιαρ-
 38 χῶν, " ἄλλ' ἐπὶ φυλακῇ γε, ὦ Κλήμης, τὰ πάντα
 τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμῖν πράσσειν οὐκ ἐλλέλειπται·
 τῶν γὰρ συνομωμοκότων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 προνοία καὶ πόνοις τοὺς μὲν ἀπεκτείναμεν, τοὺς δὲ
 ἐστρεβλώσαμεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥς ἐλεεινοὺς κακείνῳ
 γενέσθαι, μετὰ πόσης τε ἀρετῆς ἡμῖν ἐξάγεται τὰ⁵
 39 τῶν στρατιῶν; "· σιγήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλήμεντος
 καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσχύνη φέρειν τὰ προστασσόμενα καὶ
 τῷ βλέμματι καὶ τῷ ἐρυθήματι παριστάντος, λόγῳ
 δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν μανίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσκαλεῖν
 40 ἄδικον ἡγουμένου προνοία τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς, Χαιρέας
 ἤδη θάρσει χρώμενος ἐν λόγοις ἦν κινδύνων ἀνει-
 μένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ κατέχοντα δεινὰ τὴν πόλιν
 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεξιῶν, καὶ ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν εἶη Γάιος
 41 ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰτίαν προτιθέμενος, τοῖς δὲ τὰ-
 ληθὲς ἐξετάζειν πειρωμένοις, " ἐγὼ τε, ὦ Κλήμης,
 καὶ οὗτοσὶ ὁ Παπίνιος καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν σύ, ταύτας

¹ ὑπὸ Richards et Shutt.

² κακῶν ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ γινόμενον] Hudson : ἐν αἰτία κακῶν
 τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γεγενημένοις (γενομένοις W) codd. : γινό-
 μενον E.

³ ὡς αἴτιον . . . φησὶν] quod per eum homines torquerentur,
 unde quoque suam iracundiam non sustinens dixit Lat.

⁴ Παπίνιον AWE : Παμπήνιον M.

⁵ Richards et Shutt ex Lat. : τὸ coni. Niese : om. codd.

⁶ μετὰ . . . στρατιῶν] ita nostram militiam cum nimia
 severitate tractamus Lat.

^a I have adopted Hudson's emendation. The mss. yield :
 " These things grievously distressed Chaerea, as if he were
 guilty [of torturing] persons [considered] even by Gaius de-

Gaius to be deserving of consolation.^a He thus declared himself to Clemens ^b and Papinius,^c of whom the former was pretorian prefect and the latter was a military tribune like himself: "Well, Clemens, we have not failed to go to any length at least in guarding the emperor. Through our forethought and toil we have slain some of the conspirators against his rule and tortured others to the point where even he took pity. How great is the virtue with which we exercise our military commands!" Clemens was silent, but by his look and blush showed how ashamed he was of the emperor's orders; out of regard for his own safety, however, he did not think it right to refer openly to the emperor's madness. Chaerea, now plucking up courage, began to speak to him in language unchecked by fear of consequences, recounting the horrors to which the city and the realm were a prey. Though nominally, said he, Gaius bore the responsibility for such proceedings, "to those who try to investigate the facts it is I, O Clemens, and Papinius here and you, more than the

serving of consolation, who had been charged with evils in so far as they were concerned." The text suggested by Prof. Petersen (omission of *ὡς αἰτιον* and change of *αὐτοῖς* to *αὐτῷ*) would mean: "These things grievously distressed Chaerea, inasmuch as he was blamed by persons (whom even Gaius considered deserving of consolation) for violence done them in so far as they had been turned over to him."

^b M. Arrecinus Clemens, father-in-law of the emperor Titus (Suet. *Tit.* 4). Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 68, notes that in the year 70, Mucianus appointed Arrecinus Clemens commander of the praetorian guard, "alleging that his father, in the reign of Caligula, had admirably discharged the duties of that office."

^c Mathieu-Herrmann suggest that this Papinius is perhaps related to the Sextus Papinius killed by order of Caligula (*cf.* Sen. *De Ira* iii. 18. 3).

- Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὰς στρέβλας προσφερόμενοι, οὐκ ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῖς Γαῖου δια-
 42 κονοῦμενοι, γνώμη δὲ τῇ αὐτῶν, εἰ παρὸν παῦσαι τοσαύτη ἤδη χρώμενον ὕβρει εἰς τε τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους διακονούμεθα, δορυφόροι καὶ δήμιοι καθεστηκότες ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ταυτὶ φέροντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οὐδ' ἀρχῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ δουλουμένου τά τε σώματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, μαινόμενοι τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν αἵματι σφαγῆς καὶ βασάνου τῆς ἐκείνων, μέχρι δὴ τις καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν διακονήσεται¹
 43 τοιαῦτα Γαῖω. οὐ γὰρ εὐνοία γε² πολιτεύσει³ διὰ τάδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δι' ὑφοράσεως δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλως τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἐπιδεδωκότος⁴. οὐ γὰρ δὴ στήσεται ποτε Γαῖω τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς διὰ τὸ μὴ δίκην ἀλλ' ἡδονὴν πέρας αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν. σκοποὶ δὲ προσκεισόμεθα καὶ αυτοί, δέον καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτόν τε καὶ ἐλεύθερον βεβαιοῦν καὶ ἡμῖν κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγὰς ψηφίσασθαι.”⁵
 44 (7) Κλήμης δὲ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τὴν Χαιρέου φανερὸς ἦν ἐπαινῶν, σιγᾶν δ' ἐκέλευε, μὴ καὶ φοιτῶντος εἰς πλείονας τοῦ λόγου καὶ διαχρισμένων ὅποσα κρύπτεσθαι καλῶς ἔχοι πρὶν τυχεῖν πράξαντας ἐκπύστου τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύματος γενομένου κολασθεῖεν, χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδι παραδιδόναί τὰ πάντα ὡς παραγεννησομένης τινὸς
 45 αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρίας τυχαίου. αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ

¹ Busb. : διακονήσεται codd. E.

² Niese : τε AW : om. M : τι Dindorf.

³ Niese ex Lat. : πολιτεύει codd.

⁴ Thackeray : ἀποδεδωκότος codd.

⁵ σκοποὶ . . . ψηφίσασθαι] tum demum etiam nos cunctis pereuntibus coniungemur Lat.

two of us, who are applying these tortures to Romans and to humanity at large. We are not discharging Gaius' orders, but following our own policy if, when it is possible for us to stop him from treating his fellow citizens and subjects as outrageously as he is now doing, we act as his agents, occupying a post as his bodyguard and public executioners instead of doing our duty as soldiers—bearing these arms not to preserve the liberty and government of the Romans, but to save the life of one who makes them slaves in body and mind. And we pollute ourselves with shedding their blood and torturing them daily, up to the moment, mark you, when someone as Gaius' agent will do the same to us. For he will not favour us in his policy on account of these services, but will rather be governed by suspicion, especially when the number of the slain has increased. For surely Gaius will never halt in his furious course since the end he pursues is not justice but pleasure. There we shall be, set up before him as targets,^a when we ought to be upholding the security and independence of all the people at the same time that we cast a ballot for our own rescue from a dangerous position."

(7) Clemens, it was evident, approved the resolve of Chaerea, but bade him keep silent, lest as the story spread more widely and reports got abroad of what should properly be concealed, the plot might be discovered before they succeeded in its execution, and so they would be punished. It was rather, he said, to the future and to the hope that it inspired that he preferred to entrust everything, in the belief that some stroke of luck would come to their aid.

^a Or "we shall be attached to him as his spies."

- γῆρως ἀφηρηῆσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε τόλμαν, “ τῶν μέντοι γε ὑπὸ σοῦ, Χαιρέα, συντεθέντων τε καὶ ῥηθέντων ἀσφαλέστερα μὲν ἴσως ἂν ὑποθείμην,
 46 εὐπρεπέστερα δὲ πῶς ἂν τις καὶ δύναιτο; ” καὶ Κλήμης μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀναλύει διὰ λογισμῶν τῶν τε ἀκροαθέντων καὶ ὁπόσων αὐτὸς εἰρήκει περιφερόμενος. Χαιρέας δὲ δείσας ὡς Κορνήλιον Σαβῖνον ἠπείγετο καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν χιλιάρχον ὄντα, ἀξιόλογον δ’ ἄλλως ἐξεπιστάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἔραστὴν καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ τῇ καταστάσει τῶν πραγ-
 47 μάτων πολεμίως διακείμενον, χρήζων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἐγνωσμένων τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καλὰ νομίσας εἶναι προσθέσθαι¹ καὶ δέει, μὴ ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος ἐκφοίτησις γένοιτο αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε τὰς μελλήσεις καὶ τῶν καιρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς πρὸς τῶν ὑπερβαλλομένων τιθέμενος.
- 48 (8) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσμένῳ καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ τὰ πάντα ἦν, ἅτε καὶ αὐτῷ γνώμης μὲν οὐχ ὑστεροῦντι τῆς ἴσης, ἀπορία δὲ πρὸς ὄντινα εἰπὼν ἀσφαλῆς εἶη τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους σιγῇ παραδιδόντι,² ἐπεὶ τε ἀνδρὸς ἡνίοχου οὐ μόνον στέγειν ὦν πύθοιτο προσθησομένου, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην φανεροῦντος τὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἦρτο, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐδείκτο τοῦ

¹ ὑπ’ . . . προσθέσθαι] oportunum est ratus ut cum eo rem communicaret Lat.: om. E.

² Bekker: παραδιδόντος codd.

^a Mentioned by Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, as the tribune who, after Chaerea had struck Gaius the first blow, stabbed the
 238

“ I myself,” he said, “ am debarred by age from such a venture, but while I might perhaps advise a course safer than that which you, Chaerea, have designed and told me of, how could anyone propose a more honourable one ? ” And so Clemens returned home turning over in his thoughts the proposal that he had heard and his own response to it. Chaerea, for his part, hastened in trepidation to Cornelius Sabinus,^a who was a military tribune like himself, knowing him well as a noteworthy citizen whose devotion to independence ensured his hostility to the present government. He desired to take in hand with all speed what he had decided upon ; and though he thought it good to add new names, yet he had misgivings that their plans might be brought to the ears of others by Clemens. Besides that, in his accounting, delays and postponements of the event favoured the ruling party.^b

The conspirators are joined by Sabinus.

(8) But Sabinus rejoiced to hear the whole story. He had not failed to come to the same conclusion himself ; and it was only for lack of one to whom he might safely speak that he had committed to silence what he was ready to join them in doing. Now he had found a man who would not only join him by keeping to himself what he was told but who even declared his own mind. Sabinus was so much the more encouraged and begged Chaerea to waste no time. So

Vinicianus is also enlisted.

emperor in the breast. Both Suetonius, *Calig.* 56 and 58, and Dio lix. 29. 1 regard him and Chaerea as the two leading conspirators. Suetonius states (*Calig.* 56) that they had been implicated, though falsely, in a previous plot against Gaius and that Gaius constantly accused them to one another in an effort to set them at odds.

^b There is here a play on words—*ὑπερβολάς*, “ delays,” lit. “ excesses,” and *ὑπερβαλλομένων*, “ exceeding,” “ excessive.”

- 49 Χαιρέου.¹ τρέπονταί τε ὡς Βινουκιανόν,² αὐτοῖς
 μὲν ἐπιτηδεύσει ἀρετῆς καὶ τῷ ὁμοζήλῳ τοῦ μεγα-
 λόφρονος συγγενῇ, Γαῖω δ' ὑποπτον τῆς Λεπίδου
 τελευτῆς, πάνυ γὰρ δὴ φίλοι ἐγένοντο Βινουκιανός³
 τε καὶ Λέπιδος, καὶ δείματι κινδύνων⁴ τῶν καθ'
 50 αὐτόν.⁵ πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τέλει φοβερὸς ἦν Γάιος,
 ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ πρὸς οὐστinas τῇ μανίᾳ
 51 χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀφησόμενος, φανεροί⁶ τε ἀλλήλοις ἦσαν
 τῆς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν ἀχθηδόνας, διασαφεῖν μὲν ἀλλή-
 λους ἀντικρυς τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Γάιον
 φόβῳ τε κινδύνων ἀφέμενοι ἄλλως τε αἰσθανόμενοι
 τοῦ ἀλλήλων μίσους πρὸς τὸν Γάιον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ
 εὐνοία χρῆσθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένοι.
 52 (9) Γενομένων δ' αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσεων⁷ ἐπέιπερ συν-
 ἔβαλον, εἰωθότες καὶ πρότερον ὅποτε συνέλθοιεν
 τίμιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Βινουκιανόν⁸ ὑπεροχῇ τε ἀξιώ-
 ματος, γενναιότατος γὰρ ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τῷ
 53 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐπαινουμένῳ, μᾶλλον ὡς ἀπτοιτό τινος
 λόγου. φθάσας⁹ καὶ κεῖνος¹⁰ ἤρετο¹¹ Χαιρέαν,¹² ὃ τι

¹ ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Χαιρέου] ἐδεῖτο ποιεῖν τοῦ Χαιρέου E : ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Χαιρέου βοηθεῖν (vel ἐπιχειρεῖν) Richards et Shutt : ἐδεῖτο Busb.

² conl. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανόν codd. ; ἀπορία . . . Βινουκιανόν] tunc quidem tacere se dixit et ad nullum de tali re suam proferre voluntatem, si vero tempus et hominem nancisceretur, tunc non solum silentium abiecturum sed etiam suam voluntatem manifestaturum esse firmabat. sed si aliquid viriliter inquit volumus efficere, nihil dilatione penitus detur, his igitur dictis exinde convertuntur ad Minucianum Lat. ³ conl. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανός codd.

⁴ E : κινδυνεύων codd. : periclitabatur Lat.

⁵ A : αὐτόν, ο ἰ. ras. M : αὐτοῦς E.

⁶ MW : φοβεροί AE Lat. : γρ φανεροί i. marg. A.

⁷ A Busb. : ἀξιώσεως MW : ἀξίων E.

⁸ conl. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανόν codd.

⁹ WE : φθάσαι AM.

¹⁰ ἐκεῖνος Petersen.

¹¹ E : εἴ ποτε AM : εἶπετο W.

they betook themselves to Vinicianus,^a who was akin to them in honest habits and in devotion to high ideals but was viewed with misgiving by Gaius on account of the death of Lepidus.^b For Vinicianus and Lepidus had been very great friends, and Vinicianus was in fear of dangers arising therefrom.^c Indeed, Gaius was a source of terror to all in authority, as one who would not desist from venting his madness upon each and all alike. They were mutually aware of their vexation at the state of affairs; yet, from fear of danger, they refrained from a full and frank statement to one another of their thoughts and their hatred of Gaius. Yet in other ways they were aware of one another's loathing for Gaius and had therefore not ceased to enjoy mutually friendly relations.

(9) At their meeting there was an exchange of courtesies. When they had previously come together, they had been accustomed to give precedence to Vinicianus^d both for his higher rank, since he was the noblest of Roman citizens, and because of his high repute in all respects, but particularly when he took part in a debate.^e Vinicianus, getting the matter started, asked Chaerea what password he had re-

^a MSS. (here and later in this section) Minucianus; *cf.* note on § 18.

^b *Cf.* § 20.

^c Prof. Post suggests that the last clause, καὶ δέϊματι . . . αὐτόν, may be displaced, and he would let it refer to συγγενῇ. The meaning would then be that the three men were also united by their fear for themselves.

^d MSS. Minucianus; *cf.* note on § 18.

^e Or "so that he was more likely to begin a discussion." A variant reading introduces this clause into the next sentence thus: "Minucianus [*i.e.* Vinicianus], more in order to begin conversation, asked Chaerea . . ."

¹² μᾶλλον . . . Χαιρέαν] inter principia sermonum praece-dens ille verba facit ad Cheream requirens Lat.

JOSEPHUS

- καὶ παραλάβοι σημεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης· αἰοίδιμος γὰρ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἦν ἡ εἰς τὸν Χαιρέαν διὰ τῶν
 54 σημείων τῆς δόσεως πρασσομένη ὕβρις. ὁ δὲ χάρ-
 ματι τοῦ λόγου μηδὲν μελλήσας ἡμείβετο τοῦ
 Βινουκιανοῦ¹ τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε πιστεῦσαν ὁμιλίᾳ χρή-
 σασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, καί, “ σύ μοι δίδως,” εἶπεν,
 “ σημεῖον ἐλευθερίας, χάρις δέ σοι τοῦ ἀνεγείραντός
 55 με μειζόνως ἥπερ εἴωθα ἐμαυτὸν ὀρμᾶν, οὐδὲν μοι
 χρεῖα πλειόνων ἔτι λόγων, οἳ με θαρσοῖεν, εἰ δὴ καὶ
 σοὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ, γνώμης τε τῆς αὐτῆς κοινωνοὶ καὶ
 πρότερον ἢ συνελθεῖν γεγόναμεν. καὶ ἐν μὲν ὑπ-
 56 ἐζωμαι ξίφος, ἀμφοῖν δ’ ἂν ἀρκέσειεν. ὥστε ἴθι καὶ
 ἔργων ἐχώμεθα, ἡγεμών τ’ ἴσθι, ἥ βούλοιο αὐτὸς
 κελεύων με χωρεῖν, ἥ καὶ προσοίσομαι,² ἐπικουρίᾳ
 τῇ σῇ συμπράσσοντος τε πίσυνος. οὐδὲ ἀπορία σι-
 δήρου τοῖς τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὰ ἔργα προσφερομέ-
 νοις,³ δι’ ἣν καὶ ὁ σίδηρος δραστήριος εἴωθεν εἶναι.
 57 ὥρμηκά τε εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐχ ὦν ἂν αὐτὸς πά-
 θοιμι ἐλπίδι περιφερόμενος· οὐ γὰρ σχολὴ κινδύνους
 μοι κατανοεῖν τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ δουλώσει τε πατρίδος
 ἐλευθερωτάτης ἐπαλγοῦντι τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς
 ἀφηρημένης τοὺς τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὀλέθρου
 58 διὰ Γάιον κατειληφότος. ἄξιός δ’ ἂν εἶην παρὰ σοὶ
 δικαστῇ πίστεως ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τυγχάνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ὅμοια φρονεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ σέ μὴ ἀπηλλάχθαι.”⁴
 59 (10) Βινουκιανὸς⁵ δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν λόγων θεα-

¹ conl. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανοῦ codd.

² ἥ καὶ προσοίσομαι] AM : οἱ καὶ προσοίσομαι W : ἥ καὶ προείσομαι E : litt. ἥ καὶ προσοί i. ras. m. 2 A : ἥ καὶ προσοί-
 σομαι Busb.

³ ἥ καὶ . . . προσφερομένοις] quod si coepero tui operatione
 solatii persequar grassatione ferri concessa mihi te confor-
 tante fiducia Lat.

ceived for that day ; for the city buzzed with the insults of which Chaerea was made the victim by the passwords given him. Chaerea was delighted at his words and without further delay returned the trust that Vinicianus ^a had put in him when he took part in a conference under such conditions and said : “ Your password for me is ‘ Liberty,’ and I thank you for rousing me to greater energy than I am accustomed to display by myself ; nor do I need any further words to encourage me if you too approve this course, so that we have arrived at one joint decision even before our conference. I have one sword in my belt ; but one will suffice for both of us. So up, let us get on with the work. Do you be leader and order me to go where you choose ; and I will betake myself there,^b relying on your support and co-operation. Nor is there any shortage of weapons when men throw their hearts into a task, for it is the heart that is wont to make a sword effective. I have thrown myself into this enterprise unmoved by any thought of what may happen to me personally. I have no leisure to scrutinize the threats to my own life. I am tormented when I see my country reduced from unequalled freedom to slavery and robbed of its excellent laws. Because Gaius lives, the human race is overtaken by disaster. It must be that I am worthy to be trusted with such a cause in your judgement, since we are of one mind and you have not renounced me.”

(10) Vinicianus,^c noting the urgency of his words,

^a MSS. Minucianus ; *cf.* note on § 18.

^b Variant “ or else I will take the lead.”

^c MSS. Minucianus ; *cf.* note on § 18.

⁴ ἄξιός . . . ἀππλλάχθαι] dignus enim sum apud te iudicem fidem rerum huiusmodi, quando etiam tu sapere talia comprobabis Lat. ⁵ conl. Niese (*cf.* § 18) : Μινουκιανός codd.

σάμενος ἡσπάζετό τε ἀσμένως καὶ προσπαρίστατο¹
 τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ ἀσπασάμενος
 60 μετ' εὐχῶν καὶ ἱκετείας ἀπελύετο.² καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντό
 τινες ὡς βεβαίως ταῦτα³ εἰρημένα.⁴ εἰσιόντος γὰρ⁵
 εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Χαιρέου φωνήν⁶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους
 γενέσθαι τινὸς ἐπ' ἐξορμήσει κελεύοντος περαίνειν
 μὲν δὴ τὸ πρακτέον καὶ προσλαμβάνειν τὸ δαιμό-
 61 νιον. καὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον⁷ ὑπιδέσθαι,
 μὴ καὶ τινος τῶν συνωμοτῶν προδότου γεγονότος
 ἀλίσκοιτο, καὶ τέλος συνέντα ἐπὶ προτροπῇ φέρειν
 πρῶτον εἴτε παραινέσει τῶν συνεγνωκότων ἀντι-
 σημαίνοντός τινος, εἴτε δὴ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς ἐφορᾷ
 62 τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, αἶροντος αὐτόν. διεληλύθει δὲ διὰ
 πολλῶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ πάντες ἐν ὅπλοις παρ-
 ῆσαν, οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντες οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς καὶ
 ὅποσοι τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ συνήδεσαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν,
 ὃς μὴ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἂν ἡρίθμει⁸ τὴν Γαῖου μετά-
 63 στασιν· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ πάντες ἡπείγοντο ὁποῖω
 δύναιτό τις τρόπῳ μηδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ τοιού-
 τοις ἀρετῆς ὑστερεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχοι προθυμίας ἢ
 δυνάμεως καὶ λόγοις καὶ δι' ἔργων ἦρτο⁹ ἐπὶ τῇ
 64 τυραννοκτονίᾳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάλλιστος,¹⁰ ἀπελεύθερος
 δ' ἦν Γαῖου πλεῖστά τε ἀνὴρ εἰς οὗτος ἐπὶ μέγιστον
 δυνάμεως ἀφίκετο καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἰσοτύραννον
 εἶχε τὴν δύναμιν φόβῳ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ μεγέθει

¹ προσηρέθιζε E. ² MWE: ἀπελύοντο A: dimisit Lat.

³ βεβαίως ταῦτα] MW: βεβαιοῦν τὰ A: βεβαιοῦσαν τὰ Herwerden.

⁴ καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντό . . . τὰ εἰρημένα] quidam enim adseverabant ea quae cogitabantur quodam auspicio fuisse firmata Lat.: καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντό <τί> τινες ὡς βεβαιοῦν τὰ εἰρημένα Petersen: om. E.; lacunam post εἰρημένα indicat Niese.

⁵ A: δὲ MW: nam Lat.: om. E.

⁶ φωνήν] φωνὴν λέγεται E.

⁷ om. E Lat.

responded warmly and further encouraged his boldness. After he had commended and embraced him, he dismissed him with prayers and supplication. And some have maintained that there was a confirmation of their words ; for as Chaerea was entering the senate house there came from the crowd a voice of someone bidding him, in order to spur him on : " Proceed therefore to carry out thy task and accept the support of heaven." They say that Chaerea at first suspected that one of the conspirators had turned traitor and that he was trapped ; but in the end he understood that the cry was in the first place meant to encourage him, whether it was a signal of warning from one of the conspirators or whether it was actually the voice of God, who watches over men and their lives, speaking to inspire courage in him. For the secret of the plot had reached many persons and everybody who was there had arms—members of the senate and of the equestrian order and all soldiers who were privy to the plot ; for there was no one who would not have reckoned the removal of Gaius as a blessing. For this reason all were eager, in whatever manner was possible, not, so far as they were concerned, to show less courage than the situation required. With the utmost zeal, with all their strength, whether by words or by action, all were intent on the execution of the tyrant. Take the case of Callistus.^a He, as a freedman of Gaius, had, of all men, reached the highest summit of power both by the fear which he inspired in all and through the

Callistus,
Gaius'
freedman,
joins the
plot.

^a Dio lix. 29. 1 also mentions him as a leading conspirator.

⁸ ἀν ἡρίθμει] Niese : ἀνηρίθμει codd. : ἡρίθμει E.

⁹ MW : ἡρκτο A : erant . . . praeparati Lat.

¹⁰ συνῆν vel παρήν post Κάλλιστος suppl. Richards et Shutt.

- 65 χρημάτων, ἅπερ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ· δωροδοκώτατος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὑβριστότατος παρ' ὄντινούν γίνεται, ἐξουσία χρησάμενος παρὰ τὸ εἰκός· καὶ ἄλλως τε τοῦ Γαίου τὴν φύσιν ἐξεπιστάμενος ἀνῆκεστον οὖσαν καὶ ἐφ' οἷσιν κρίνειεν οὐδαμῶς ἀντισπᾶσμάτι χρωμένην, αὐτῷ τε πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας τοῦ κινδυνεύειν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν χρημάτων·
- 66 ὥστε δὴ καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐθεράπευε κρυπτῶς μετακαθίζων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ εἰς ἐκείνον ἦξειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Γαίου μεταστάντος, αὐτῷ δὲ¹ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν² τῆς τιμῆς καὶ³ τὴν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις ἰσχὺν προκαταθέμενος⁴ χάριν καὶ φιλανθρωπίας λόγον.⁵
- 67 ἐτόλμησεν γοῦν εἰπεῖν, ὡς κελευσθεὶς διαχρήσασθαι φαρμάκῳ τὸν Κλαύδιον μυρίας εὖροιτο τοῦ χρήματος τὰς ὑπερβολὰς. δοκεῖν⁶ δὲ προσεποιεῖτο⁷ Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ θήρᾳ τῇ Κλαυδίου τὸν λόγον τοῦτον,⁸ ἐπεὶ τε⁹ οὔτε Γάιος ὠρμήκως μεταχειρίσασθαι Κλαύδιον ἠνείχετο τῶν Καλλίστου προφάσεων οὔτε Κάλλιστος κελευσθεὶς πού τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀπευκτόν¹⁰ ὑπελάμβανεν¹¹ ἢ κακουργῶν εἰς τοῦ δεσπότου τὰς ἐπιστολὰς οὐκ
- 69 ἂν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα τὸν μισθὸν ἐκομίζετο.¹² ἀλλὰ

¹ δὲ post αὐτῷ suppl. Petersen.

² ὑπόσχεσιν A.

³ καὶ post τιμῆς suppl. Post.

⁴ προκαταθεμένῳ Petersen.

⁵ ἐλπίδι . . . λόγον] sperans quia si ei cederet principatus deficiente Gaio honorem similem ei praeberet, eo quod illi gratiam et verba clementiae primitus inpendisset Lat.

⁶ AW: δοκεῖ ME.

⁷ προσποιεῖσθαι E.

⁸ δοκεῖν . . . τοῦτον] sed mihi videtur, quia fingeat haec Callistus volens capere Claudium Lat.

⁹ ἐπεὶ τε] i. marg. A: ἔπειτα AMW: ἐπεὶ E: nam Lat.

¹⁰ Post: εὐκτόν codd.: φευκτόν Bekker.

¹¹ ὑπερέβαλεν Hudson.

¹² οὔτε Κάλλιστος . . . ἐκομίζετο] neque Callistus iussus optabilem Gaio rem perpetrare si distulisset mandata domini sui potuit pericula declinare Lat.

great wealth that he had amassed. His power was no less than a tyrant's. For he was a great taker of bribes, and most contemptuous of rights, with none to match him. His authority had been exercised beyond all reason. Above all, he knew that Gaius by temperament was implacable, that he never allowed for any counter-influence in a case that he had once decided ; and that he was himself in danger not only for many other reasons but particularly because of his great wealth. In consequence, he even paid court to Claudius, secretly going over to his side because he expected that in the event of Gaius' death the empire would pass to him and that by laying up beforehand a store of favour and credit for his kindness he would have a basis for preferment and strength similar to that which he now enjoyed.^a At any rate, he went so far as to say that though he had been ordered to dispose of Claudius by giving him poison, he had invented countless devices for putting it off. My view is that Callistus invented this story to ingratiate himself with Claudius, since Gaius, if he had been bent on killing Claudius, would not have tolerated Callistus' excuses, nor would Callistus, if he had ever been ordered to do the deed, have regarded it as anything to deplore,^b nor, if he had sinned against his master's injunctions, would he have failed instantly to receive the wages of dis-

^a The text is difficult. Prof. Petersen suggests the following translation for his emended text : " And that Claudius' promise to honour him would assure him the continuation of his power on the same terms, especially since he had obliged Claudius in advance with flattery and intimations of courtesy."

^b Text emended. Prof. Petersen suggests keeping the manuscript reading and translates thus : " Nor would Cal-

δὴ Κλαυδίῳ μὲν ἔκ τινος θείας δυνάμεως ἦν φυγῇ
 χρήσασθαι¹ μαρινῶν τῶν Γαῖου, Κάλλιστῳ δὲ² προσ-
 ποιήσασθαι χάριτος κατάθεσιν μηδαμῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 γενομένης.

- 70 (11) Τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ὑπερβολαὶ τὸ καθ'
 ἡμέραν ἦσαν ὀκνούντων πολλῶν. οὐ γὰρ Χαιρέας
 ἐκὼν³ εἶναι τοῦ πράσσειν ἀναβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο, πάντα
 71 καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον τῇ πράξει νομίζων. καὶ γὰρ⁴ εἰς
 τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀνιόντα καὶ τὰς⁵ θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς
 θυγατρὸς ἐπιτελουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαῖου παρῆν πολ-
 λάκις καιρός, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱστάμενον καὶ
 τῷ δήμῳ χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου χρήματα διαρ-
 ριπτοῦντα ὦσαι κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ὑψηλὸν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ
 τέγος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φέρον, ἐπὶ⁶ τε τῶν μυστηρίων
 72 ταῖς ποιήσεσιν ἃ συνίστατο· πάντων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀ-
 περίοπτον εἶναι προνοία τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐπρεπῶς
 ἀναστραφησομένου καὶ ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ἐν ἐπιχειρή-
 σει τινὶ⁷ γενέσθαι πιστεύειν.⁸ εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τὸ κωλύον⁹

¹ ἦν φυγῇ χρήσασθαι] Post: χρήσασθαι codd.: σώσασθαι ἐκ Hudson: περιγενέσθαι ἐκ Bekker: <φυγῇ> χρήσασθαι Herwerden: <φυγῇ ἦν> χρήσασθαι Richards et Shutt.

² Καλλίστῳ δὲ] Petersen: Κάλλιστος codd.: Callistus autem Lat.: Κάλλιστον δὲ Hudson.

³ ἐκὼν] E: . . . ἐκὼν A: ἔσται ἐκὼν MW: γε ἐκὼν conl. Niese.

⁴ <κτείνειν> post γὰρ suppl. Petersen.

⁵ καὶ τὰς] κατὰ E.

⁶ ἐπὶ] ἔτι E: adhuc Lat.

⁷ τινά E.

⁸ E: πιστεύοντα codd.

⁹ μηδὲν τὸ κωλύον] Petersen: μηδὲν σημείον Hudson: μὴ δέοι τινα ἐπιτίμιον Post: μηδὲν τίμιον codd.

listus, had he received the order, have considered the deed as
 248

obedience. Rather, I think that it was through some divine intervention that Claudius enjoyed exemption from the mad fits of Gaius ; and Callistus merely pretended to have put Claudius in his debt when he had done nothing at all.

(11) The party of Chaerea postponed action from day to day because many of them were cautious.^a For Chaerea would not of his own free will have let a moment slip ; in his eyes any opportunity for action was good enough. Indeed he had frequent opportunities when he went up to the Capitol^b on occasions when Gaius offered sacrifice for his daughter's benefit. For as Gaius stood above the palace^c and scattered gold and silver money among the people, Chaerea might with a push have sent him falling headlong, for the roof overlooking the forum is high ; or again he might have killed him at the performances of the mysteries that Gaius had instituted. For he was indifferent to everything else, in his concern to acquit himself honourably in what he did and in his conviction that no one would move to act. But if no divinity

Postponement of the attempt.

something desirable." The implication is that Callistus would have refused to carry out the order, and Gaius would have had to look for another agent. On the other hand, it appears from §§ 68-69 that Josephus regards the explanation alleged by Callistus for not putting Claudius to death as hypocritical ; and the implication is that Callistus failed to dispatch Claudius not because of his devotion to him but because he had never received an order from Gaius to do so. Hudson's emendation yields the following translation : " Nor would Callistus, if he had ever been ordered to do the deed, which was desired by Gaius, have postponed it."

^a Or " shrank from the deed."

^b The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Cf. §§ 4, 11.

^c Mathieu-Herrmann say that this is doubtless the palace on the Palatine between the temple of Augustus and the palace of Caligula.

- ὥς¹ τῶν θεῶν Γαῖω² δύναμιν τοῦ θανάτου παρα-
 73 τυγχάνειν, αὐτῷ δ' ἂν ἰσχὺν ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ μὴ σιδη-
 ροφορουμένῳ διαχρήσασθαι τότε³ Γάιον. οὕτως δι'
 ὀργῆς⁴ εἶχε τοὺς συνωμότας ὁ Χαιρέας⁵ δεδιὼς τοὺς
 74 καιροὺς μὴ διαρρυεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἐώρων μὲν νομίμων
 τε χρήζοντα καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπειγόμενον,
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἡξίουσαν εἰς ὀλίγον γοῦν ὑπερβολῇ χρή-
 σασθαι, μὴ καὶ πῃ σφάλματος τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει συν-
 ελθόντος ταραξάειν τὴν πόλιν ζητήσεων τῶν συν-
 εγνωκότων τὴν πρᾶξιν γινομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς⁶
 μελλήσουσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἄπορον τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν⁷
 75 φραξαμένου Γαῖου πρὸς αὐτοὺς μειζόνως.⁸ καλῶς
 οὖν ἔχειν θεωριῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπιτελουμένων
 ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ χρήματος· ἄγονται δὲ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ
 πρώτου μεταστησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δήμου
 Καίσαρος εἰς αὐτὸν μικρόν τε πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου
 καλύβης πηκτοῦ γενομένης, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τε οἱ
 εὐπατρίδαι θεωροῦσιν ὁμοῦ παισὶν καὶ γυναιξὶν καὶ
 76 ὁ Καῖσαρ· ῥαστώνην τε αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι πολλῶν
 μυριάδων ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὀλίγον χωρίον καθειργνυ-

¹ ὥς] ὡς ἀπὸ Hudson.

² Petersen: αὐτῷ codd.

³ τότε] A: τόν τε MW.

⁴ δι' ὀργῆς] E: ὀργῆς i. marg. A: εὐχῆς codd.

⁵ οὕτως . . . Χαιρέας] tantum habuit cum coniuratis
 Chaereas ardorem Lat.

⁶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς] τοῖς αὐτοῖς Holwerda: τοῖς αὐτῇ Bekker: αὐτοῖς
 τοῖς coni. Thackeray.

⁷ <ποιήσκειαν> post ἀνδραγαθίαν suppl. Thackeray.

⁸ καὶ τοῖς . . . μειζόνως] et insidiarum iam non valeret
 utilitas in futuro Lat.

^a The mss. yield little sense. Hudson's emendation would mean "and if no sign as from the gods came to give him power to inflict the death." Prof. Post proposes "if there were not bound to occur some effective occasion to deal death, whereby the gods would wreak vengeance."

prevented Gaius from meeting his death,^a he himself, though he should have no sword, would summon up the strength to dispose of Gaius. So angry was Chaerea with his fellow conspirators, fearing that the opportunities to act would slip by. They saw that he desired only a reign of law and that his urgency was for their benefit; nevertheless they begged him to postpone action at least for a while, lest, if the plot was frustrated, they should create a commotion in the city while search was made for any who had been informed of the plot, and lest in the future any who might have intended to act should find no way open for brave deeds because Gaius would have taken greater precautions against them. It was therefore best, they thought, to undertake the business on an occasion when shows were exhibited on the Palatine. These^b are held in honour of that Caesar^c who was first to transfer authority from the people to himself; during their celebration a stage^d is set up a little in front of the palace, and the Roman patricians look on with their children and wives, together with Caesar himself. They would then have the opportunity, when many tens of thousands of people would

Action
planned for
the Pala-
tine games.

^b The assassination took place, as Suetonius, *Calig.* 56, says, during the Ludi Palatini, established by Livia in honour of Augustus just after his death in A.D. 14, which started on 17 January and culminated with theatrical exhibitions on 21, 22, and 23 January (Dio lvi. 46. 5, lix. 16. 10 [probably]; Tac. *Ann.* i. 73). In the year in which Gaius was assassinated Gaius added extra days to the festival (Dio lix. 29. 5). See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 1912, p. 458 n. 5. Josephus would therefore appear to be incorrect when he says (§ 77) that Gaius was murdered on the third day of the spectacles, since this would be 23 January, whereas the murder occurred on 24 January (Suet. *Calig.* 58).

^c Augustus, as is clear from § 87.

^d Lit. "hut."

μένων ὥστε εἰσιόντι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιήσασθαι
δυνάμεως τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς, εἰ καὶ τινες προθυμοῖν-
το, μὴ παρατευξομένης αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν.

- 77 (12) Ἡνείχετο¹ δὲ Χαιρέας, καὶ τῶν θεωριῶν ἐπ-
ελθουσῶν τῇ πρώτῃ δεδογμένον ἄπτεσθαι τῆς
πράξεως ἰσχυρότερον ἦν τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνους προβε-
βουλευκότος τὸ τῆς τύχης συγχωροῦν ὑπερβολάς,
καὶ τὰς τρεῖς² ὑπερβαλλομένοις³ τὰς νομίμους ἡμέ-
ρας³ μόλις κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ
78 ἔργον. Χαιρέας δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συνωμότας,
“ πολὺς μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ καὶ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος
ὄνειδίσαι τὸ ἔτι μέλλον⁴ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτω βου-
λευθεῖσιν μετ' ἀρετῆς, δεινὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ μηνύματος
γενομένου διαπεσεῖται ἢ πρᾶξις καὶ Γάιος ὑβριεῖ
79 μειζόνως. ἢ οὐχ ὁρῶμεν, ὥς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀφαι-
ροῦμεν ὅποσας τῶν ἡμερῶν προσθήκην τῇ Γαίου
τυραννίδι χαριζόμεθα,⁵ δέον αὐτοὺς τ' ἀδεεῖς τὸ
λοιπὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτίαν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος
παρασχόντας δι' αἰῶνος τοῦ ἅπαντος τοῖς αὐθις ἐν
80 θαύματι μεγάλῳ καὶ τιμῇ⁶ καταστῆναι; ” τῶν δὲ
οὔτε⁷ ἀντειπεῖν ὥς οὐ πάνυ καλῶς⁸ δυναμένων οὔτε
τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀντικρυς δεχομένων σιγῇ δὲ καταπεπλη-
γόντων, “ τί,” φησὶν, “ ὦ γενναῖοι, διαμέλλομεν; ἢ
οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τὴν σήμερον τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέραν ὑστά-
81 την οὔσαν καὶ Γάιον ἐκπλευσούμενον; ” ἐπὶ γὰρ
Ἀλεξανδρείας παρεσκεύαστο πλεῖν κατὰ θεωρίαν

¹ E: εἶχετο codd.: expectabat Lat.: ἡπείγετο Naber.

² Ernesti: ὑπερβαλλομένου codd.

³ τὰς νομίμους ἡμέρας] Lowthius: ταῖς νομίμοις ἡμέραις codd.

be wedged into a small space, to make the attack on him as he entered, and his bodyguards would have no chance, even if any of them should desire it, of rendering him assistance.

(12) Chaerea bore with them, and it was decided to take the business in hand when the first day of the spectacles arrived. Their plan, however, was overruled by Fortune, who granted one reprieve after another; and having let pass the three days prescribed for the spectacles, they barely accomplished the deed on the last. Chaerea then called together the conspirators and said: "The days that have gone by put us to shame for our tardy execution of so noble a resolve. It is an appalling thought that if someone informs on us, our enterprise will fall through and Gaius will be more insolent than ever. Or do we not see that every additional day that we grant to Gaius' tyranny is subtracted from the days of liberty? It behooves us henceforth to be fearless and, when we have laid a foundation for the eternal happiness of future generations, to establish ourselves for posterity as objects of great admiration and honour." They could neither deny that his words were wholly right nor yet undertake to act forthwith, but stood silent in dismay. "Why," he continued, "good sirs, do we still hesitate? Are you not aware that today is the last day of the spectacles and that Gaius' ship will soon depart?" (For he had made preparations

Chaerea on the last day of the games encourages his accomplices.

⁴ ἔτι μέλλον] Bekker: ἐπιμέλλον AW: ἐπιμέλον M.

⁵ καὶ Γάιος . . . χαρίζομεθα] et potius Gaius nos afficiat cunctorumque auferat libertatem his diebus quos nos tyrannidi eius adicimus Lat.

⁶ ἐν θαύματι . . . τιμῇ] A: om. MW.

⁷ Dindorf: οὐκ AE: οὐδὲ MW.

⁸ AE: καλῶν MW: καλοῖς Hudson.

τῆς Αἰγύπτου. “ καλὸν δὲ ἡμῖν προέσθαι τῶν χει-
 ρῶν τὸ ὄνειδος τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλαυχία πομπευ-
 82 σον διὰ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἂν
 δικαίως κρίνομεν¹ αὐτοὺς² αἰσχύνῃ τῶν γενησομέ-
 νων,³ εἴ τις αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτιος κτείνειεν τὴν ὕβριν
 οὐχ ἡγησάμενος ἀνασχετὸν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις γεγονό-
 83 σιν; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι εἰς πλείονα ἀνέξομαι τὰς
 σκῆψεις⁴ ὑμῶν, χωρήσω δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις ὁμοῦ σῆ-
 μερον ἡδονῇ φέρων πᾶν ὃ τι καὶ γένοιτο ἐξ αὐτῶν,
 οὐδ’ ἂν ὑπερβαλλοίμην εἴπερ εἴη· τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ
 γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀνδρὶ φρόνημα ἔχοντι τούτου σχετλιώ-
 τερον, ἕτερον Γάιον ἀναιρεῖν ἐμοῦ ζῶντος ἐμὲ τὴν
 ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀρετὴν ἀφηρημένον; ”

84 (13) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν αὐτὸς τε ὥρμήκει
 πράξων τὸ ἔργον καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐνεποίησε θάρσος
 πᾶσιν τε ἦν ἔρως ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος μηδὲν
 85 ὑπερβαλλομένοις, ἔωθέ⁵ τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου ἐώ-
 θει⁶ τὸ ξίφος ὑπέζωσμένος τῶν ἱππικῶν· ἔθος
 γὰρ δὴ τοῖς χιλιάρχους τοῦτο ἐζωσμένοις αἰτεῖν
 παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ σημεῖον, ἦν τε ἡ ἡμέρα
 καθήκουσα εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς παραλήψεως τοῦ σημείου.
 86 ἄρτι τε συνήει πληθὺς εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐπὶ προκατα-

¹ Niese : κρίνωμεν A : κρίνομεν MW.

² αὐτοὺς] αὐτοὺς <ἐνόχους> Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

³ πῶς δ’ . . . γενησομένων] nam quomodo non iuste erimus confusionis obnoxii Lat.

⁴ A : σκέψεις MW : cogitationes Lat.

⁵ A : εἴωθε MW.

⁶ coni. Niese (vel ὡθεῖ) : εἰώθει A : om. MW : γέγονε E : εἰστήκει Petersen.

to set sail for Alexandria to inspect Egypt.^a) "Is it honourable to let slip from our hands this blot on the proud record of the Romans that he may parade in triumph over land and sea? Should we not be justified in passing sentence against ourselves for the disgrace that would befall us if some Egyptian, finding the insolence of Gaius intolerable to freeborn men, were to slay him? I for one will no longer put up with your pretexts, but will face the risks this very day, accepting with a glad heart whatever outcome may ensue, nor would I postpone the issue even if it were possible. For what could be more galling to a man of spirit than that some other should slay Gaius while I live on and am robbed of the high valour of the deed?"

(13) With these words he himself set out to do the deed and had also put heart into the rest, so that they were all consumed by desire to take the enterprise in hand without delay. In the morning Chaerea made his way^b towards the Palatine girt with the sword of an equestrian; for it was the custom for the tribunes to be so equipped when they asked the emperor for the password, and it was his day to receive it. A crowd was already collecting on the Palatine in anticipation of the spectacle, and there

^a V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 1940, p. 51, rightly notes that since Gaius was known to be addicted to Egyptian and Oriental ways, this projected visit brought home to the senators the danger to Latin institutions, particularly since their memory of the Egyptian influence on Antony and Caesar was still fresh.

^b MSS. "was accustomed."

⁷ μηδὲν . . . ἵππικῶν] nihilque differens diluculo ad palatium multitudo equestrium armata convenit Lat.; τῶν ἵππικῶν] A: ἵπποκομῶν MW.

- λήψει θέας πολλῶ θορύβῳ καὶ ὠθισμῶ, χαρᾷ
 φέροντος Γαΐου τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε τῶν πολλῶν σπου-
 δήν, παρὸ καὶ διακέκριτο οὐδὲν οὔτε τῇ συγκλήτῳ
 χωρίον οὔτε τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, φύρδην δὲ ἕζοντο καὶ
 τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁμοῦ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τῷ δούλῳ ἀνα-
 87 μεμιγμένον τὸ ἐλεύθερον. Γάιος δὲ προόδων αὐτῷ
 γενομένων ἔθυσσε τῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι, ᾧ δὴ καὶ
 τὰ τῆς θεωρίας ἤγετο, καὶ πίπτοντος τῶν ἱερείων
 τινὸς συνέβη αἵματι τὴν Ἀσπρήνα στολὴν ἐνὸς τῶν
 συγκλητικῶν ἀνάπλεων γενέσθαι. τοῦτο Γαῖῳ
 γέλωτα μὲν παρέσχεν, ἦν δ' ἄρα εἰς οἶωνόν τῳ
 Ἀσπρήνα φανερόν· ἐπικατασφάζεται γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ.
 88 Γάιον δ' ἱστορεῖται παρὰ φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐπροσ-
 ηγορώτατον γενέσθαι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ
 δεξιότητι χρώμενον ὁμιλίας πάνθ' ὄντινούν ἐκπλή-
 89 ξαι τῶν παρατυγχανόντων. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπὶ
 τὴν θεωρίαν τραπεῖς ἐκαθέζετο καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν
 90 ἐταίρων οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι. κατεσκευάστο δὲ τὸ
 θέατρον, πηκτὸν δὲ ἐγίνετο κατὰ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν,
 τοιόνδε τρόπον· θύρας ἔχει δύο φερούσας τὴν μὲν
 εἰς αἶθριον, τὴν δ' εἰς στοὰν εἰσόδοις καὶ ἀποχωρή-
 σεσιν, ὅπως μὴ ταράσσοιντο οἱ ἔνδον ἀπειλημμένοι,
 ἐκ δ' αὐτῆς τῆς καλύβης ἐνδοτέρῳ διαφράγμασιν
 ἑτέραν ἀπειληφυῖαις ἐπ' ἀναστροφῇ τοῖς ἀνταγω-
 91 νισταῖς καὶ ὅποσα ἀκροάματα.¹ συγκαθημένης δὲ
 τῆς πληθύος καὶ τοῦ Χαιρέου σὺν τοῖς χιλιάρχους

was much noise and jostling. Gaius was delighted to see the general enthusiasm for the proceedings, and for that reason no seats had been set apart either for the senate or for the equites, so that the seating was a jumble, women mixed with men and free men with slaves. Gaius, when his procession entered, sacrificed to Augustus Caesar, in whose honour the spectacle was presented. It happened that, as one of the victims fell, the robe of Asprenas,^a a man of senatorial rank, was spattered with blood.^b At this Gaius burst out laughing, but to Asprenas it turned out to be a manifest omen, for he was struck down over Gaius' dead body. It is reported that on that day Gaius was, contrary to his wont, most affable; and that he overwhelmed all and sundry whom he met with his adroit sociability. After the sacrifice he turned to the spectacle and took his seat surrounded by the most prominent of his companions. The construction of the theatre, which was set up every year, was as follows. It had two doors, one leading to the open air, the other into a portico with exits and entrances, in order that those who were separately assembled in the portico might not be troubled by anyone passing through. Entrances had been made from the stage building itself, which had an inner partition to provide a retreat for actors and all kinds of musical performers. The crowd being seated, Chaerea had his place among the tribunes not far

Gaius' sacrifice is ominous. Description of the games.

^a P. Nonius Asprenas, consul in 38.

^b Suetonius, *Calig.* 57, records, without mentioning the name of Asprenas, that Caligula himself was splashed with blood while he was sacrificing a flamingo.

¹ ἐκ δ' . . . ἀκροάματα] est etiam illic et alia cella, ubi lures exerceri solent atque cantores Lat.

οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Γαΐου, δεξιὸν δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου κέρας
ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶχεν, Βαθύβιός¹ τις τῶν συγκλητικῶν
ἀνὴρ ἐστρατηγηκῶς ἤρετο Κλούιον² παρακαθεζό-
μενον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτον ὑπατικόν, εἰ δὴ τις αὐτῷ
νεωτέρων πραγμάτων πέρι ἀφίκοιτο πύστις, προ-
μηθῆς γενόμενος τοῦ μὴ ἐξάκουστος εἶναι τάδε
92 λέγων. τοῦ δὲ φαμένου μηδὲν πεπύσθαι σημεῖον,³
“ τοιγαροῦν, ὦ Κλούιε, τυραννοκτονίας ἀγὼν πρό-
κειται.” καὶ ὁ Κλούιος, “ ὦ γενναῖε,” φησὶν, “ σίγα,
93 μὴ τίς τ’ ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν μῦθον ἀκούσῃ.” πολλῆς
δ’ ὁπώρας ἐπιχεομένης τοῖς θεωροῖς καὶ πολλῶν
ὀρνέων ὅποσα τῷ σπανίῳ τίμια τοῖς κτωμένοις, ὁ
Γάιος ἡδονῇ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῖς ἐθεώρει μάχας καὶ
94 διαρπαγὰς οἰκειουμένων αὐτὰ τῶν θεωρῶν. ἔνθα
δὲ καὶ σημεῖα συμβαίνει⁴ δύο γενέσθαι⁵. καὶ γὰρ
μῖμος εἰσάγεται, καθ’ ὃν σταυροῦται ληφθεῖς ἡγε-
μῶν, ὃ τε ὀρχηστῆς δρᾶμα εἰσάγει Κινύραν, ἐν ᾧ
αὐτός τε ἐκτείνεται καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ Μύρρα, αἰμά τε

¹ codd. Busb.: Βατίβιος E: Batybius Lat.: Οὐατίνιος Hudson.

² Niese: Κλούιτον codd.: Κλαύιτον E: Cluitum Lat.: Κλούβιον Hudson.

³ om. E: i. marg. γρ σήμερον A, quod habuit etiam Lat.

⁴ Bekker: μανθάνει codd.: μανθάνω Shilleto: οὐ λανθάνει Petersen (et γενόμενα pro γενέσθαι).

⁵ ἔνθα δὲ . . . γενέσθαι] in illo siquidem spectaculo duo ei auguria provenerunt Lat.

^a The name is unknown, whether for a person of Greek or Roman descent, as R. Hanslik, “Vatinius,” no. 5, in Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, viii¹, 1955, p. 520, remarks. But his suggestion, that the emendation of Hudson be adopted and that Vatinius be read, has little to recommend it since we know of no one by this name of equestrian or senatorial rank during this period.

from Gaius, who occupied the right wing of the theatre. Now a certain Bathybius,^a a man of senatorial rank who had been praetor, asked Cluvius,^b another man of consular rank who was sitting beside him, whether any news had reached him of a revolution, taking care that this remark should not be overheard. When Cluvius replied that he had perceived no indication of this, Bathybius said, "Well then, Cluvius, the programme ^c for to-day will include assassination of a tyrant." Cluvius answered, "Be silent, good sir, lest some other of the Achaeans hear the word."^d A considerable quantity of fruit was scattered among the spectators with a number of such birds as are prized by their possessors for their rarity; and Gaius watched with amusement as the spectators fought over them and snatched them from one another. Here there were two new portents. In the first place a mime was presented in the course of which a chieftain is caught and crucified. Moreover, the play presented by the dancer ^e was *Cinyras*,^f in which the hero and his daughter Myrrha ^g are

^b Cluvius must have been consul in 39 or 40, since, as Syme, *Tacitus*, i, p. 294, remarks, we know the names of the consuls for the previous years. On Cluvius as a possible source for Josephus' account of Gaius' assassination see note on § 1.

^c Lit. "struggle" or "contest," particularly a contest for a prize at the games.

^d A quotation from Homer's *Iliad* xiv. 90-91, except that the word *τοῦτον* after *Ἀχαιῶν* has been omitted.

^e Mnester, according to Suetonius, *Calig.* 57.

^f Suetonius, *Calig.* 57, remarks that this was particularly ominous since it was the same tragedy that had been performed during the games at which Philip of Macedon was assassinated.

^g So also Ovid, *Met.* x. 312; her name, as given by Plutarch, *Parall.* 22, is Smyrna.

- ἦν τεχνητὸν πολὺ καὶ τὸ¹ περὶ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκ-
 95 κεχυμένον καὶ τὸ² περὶ τὸν Κινύραν. ὁμολο-
 γεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι, ἐν ᾗ
 Φίλιππον τὸν Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων βασιλέα κτείνει
 Πausanίας εἰς τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιόντα.
 96 Γαῖου δ' ἐνδοιάζοντος, εἴτε παραμείνειεν εἰς τέλος
 τῇ θεωρίᾳ διὰ τὸ τελευταίαν εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν εἴτε
 λουτρῷ χρησάμενος καὶ σίτῳ εἶτα ἐπανίοι καθὰ
 καὶ πρότερον,³ Βινουκιανὸς⁴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαῖου καθ-
 εζόμενος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ διαχυθείη⁵ τὰ τῶν καιρῶν
 εἰς κενόν, ἔξαναστὰς ἐπειδὴ καὶ Χαιρέαν ἑώρα προ-
 εξελθούτα, ἠπείγετο θαρσύνειν αὐτὸν προελθόν.
 97 λαμβάνεται δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς στολῆς Γάιος κατὰ φιλο-
 φροσύνην δῆθεν καί, "ποῖ δὴ," φησὶν, "ὦ μακάριε;"
 καὶ ὁ μὲν αἰδοῖ δοκεῖν τοῦ Καίσαρος καθίζει, κρείσ-
 σων δ' ὁ φόβος ἦν ὀλίγον τε διαλιπὼν εἶτα διαν-
 98 ἴσταται. καὶ ὁ Γάιος οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἐξιόντι⁶

¹ M : τὸν W : om. A.

² conl. : τὸν MW : τῶν A.

³ πρότερον] ed. pr. : prius Lat. : οἱ πρότερον codd.

⁴ conl. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανὸς codd.

⁵ διαλυθείη E : efflueret Lat.

⁶ Lowthius et Hudson : ἄξιόν τι codd. : egredienti Lat.

^a According to the legend, Myrrha, because of the wrath of Aphrodite, fell in love with her own father. She confided in her nurse, who told Cinyras that a neighbouring maiden was in love with him but was too modest to approach him openly. Thus Myrrha managed, under cover of darkness, to have relations with her father night after night, until Cinyras discovered that he was the father of Myrrha's unborn child. He threatened to kill her but she managed to escape, whereupon he killed himself. According to the various versions of the legend, Myrrha was not killed but was changed into the
260

killed.^a Thus a great quantity of artificial blood was shed, what with the crucified man and Cinyras. It is also agreed that the day of the year was the same as that on which Philip, the son of Amyntas and king of the Macedonians, was slain by Pausanias, one of his "Companions,"^b as he entered the theatre.^c Gaius hesitated^d whether to wait until the end of the spectacle, since it was the last day, or to bathe and dine and then come back again as he had done previously. Vinicianus,^e who was sitting above Gaius, fearing that the opportunity might be dissipated fruitlessly, rose to leave. When he saw that Chaerea had preceded him to the exit, he quickened his step to reach him first and bid him be bold. Gaius, with an air of friendly interest, plucked his robe and said, "Where are you going, bless you?" Vinicianus resumed his seat, apparently as a courtesy to Caesar, though fear was a stronger motive. Shortly after, however, he rose to leave again. This time Gaius did not interfere, supposing that he was leaving his

tree that bears her name. See Ovid, *Met.* x. 298-502, and Plutarch, *Parall.* 22.

^b The most important body of the Macedonian cavalry. They included the king's most prominent personal friends and advisers. It was they whom Alexander the Great usually chose to lead in battle.

^c The murder of Philip by Pausanias is also mentioned in *Ant.* xi. 304. Philip was celebrating the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander of Epirus. This could not have occurred on the same day on which Gaius was assassinated (24 January) since the wedding festivities took place in the autumn. See J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte der Hellenismus*, i², 1877, p. 98, esp. n. 3.

^d Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, gives the reason for this hesitation. Gaius had an upset stomach from having overeaten on the previous day.

^e MSS. Minucianus; cf. note on § 18.

δοκῶν ἐπὶ τινι τῶν ἀναγκαίων¹ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἑξοδον. Ἀσπρήνας² δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει τῷ Γαῖῳ καθὸ πρότερον ὑπεξελθόντι πρὸς τε λουτρῷ καὶ ἀρίστῳ γενέσθαι καὶ ἔπειτα δὲ εἰσελθεῖν, χρήζων ἐπὶ πέρας ἀχθῆναι τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

- 99 (14) Καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ἔτασσαν³ μὲν ἀλλήλους ἢ καιρὸς τε καὶ ἐχρῆν ἕκαστον στάντα ἢ προσταχθείη μὴ ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι ἐπιπονοῦντες. ἢ χθοντο δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ καὶ τῷ μέλλεσθαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ ἐνάτην ὥραν ἤδη τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν.
- 100 καὶ Χαιρέας βραδύνοντος Γαῖου πρόθυμος ἦν ἐπιεσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ προσπεσὼν μέντοι προῆδει τοῦτο σὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ ὅποσοι τῶν ἱππέων παρήσαν καίπερ δεδιὼς πρόθυμος ἦν, καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγούμενος πᾶσιν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὠνούμενος ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθεσθαι τὰ
- 101 κατὰ τοὺς ἀπολουμένους. καὶ δὴ τετραμμένων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσόδῳ σημαίνεται Γάιος ἑξαναστὰς καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, ἀνέστρεφον δὲ καὶ οἱ συνωμόται καὶ ἀνεωθοῦντο τὴν πληθύν, λόγῳ μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσχεραίνειν τὸν Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ' ἀδείας βουλόμενοι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἀμυνουμένων καταστήσαντες αὐτὸν
- 102 ἄπτεσθαι τῆς σφαγῆς. προεξήεσαν δὲ Κλαύδιος μὲν ὁ πάτρως αὐτοῦ καὶ Μᾶρκος Βινίκιος⁴ ὁ τῆς

¹ A : ἐν αἰτία ἐκῶν MW : necessaria Lat. : ἀναντιλέκτων. ed. pr.

² E : Ἀμβρωνᾶς A : Ἀμπρώνας MW : Ἀσπρίνας i. marg. A Busb. : Aspronas Lat.

³ exacuebant Lat.

⁴ Niese : Μινουκιανὸς codd. E Lat. : Οὐνίκιος Hudson.

^a Some mss. have Ambronas or Ampronas.

seat for a necessary purpose. Asprenas,^a who was also in the plot, then urged Gaius to withdraw, as had been his custom, for a bath and lunch, and then to come back. His object was to see the conspirators' plans carried to fulfilment.

(14) Chaerea's party had posted one another as the occasion required. There each man was bound to stick to his assigned duty without deserting in spite of weariness. They were now impatient with the passage of time and with the postponement of the matter in hand, for it was about the ninth hour ^b of the day. Chaerea himself, since Gaius lingered on, was ready to re-enter the theatre and to attack him where he sat. He foresaw, to be sure, that this would be attended by a great carnage of the senators and of such of the equites as were present. Yet, even with that fear in mind, he was still eager to act, for he thought it a sound principle, when purchasing security and liberty for all, to allow little weight to the cost in lives. They had actually turned to enter the theatre, when the signal was given that Gaius had risen to leave. There was a din raised, and the conspirators returned to their positions and began to thrust back the crowd, saying that Gaius would take offence, though their real object was to render themselves secure, before they proceeded with the assassination, by removing any would-be defenders from his side. Claudius, his uncle, and Marcus Vinicius,^c

^b About 2 P.M. Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, places his death at about the seventh hour.

^c MSS. Minucianus. But Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 15, makes it clear that it is Marcus Vinicius to whom Gaius' sister Julia was married and who is mentioned by Seneca, *Epist.* 122. 12. Cf. the substitution of this same name, Minucianus, for Vinicianus in § 18 and elsewhere in this book.

- ἀδελφῆς ἀνὴρ ἔτι δὲ Οὐαλέριος Ἀσιατικός,¹ οὓς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις διακλείσαι δύναμις ἦν αἰδοῖ τῆς ἀξιώσεως, εἶπετο δ' αὐτὸς σὺν Παύλῳ Ἀρουντίῳ.²
- 103 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐντὸς ἦν τοῦ βασιλείου, τὰς μὲν ἐπ' εὐθείας ὁδοὺς λείπει, καθ' ἃς διεστῆκεσαν τῶν δούλων οἱ θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν καὶ προήεσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν
- 104 Κλαύδιον· τρέπεται δὲ κατὰ στενωπὸν ἡρεμηκότα καὶ ἐπίτομον³ πρὸς λουτροῖς γενησόμενος ἅμα καὶ παῖδας οἱ ἤκεσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας κατανοήσων, πομπῆς αὐτῶν ἐκεῖθεν γενομένης ἐπὶ ὕμνοις μυστηρίων ἃ ἐπετέλει, ἔνιοι δὲ κατὰ πυρριχισμούς, οἱ ἐν τοῖς
- 105 θεάτροις ἔσονται. ὑπαντιάζει δ' αὐτὸν Χαιρέας καὶ ἤτησεν σημεῖον. τοῦ δὲ τῶν εἰς χλεύην ἀνακειμένων εἰπόντος οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας λαιδορίαις τε ἐχρᾶτο κατὰ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπάγει
- 106 πληγὴν σφοδράν· οὐ μὴν γε ἦν καίριος. καίτοι γέ

¹ Ἀσουατικός A : ἀνθυπατικός MW Busb. : ἀνθυπατινὸς E : Asiaticus Lat.

² Παύλῳ Ἀρουντίῳ] ed. pr. : ταιλαιπωρουντίῳ codd. : Paulo Arruntio Lat.

³ coni. Niese : ἐπὶ τόπον codd. : ἐπίσκοτον Bekker.

^a Julia Livilla.

^b Consul suffectus before 41 and consul ordinarius in 46. His friendship for Gaius is also cited by Seneca, *De Const. Sap.* 18. 2. His great wealth is mentioned by Dio lx. 27. 2. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 1, he was one of the leaders of the conspiracy against Gaius. Cf. also §§ 159 and 252.

^c mss. Aruntius. The spelling of the Latin version, Arruntius, is supported by the many inscriptions of members of this family. Paulus Arruntius, however, is otherwise unknown.

^d Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, does not mention the baths; he says that Gaius left for lunch.

^e Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, reports that along the covered passage through which he had to pass were some boys of noble birth from Asia who were rehearsing their parts for a stage performance. Dio lix. 29. 6 says that the boys were of

his sister's ^a husband, and Valerius Asiaticus ^b had preceded Gaius' exit. No one could have blocked their egress even if he had wanted to, such was the respect due to their dignity. The emperor himself followed with Paulus Arruntius.^c But when he was inside the palace, he quitted the direct route along both sides of which were lined those of the slaves who were in attendance, and which Claudius and his party had earlier taken. Instead, he turned down a deserted alley that was a short cut to the baths,^d where he was going. He also wished to inspect the boys who had come from Asia.^e A troop of them had been dispatched as a choir to sing in the mysteries which he was celebrating, and some came to take part in Pyrrhic dances ^f that were to be performed in the theatre. Here Chaerea waylaid him and asked for the watchword. Gaius gave him one of his words of mockery, whereupon without wavering Chaerea showered abuse on Gaius and drawing his sword dealt him a severe, though not a mortal, blow.^g

Gaius is assassinated. The role of Chaerea.

exalted birth and had been summoned from Greece and Ionia to sing a hymn in Gaius' honour.

^f Originally these were military dances, or rather ornamental parades, of the Spartans and Cretans. But the dances referred to here are more like a ballet (*cf.* Apuleius, *Met.* x. 29), usually on a mythical theme, often connected with the worship of Bacchus.

^g Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, gives two versions of the actual assassination. According to one, Chaerea came up behind Gaius as he was talking with the boys from Asia, shouted "Do your duty," and cut him deeply in the neck with his sword. Then Cornelius Sabinus stabbed Gaius in the breast. According to the other version, Sabinus told certain centurions who were privy to the plot to clear away the crowd. He then asked Gaius the watchword. The emperor gave him "Jupiter," whereupon he shouted "So be it," and split Gaius' jawbone with his sword.

φασίν τινες προνοία τοῦ Χαιρέου γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ
 μιᾷ πληγῇ διεργάσασθαι τὸν Γάιον, ἀλλὰ τιμωρεῖ-
 107 σθαι μειζόνως πλήθει τραυμάτων. οὐ μὴν ἐμοὶ
 πιθανὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιχωρεῖν ἐν
 ταῖσδε ταῖς πράξεσιν λογισμῶ χρησθαι τὸν φόβον,¹
 Χαιρέαν δέ, εἴπερ οὕτως ἐφρόνει, πάντων ἡγημαι
 μωρία διαφέρειν ἡδονὴν τῇ ὀργῇ χαριζόμενον μάλ-
 λον ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς
 συνωμόταις κινδύνων χαριζόμενον, διὰ τὸ πολλὰς
 ἂν μηχανὰς ἔτι γενέσθαι βοηθειῶν Γαίῳ μὴ φθάντι
 τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφεῖναι κἀνταῦθα Χαιρέα λόγον ἂν γενέ-
 σθαι οὐ περὶ τῆς Γαίου τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ
 108 καὶ τῶν φίλων, ὅπου γε καὶ πράξαντι καλῶς ἂν
 εἶχε σιγῇ χρωμένῳ διαδιδράσκειν τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν
 ἀμυνομένων, οὐχ ὅπως ἄδηλον εἰ τύχοι κατορθῶν
 ἐπ' ἀλόγοις χρήζειν αὐτόν τε ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὸν
 καιρόν. καὶ τὰδε μὲν εἰκάζειν² παρέστω τοῖς βου-
 109 λομένοις ἢ καὶ θέλοιεν. ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἀλγηδόني τῆς
 πληγῆς περιφερόμενος, μεσσηγὺς γὰρ τοῦ τε ὤμου
 καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου φερόμενον τὸ ξίφος ἐπέσχευεν ἢ
 κλεῖς προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, οὔτε ἀνεβόησεν ὑπ' ἐκ-
 πλήξεως οὔτε ἐπεκαλέσατό τινας τῶν φίλων εἴτε
 ἀπιστία εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἀφρονήσει, στόνῳ δὲ χρησά-
 μενος πρὸς τῆς ἀλγηδόνης τὸ περιὸν³ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν

¹ A: φόνον MW.

² αὐτόν . . . εἰκάζειν] A: om. MWE.

³ στόνῳ . . . περιὸν] sed dolorem fortiter ferens Lat.

^a M. P. Charlesworth, in *Camb. Hist. Jour.* iv, 1933, p. 112, appropriately points to Suetonius, *Calig.* 30, for the explanation as to why the story might have arisen that Chaerea had dispatched Gaius with a multitude of blows. There we are told that Gaius enjoyed watching a lingering death, and so he preferred inflicting a number of small wounds.

There are some, to be sure, who assert that Chaerea intentionally avoided dispatching Gaius with a single stroke, to have a greater revenge by inflicting a number of wounds.^a This account, however, I cannot believe; for in such actions fear leaves no room for deliberation. If Chaerea did entertain such a thought, I consider that he would have been foolish beyond the ordinary, a man who indulged his anger instead of granting himself and his conspirators a speedy deliverance from dangers. For Gaius might have been rescued in many different ways, had he not at once expired, and in that case Chaerea would have had to reckon not on the punishment of Gaius but on his own and that of his friends. Surely, even in case of success, it would be better to say nothing and to elude the anger of any who would retaliate; how much more foolish, then, when success was problematical, to choose irrationally to risk his life and miss the opportunity. The field is open, however, for such guesses as those who choose desire to make. Gaius, dazed by the pain of the blow, for the sword struck him between the shoulder and the neck, where the collar-bone held it from going farther, neither cried out in alarm nor called upon any of his friends.^b Either he could not believe what had happened or else he lacked the presence of mind. Instead he groaned in extreme agony and dashed ahead to

His order "Strike so that he may feel that he is dying" became proverbial, according to Suetonius. Hence a desire for poetic justice may have led to this account of Gaius' own death.

^b A different version is found in Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, who says that as Gaius lay writhing on the ground, he shouted that he was still alive. Dio lix. 29. 7 says nothing of this, but reports that when he had fallen, all the men who were present stabbed him even though he was dead.

- 110 ἔτετο φυγῇ. καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν Κορνήλιος Σαβῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν ἤδη προκατειργασμένος¹ ὥθει καὶ κλιθέντα ἐπὶ γόνυ πολλοὶ περιστάντες ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐγκελεύσματος ἔκοπτον τοῖς ξίφεσιν, παρακελευσμός τε τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς ἕρις αὐτοῖς ἦν.² τελευταῖα δὲ Ἀκύλας, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων
- 111 πληγὴν ἐπαγαγών, μεθίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς. ἀναθείη δ' ἂν τις τὴν πρᾶξιν Χαιρέα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ σὺν πολλοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὖν πρῶτός τε ἐνεθυμήθη³ μέντοι αὐτὸ ὡς πραχθείη⁴ προλαβὼν⁵
- 112 πολὺ τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ πρῶτος μὲν τολμηρῶς ἐξεῖπεν τοῖς λοιποῖς, δεχομένων δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ λόγον σποράδας τε ἤθροισεν καὶ τὰ πάντα φρονίμως συγκροτήσας ἔνθα γνωμῶν εἰσηγήσεως ἔχρην πολὺ κρείσσω ἐγίγνετο καὶ λόγοις καθωμίλησεν χρηστοῖς ὡς οὐ τολμῶντας ἠνάγκασέν τε
- 113 τοὺς ἅπαντας, ἐπεὶ τε καιρὸς ἐλάμβανεν χειρὶ χρῆσασθαι, φαίνεται κἀνταῦθα πρῶτός τε ὁρμήσας καὶ ἀψάμενος ἀρετῇ τοῦ φόνου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεπίβατον παρασχών καὶ προτεθνεῶτα Γάιον, ὥστ' ἂν δικαίως καὶ ὅποσα τοῖς λοιποῖς εἶη πεπραγμένα τῇ Χαιρέου γνώμῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ προστίθεσθαι καὶ πόνη τῶν χειρῶν.
- 114 (15) Καὶ Γάιος μὲν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ χρησάμενος τῆς τελευτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπο-

¹ MW Lat. : προκατειργασμένον A.

² ἀφ' ἑνὸς . . . αὐτοῖς ἦν] singuli ad invicem gladiis et quasi ad certamina discerpserunt Lat.

³ εἶναι post ἐνεθυμήθη om. : κτεῖναι legit Petersen : τί δεινὸν coni. Marcus.

⁴ μέντοι αὐτὸ ὡς πραχθείη] A (litt. τοι αὐτὸ ὡς πραχθείη i. ras. m. 2) : μέντοι αὐτῷ ὡς MW : τοιαῦτα ὡς πραχθείη ed. pr. : μέν, τοιαῦτα δ' ὡς πραχθείη Petersen : μέντοι οὕτως πραχθείη coni. Marcus.

escape. He was confronted by Cornelius Sabinus, who had his course of action already worked out. He pushed Gaius to the ground and brought him down on one knee. Here a number of assailants encircled Gaius and at a single word of encouragement struck at him with their swords, cheering one another on and competing too. Finally Aquila, and there is no dissent about this, delivered a blow that unquestionably dispatched him. But the credit for the feat must still go to Chaerea. To be sure, he had many to help him accomplish it, but at any rate he was the first to think of the means by which to achieve it, and he planned it long before anyone else.^a Again he was the first who had the courage to speak openly of a plot to the rest. Moreover, when scattered individuals accepted the proposal of the murder, he brought them together and prudently organized the whole scheme. Thus, where initiative was called for, he proved far superior to the rest. In addition, by his noble eloquence he won them over when their courage failed them and compelled them all to act. Finally, when the time came for action, there too he was clearly the first to move and to initiate the glorious assassination, thus making Gaius, who was as good as dead already, an easy mark for the rest. The conclusion is that whatever the others may have done, all will rightly be credited to the decision and valour of Chaerea and to the labour of his hands.

(15) Such was the manner in which Gaius came to his end ; deprived of life by his numerous wounds,

^a Text slightly emended, but the meaning is clear.

⁵ MW ed. pr. : προῦλαβεῖν A (litt. προῦ·i. ras. m. 2, litt. ἰ·i. ras. m. 1) : προῦλαβεν Petersen.

JOSEPHUS

- 115 ψυχθεῖς ἔκειτο. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ἐπειδὴ
κατείργαστο αὐτοῖς ἤδη Γάιος, ὁδοὺς μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς¹
ἰόντες σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἀμήχανον ἑώρων, ὅκνω τε τῶν
γεγονότων, οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἦν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα
ἀνηρηκόσι τὸ κινδύνευμα ὑπὸ τε ἀνοίας τοῦ δήμου
τιμώμενον καὶ ὄντα προσφιλεῖ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
116 μὴ ἀναιμωτὶ ποιησομένων τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ, ἄλ-
λως τε στενῶν οὐσῶν τῶν ὁδῶν, καθ' ἃς ἔπραξαν
τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μεγάλου πλήθους ἐμφράξαντος αὐτὰς
τῆς τε θεραπείας καὶ ὅποσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ
φυλακῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκείνην παρῆσαν τὴν
117 ἡμέραν, ὁδοὺς τε ἑτέρας χωροῦντες παρῆσαν εἰς
τὴν Γερμανικοῦ μὲν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαίου πατρός, ὃν
τότε ἀνερῆκεσαν, συνημμένη δὲ ἐκείνη,² διὰ τὸ ἐν
τὸ βασιλείῳ ὃν ἐπ' ἐποικοδομίαις³ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν
τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γεγονότων ἀσκηθὲν ἀπὸ μέρους ὀνό-
ματι τῶν οἰκοδομησαμένων⁴ ἢ καὶ τι τῶν μερῶν⁵
οἰκήσεις ἀρξάντων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρασχέσθαι.
118 καὶ διεκπεσόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν
ἀδείᾳ τὸ παρὸν ἦσαν⁶ λαθάνοντος ἀκμὴν κακοῦ τοῦ
119 τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρειληφότος. πρώτους δὲ εἰς
τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἢ αἰσθησις ἀφίκετο τῆς Γαίου
τελευτῆς. δορυφόροι δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ὁμώνυμον⁷ τῷ
ἔθνει ἐφ'⁸ οὐ κατειλέχато⁹ Κελτικοῦ τάγμα παρεχό-

¹ τὰς αὐτὰς] Hudson : τοσαύτας codd. E : eadem Lat.

² συνημμένη δὲ ἐκείνη] συνημμένην δὲ ἐκείνην Bekker : συνημ-
μένην δὲ ἐκείνη coni. Niese (secundum Lat.).

³ A : οἰκοδομίαις MW : ἐποικοδομαῖς Holwerda.

⁴ ed. pr. : οἰκοδομηθησομένων codd.

⁵ ed. pr. : ἡμερῶν A : ἡμετέρων MW et i. marg. A.

⁶ συνημμένη . . . ἦσαν] erat enim haec domus coniuncta
regalibus eo quod hi qui in eminentia constituti sunt diebus
suae potentiae in talibus habitare noscuntur. et declinantes
multitudinis invasionem esse iam videbantur in requie Lat.

there he lay. Chaerea and his companions, once they had settled their business with Gaius, saw that there was no chance of escape if they followed the route by which they had come. For one thing they had cause for alarm in what they had done, and it was no small danger that menaced the emperor's assassins. For he was held in honour and affection by the foolish mob; and the soldiers, in their search for him, would not refrain from bloodshed. Moreover, the passage-ways along which they had done the deed were narrow and blocked by a great crowd of his attendants and of such soldiers as were present for duty that day as the emperor's bodyguard. So they took another route, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of the Gaius whom they had just now killed, which was contiguous to the palace of Gaius. For the palace, although a single edifice, had been enlarged part by part, and this occasioned the naming of the additions for members of the ruling family who completed or else started some part of the structure. Having escaped the mob without an assault, they were now free from danger, since the disaster which had overtaken the emperor was still undetected. The Germans were the first ^a to discover the death of Gaius. They were the emperor's bodyguard and bore the name of the nation from which they had been enlisted; and it was they who made

The German body-guard avenge Gaius.

^a Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, says that even before the arrival of the German bodyguards, Gaius' litter-bearers ran to help him.

⁷ ex Lat. : ὁμώνυμοι codd.

⁸ AM : ἀφ' W.

⁹ κατειλέχαστο] Dindorf : κατειλήχαστό, σ ex ν corr. A : κατειλέχαν τὸ MW.

JOSEPHUS

- 120 *μενοι τὸ αὐτῶν. θυμῷ δὲ χρῆσθαι πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ σπάνιον εἴ¹ τισιν ἑτέροις βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ ἡσσόνως λογισμὸν ἐπιδέχεσθαι τῶν ποιουμένων, ῥωμαλέοι τε τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ συνιόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὓς ἂν νομίσωσι,²*
- 121 *μεγάλα κατορθοῦντες. οὗτοι οὖν πυθόμενοι τοῦ Γαῖου τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ περιαλγήσαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρετῇ κρίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντι τῷ αὐτῶν, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῖς προσφιλεῖς ἦν Γάιος*
- 122 *δόσεσι χρημάτων τὸ εὖνουν αὐτῷ κτώμενος, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, προειστήκει δ' αὐτῶν Σαβίνος χιλιάρχων οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ γενναιότητα προγόνων, μονομάχος γὰρ ἦν, ἰσχύι δὲ σώματος τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις κτησάμενος ἀνθρώποις³ ἀρχήν,⁴ διεξήεσαν τῆς οἰκίας ἀνερευνώμενοι τοὺς σφαγέας τοῦ Καίσαρος.*
- 123 *Ἀσπρήναν τε κρεουργήσασιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πρῶτῳ περιπεσεῖν, οὗ τὴν στολὴν μιᾶναν τὸ αἷμα τῶν θυμάτων, ὥς μοι λέλεκται πρότερον, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν συντυχίαν ἀπεσήμαινε τοῦ γεγονότος, δεύτερος Νωρβανός⁵ ὑπηγντίαζεν ἐν τοῖς γενναιοτά-*

¹ σπάνιον εἴ] Hispanis aut Lat.: Ἰσπανοῖς καὶ Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

² οὓς ἂν νομίσωσι] quibuscumque congressi Lat.: οἷς ἂν ὁμός' ἴωσι Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

³ κτησάμενος ἀνθρώποις conl.: κτησάμενος ἄθροισιν A: κτησάμενος MWE: κτησάμενος ἀνδράσιν Bekker.

⁴ ed. pr.: ἀρετὴν codd.: dignitatem Lat.

⁵ δεύτερος Νωρβανός] A: βάρβαρος Ῥωμανός M: βάρβαρος Νωρμανός W: post hunc (occurrit eis) barbarus Norbanus Lat.: Βάλβος Νωρβανός Groag (ap. Pauly-Wissowa, xvii¹, 1936, p. 932).

^a Not the Cornelius Sabinus who was one of the leaders in the conspiracy to assassinate Gaius (§§ 46 ff.). This Sabinus was one of the Thracians whom Caligula put in charge

up the Celtic band. It is a national trait of theirs to act furiously to a degree such as is rarely if ever met with among other barbarians, for the Germans pause less for calculation of the consequences. They are also physically powerful and win great success in the first onset whenever they engage any whom they consider enemies. These men, then, when they learned of the murder of Gaius, were full of resentment, for they did not decide issues on their merits according to the general interest, but according to their own advantage. Gaius was especially popular with them because of the gifts of money by which he acquired their goodwill. With swords drawn, they burst out from the palace in search of Caesar's murderers. They were led by Sabinus,^a a military tribune^b who owed his command over such men not to the services and nobility of his ancestors, for he was a gladiator, but to his physical strength. Asprenas^c was the first whom they came upon, and that was good reason to carve him limb from limb; it was he whose robe had been soiled by the blood of the victims, as I have mentioned above, an omen which boded no good. The second to fall in their way was Norbanus,^d one of his German bodyguard, according to Suetonius, *Calig.* 55. Later, when Claudius was eager to see him killed in a gladiatorial contest, he was saved by Messalina, whose paramour he was (Dio lx. 28. 2).

^b The title, as Keune, "Custos," Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 1901, p. 1903, indicates, is not to be taken literally, since the German bodyguard was not organized thus.

^c Cf. § 87.

^d Apparently L. Norbanus Balbus, consul in 19 (the gap in years between 19 and 41 is not sufficient to support the guess that our Norbanus was his son). In all probability, according to Stein, "Norbanus," no. 8, Pauly-Wissowa, xvii¹, 1936, p. 931, he was the grandson of Lucius Cornelius Balbus the Younger, who had fought with Julius Caesar in

- τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας παρ-
 124 ἐχόμενος τῶν προπατόρων. καὶ μηδὲν αἰδουμένων
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἰσχύι προὔχων ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ
 ξίφος τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν ἐπιόντων συμπλακεῖς φανερός
 τε ἦν οὐκ ἀπραγμόνως τεθνηξόμενος, μέχρι δὴ
 περισχεθεῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ἔπescen ὑπὸ
 125 πλήθους τραυμάτων. τρίτος δὲ Ἀντήιος τῶν ἐκ
 τῆς βουλῆς σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὐ τυχαίως τοῖς Γερμανοῖς
 καθάπερ οἱ πρότερον περιπεσῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ φιλοθεα-
 μοσύνης καὶ ἡδονῆς¹ τοῦ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος² Γαῖου
 κειμένου μῖσος εὐφρᾶναι τὸ πρὸς αὐτόν³. τὸν γὰρ
 πατέρα τοῦ Ἀντηίου καὶ ὁμώνυμον φυγάδα ἐλάσας
 καὶ μὴ ἄρκεσθεῖς κτείνει στρατιώτας ἀποπέμψας.
 126 καὶ παρῆν μὲν διὰ τὰδε εὐφρανόμενος θεωρία τοῦ
 νεκροῦ, θορυβουμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κρύπτειν αὐτὸν
 ἐνθυμησάμενος οὐ διαφυγγάνει τῶν Γερμανῶν τό τε
 εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν ἀκριβὲς καπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ὁμοίως
 τῶν τε αἰτίων καὶ μὴ ἐξαγριωσάντων. καὶ οἶδε
 μὲν ταύτῃ τεθνήκεσαν.
 127 (16) Εἰς δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ὁ λόγος περὶ
 τῆς Γαῖου τελευτῆς, ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ ἀπιστία ἦν· οἱ
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάντῃ ἡδονῇ δεχόμενοι τὸν ὄλεθρον
 αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἡγησάμενοι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν

¹ ἡδονῇ coni. Petersen.

² γενέσθαι E.

³ μῖσος . . . αὐτόν] διὰ μίσους ἐφέρετο πρὸς αὐτόν E.

the Civil War, and who in turn was a nephew of Lucius Cornelius Balbus the Elder, who had served under Caesar in Spain and Gaul. Since Josephus says that he could boast of many generals among his ancestors, he may also have been a descendant of Gaius Norbanus, who had fought unsuccessfully against Sulla.

^a Otherwise unknown, though perhaps the brother of

of the noblest of the citizens, who could boast of many generals among his ancestors. When the Germans showed no respect for his rank, his superior strength enabled him, on grappling with the first of his assailants, to snatch away his sword. He let it be seen that he would not let them kill him at their ease, but at last he was enclosed in a circle of assailants and succumbed to their many blows. The third victim was Anteius,^a one of the most distinguished senators. He did not, like his predecessors, fall foul of the Germans accidentally, but was attracted by the love of a spectacle and by the pleasure of seeing the prostrate Gaius with his own eyes in order to gratify his hatred for him. For Gaius had driven Anteius' father,^b who bore the same name, into exile; and, not content with that, he had sent a body of soldiers after him to put him to death. Such cause Anteius had to rejoice as he stood there looking on. But when the uproar began in the palace, and the need to conceal himself became urgent, he did not escape the vigilant search of the Germans nor the savage fury with which they slew both the guilty and the innocent alike. And so these three men died thus.

(16) When the news of the death of Gaius reached the theatre, there was consternation and incredulity. Some, who heartily welcomed his assassination and would have regarded it long since as a blessing to

The theatre is stunned by news of Gaius' death.

Publius Anteius, who was legate in Dalmatia in 51/52 and committed suicide in 66 (*Tac. Ann.* xvi. 14; *cf.* Rohden, "Anteius," no. 4, Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1894, p. 2349).

^b Otherwise unknown, unless he is to be identified with the Anteius who was one of those whom Germanicus put in charge of constructing a fleet in 16 (*Tac. Ann.* ii. 6; *cf.* Rohden, "Anteius," no. 1, Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1894, p. 2349).

- 128 συνελθεῖν ὑπὸ δέους ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ ἦσαν. εἰσὶ δ' οἷς
καὶ πάννυ ἀπ' ἐλπίδων ἦν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν τι
τοιόνδε περὶ τῷ Γαίῳ γεγονέναι μήτε ἀληθείᾳ προσ-
τίθεσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ οἶόν τε ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι τοιαῦδε
129 ἀρετῇ χρησθαι. γύναια δ' ἦν ταῦτα καὶ παῖδες
ὅποσοι τε δοῦλοι καὶ τινες τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, οἱ
μὲν διὰ τὸ μισθοφορεῖν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συντυραν-
νοῦντες καὶ διακονία τῆς κατ' ἐκείνον ὕβρεως ἐπανα-
σειόμενοι τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν τιμῆς τε
130 ἅμα καὶ ὠφελειῶν τυγχάνειν, ἡ δὲ αὖ γυναικωνῆτις
καὶ τὸ νεώτερον, ὅπερ ὄχλος φιλεῖ, θεωρίαις τε καὶ
μονομαχιῶν δόσεσιν καὶ τινων κρεανομιῶν ἡδοναῖς
ἀνειλημμένοι, ἃ ἐπράσσετο λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ¹
τῆς πληθύος,² τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐκπιμπλάντα τῆς μανίας
131 Γαίου τὴν ὠμότητα· οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι διὰ τὸ ἐν προσ-
ηγορίᾳ τε εἶναι καὶ καταφρονήματι τῶν δεσποτῶν,
ἀποστροφῆς τῷ ὕβρίζοντι αὐτοὺς³ οὔσης τῆς κατ'
ἐκείνον ἐπικουρίας· ῥάδιον γὰρ ψευσαμένοις τε κατὰ
τῶν κυρίων πεπιστευθῆναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐνδεί-
ξασιν αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐλευθέροις τε εἶναι καὶ πλουσίοις
μισθῷ τῶν κατηγοριῶν διὰ τὸ ἄθλα αὐτοῖς προκεῖ-
132 σθαι τὰς ὀγδόας τῶν οὐσιῶν. τῶν δὲ εὐπατριδῶν
εἰ καὶ τισιν πιστὸς ὁ λόγος φανείη, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ
προειδέναι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ θέλειν
εὐκτὸν ἡγούμενοις, σιγῇ παρεδίδοτο οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐπὶ

¹ A : θεωρία MW et i. marg. A.

² ἃ ἐπράσσετο . . . πληθύος] quas in ludis agebat Gaius, ut quasi populo voluptatem exhiberet Lat.

³ ed. pr. : αὐτὴν codd. : αὐτῶν con. Niese.

themselves, were incredulous from fear. There were others to whom the news was quite contrary to their hopes because they had no desire that any such thing should befall Gaius ; and they did not credit it, because it seemed to them impossible for any human being to have the courage to kill Gaius. Among them were silly women, children, all the slaves, and some of the army. The last named were of this mind because they were mercenaries, and no less than partners in his tyranny ; by playing the lackey to his insolence, they gained both honour and profit, for the noblest citizens were in terror of them. The women-folk and the youth, after the fashion of the mob, were captivated by his shows and by the gladiatorial combats that he presented, as well as by the enjoyment of portions of meat that he distributed. The reason given for such provision was to cater to the crowd, but the truth was that Gaius' own savage madness fed on such things. The slaves supported him because they were now on familiar terms with, and contemptuous of, their masters, and found in his intervention a refuge from their masters' rough treatment, for it was easy for them to gain credence when they informed falsely against their lords. They also found it easy, by giving information about their masters' possessions, to gain both freedom and wealth as a reward for such denunciations, since the informer's fee was one-eighth of the property.^a As to the patricians, if there were any who credited the report, some from their foreknowledge of the plot and others because of wishful thinking, they not only consigned to silence their joy at the announcement

^a Actually the informer's fee under Tiberius had been one-fourth (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 627).

- τοῖς ἡγγελμένοις χαρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς ἀκρο-
 133 άσεως, οἱ μὲν δεδιότες μὴ καὶ ψευσθεῖσιν ἐλπίδος
 τιμωρία συνέλθοιεν ὥς προεξορμήσασιν ἀποφύνα-
 σθαι τὴν διάνοιαν ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δ' ἐξεπιστάμενοι διὰ
 τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχεῖν μειζόνως ἔκρυπτον
 ἀλλήλων ἀγνοία καὶ δεδιότες, μὴ πρὸς τινα εἰπόντες,
 οἷς ἡ τυραννὶς ἐστῶσα ὠφέλιμος ἦν, ζῶντος Γαῖου
 134 κολασθεῖεν ἐνδείξεως γενομένης. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕτερος
 ἐπεφοιτῆκει λόγος ὠμιληκέναι μὲν τραύμασιν,¹ οὐ
 μὴν ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα ἐν θεραπείαις ὑπὸ τῶν
 135 ἱατρῶν εἶναι. ἦν τε πιστὸς οὐθεὶς² οὐδενί, ᾧ κἂν
 θαρσῆσας γνώμην ἀποφαίνοιτο τὴν αὐτοῦ· ἡ γὰρ
 φίλος ὢν ὑποπτος ἐγίνετο εὐνοία τῆς τυραννίδος ἢ
 καὶ μίσει πρὸς ἐκείνον χρώμενος τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν
 οὐδαμόθεν εὐνοία χρωμένῳ διαφθείρειν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 136 λεγομένοις πίστιν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὑπὸ τινων, οἱ καὶ
 μάλιστα τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἠφάνιζον τὸ εὐθυμοῦν τῆς
 ἐλπίδος, ἐν ἀμελείᾳ κινδύνων γεγονότα καὶ ἄφροντιν
 κομιδῇ τῶν τραυμάτων, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἡματωμένον
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διεκπεσεῖν κἂν δημηγορίαις εἶναι.
 137 καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰκάζετο βουλήσει τῇ ἀλογίστῳ τῶν
 θροεῖν προθεμένων καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα δόξῃ τῶν
 ἀκουόντων λαμβανόμενα· οὐ μὴν τὴν γ' ἐνέδραν³
 ἐξέλιπον δεδιότες τὴν ἐπενεχθησομένην προεξιούσιν
 αἰτίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἧς ἀξιοῖεν⁴ διανοίας γενήσεσθαι

¹ ὠμιληκέναι . . . τραύμασιν] quia res quidem a coniuratis
 fuisset temptata Lat.

² ex Lat. : αὐθεὶς codd. : οὐδεὶς Bekker.

³ ἐνέδραν] loca suae custodiae Lat. : ἔδραν Dindorf.

⁴ ἐξίοιεν Hudson ex Lat.

but even pretended not to have heard of it. They were afraid lest, if they were disappointed in their expectation, they would be brought to punishment because they had started too soon to show what they thought. Those who had knowledge of the plot, because they were partners in it, were still more secretive, since they did not know who the others were in the plot and feared that if they spoke of it to anyone who stood to gain by the continuance of the tyranny, they would be denounced and punished if Gaius still lived. For another story had got about to the effect that though wounded, Gaius was not dead, but alive and being attended by physicians. There was no one who had sufficient confidence in anyone else to pluck up courage and tell him what he thought. For if the other were a friend of Gaius, he was suspected because of the goodwill that he bore to the tyranny, or else, if he hated Gaius, confidence was undermined in what he said by his unwillingness to tolerate anything favourable about Gaius from any source. It was reported by some—and it was they who most of all banished all optimism from the patricians' minds—that Gaius, in disregard of danger and quite unconcerned to get his wounds treated, had escaped, bloodstained as he was, to the Forum and was haranguing the people. Such were the pictures drawn by the unreasoning desire of those who took it upon themselves to wag their tongues; the effect on the hearers depended on their attitude one way or the other. None, however, left their seats, because they feared the charge which might be brought against any who were the first to go out; for they would be judged guilty or innocent not because of the intention with which they might claim

περὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν κρίσιν,¹ ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς εἰκάζειν² ἐθελή-
σειαν οἷ τε κατηγορήσοντες καὶ οἱ δικάζοντες.³

- 138 (17) Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος τῶν Γερμανῶν περιέσχε
τὸ θέατρον ἐσπασμένων τὰ ξίφη, πᾶσι τοῖς θεωροῖς
ἐλπίς ἦν ἀπολεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν οὐτινος εἰς-
οδον ποτοία εἶχεν αὐτούς, ὥς αὐτίκα μάλα συγκοπή-
σονται, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις τε ἦσαν οὐτ' ἀπιέναι θάρσος
εἰσφερόμενοι οὔτε ἀκίνδυνον τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν ἐπὶ
139 τοῦ θεάτρου πεπιστευκότες. εἰσπιπτόντων τε ἡδὴ
βοῇ τοῦ θεάτρου ῥήγνυται καθ' ἱκετείαν τρεπομένου
τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥς πάντων ἀγνοίας αὐτοῖς⁴ γενο-
μένης καὶ τῶν βουλευθέντων τοῖς ἐπαναστάσιν, εἰ
δὴ τις καὶ γέγονεν ἐπανάστασις, καὶ τῶν γεγονό-
140 των. φείδεσθαι οὖν καὶ μὴ τόλμης ἀλλοτρίας παρὰ
τῶν οὐδ' ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενομένων ἀπολαμβάνειν τιμω-
ρίαν, παρέντας ἐρεῦν⁵ τῶν πεπραχότων ὃ τι καὶ
141 πεπραγμένον εἴη καταστῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτά τε
καὶ περαιτέρω μετὰ δακρύων καὶ τύψεως προσ-
ώπων ἐπιθειάζοντες καὶ ποτνιώμενοι ὅποσα ἀνεδί-
δασκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κίνδυνος ἐστὼς πλησίον, καὶ ὥς
ἂν τις ἀγωνιζόμενος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴποι τι, ἔλεγον.
142 θραύεται δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ ὀργή
καὶ μεταμελήσαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεωροῖς βου-
λεύματος, ὡμόν τε γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνοις καίπερ
ἐξηγριωκόσιν ἐδόκει, τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν
143 Ἀσπρήναν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀπερειασμένοις. πρὸς

¹ οὐ γὰρ . . . κρίσιν] quando non qua voluntate discederent
accusari poterant aut damnari Lat.

² A : ἐγκαθίζειν MW.

³ οἷ τε κατηγορήσοντες καὶ οἱ δικάζοντες] Lowthius (κατηγορή-
σοντες cōnī. : κατηγορήσαντες Lowthius) : τοὺς τε κατηγορήσον-
τας καὶ τοὺς δικάζοντας codd.

to have acted but because of whatever construction would-be prosecutors and jury might chose to put upon the act.

(17) But when in fact a troop of Germans with drawn swords surrounded the theatre, all the spectators expected a massacre ; they cringed when any-one entered, no matter who, convinced that they would be cut to pieces that very instant. They were thus at a loss what to do, for on the one hand they were unable to pluck up courage to depart, and on the other hand they had no confidence that it was safe to stay in the theatre. When the troops now streamed in, the people in the theatre burst into cries, turning in supplication to the soldiers and pleading that they had had no knowledge of anything, neither of the designs of the rebels, supposing that a rebellion had occurred, nor of actual events. They therefore entreated the soldiers to spare them and not to make innocent men pay the penalty for the rashness of others, and to abandon the idea of instituting a search for those who had done whatever it was that had actually been done. Such were their words and more, as they wept and beat their faces, conjuring them to listen with agonized appeals such as the danger that hovered near schooled them to repeat. Each man spoke as a man must speak when life hangs on his eloquence. The anger of the soldiers gave way under the impact of these words, and they repented of their intended attack on the spectators, which would have been cruel and appeared so even to them, furious though they were. But first they fixed the heads of Asprenas and their other victims upon the altar. At this sight,

Appearance
of German
avengers in
the theatre.

⁴ conl. Niese : *αὐτῇ* codd. : *αὐτῶ* ed. pr.

⁵ Niese : *ἐρεύνῃ* A : *ἐν ἐρεύνῃ* MW.

- ἃς μειζόνως ἔπαθον οἱ θεωροὶ λογισμῷ τε ἀξιώσεως
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐλέῳ τοῦ πάθους, ὥστε παρ' ὀλίγον
 καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐλλιπεστέρας τὰ τῶν κινδύνων
 ὁμιλήσαντα ἐπανασεσεῖσθαι, ὣν ἄδηλον εἶναι τὴν
 συμφορὰν εἶπερ εἰς τέλος φευχθῆναι δύναιτ' ἄν.
 144 ὥστε καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν προθύμως μισούντων καὶ
 μετὰ δίκης τὸν Γάιον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 εὐφροσυνῶν τῆς χώρας,¹ διὰ τὸ ἐν ῥοπῇ μὲν τοῦ
 συναπολουμένου² γεγονέναι,³ τὸ δὲ πιστὸν τοῦ
 περιεῖναι μηδέπω καὶ τότε ἐχέγγυον συνελθεῖν.
 145 (18) Ἦν δὲ Εὐάρεστος Ἀρουντίος⁴ τῶν κηρυσ-
 σόντων τὰ πωλούμενα καὶ δι' αὐτὸ φωνῆς τε μεγέ-
 θει χρώμενος καὶ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος⁵ ὅμοια
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πλουσιωτάτοις, δύναμεις τε αὐτῷ ἦν
 ἐφ' οἷς ἐθελήσειε πράσσειν⁶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔν
 146 τε τῷ τότε καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον. οὗτος διαθεὶς αὐ-
 τὸν ὥς ἐνῆν πενθιμώτατον, καίτοι μίσει καὶ παρ'
 ὄντιν οὖν ἐχρήτο πρὸς Γάιον, ἀλλὰ μὴν κρείσσων
 ἢ διδασκαλία τοῦ φόβου καὶ στρατηγία περὶ τοῦ
 κερδησομένου τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἡ-
 147 δονῆς, πάντα κόσμον ἐπιτηδεύσας ὥς ἂν τις ἐπὶ
 τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις παρσκευάστο ἀπολωλόσιν, ἀπο-
 σημαίνει τοῦ Γαῖου τὸν θάνατον ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον
 παρελθὼν καὶ ἔπαυσεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ πλέον
 148 ἀγνοία συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῦ γεγονότος. ἤδη δὲ
 καταστείλας⁷ Ἀρουντίος παρῆν⁸ ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς

¹ τῆς χώρας] τῆς χάρας ed. pr. : καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς Hudson.

² ed. pr. : συναπολογουμένου codd.

³ διὰ τὸ . . . γεγονέναι] cum ad tanta pericula pervenissent
 Lat. ⁴ A : Ἀρουντίος MW : Aruntius Lat.

⁵ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος] indutus vestibis diversi coloris
 Lat. ⁶ agendi Lat. : πιπράσκειν Naber.

⁷ καταστείλας] Post : καὶ Στήλας AW : καὶ σύλας, σ ex στ

the spectators were still more deeply moved both by consideration of the rank of the deceased men and by pity for their fate. As a result, they themselves were almost equally daunted by close contact with the threatened fate, since it was still uncertain whether in the end they would be able to make good their escape. And so even those who hated Gaius heartily and with justice were left with no chance to rejoice at his death, because they were on tenterhooks for fear of perishing with him and they had not yet even then had any trustworthy assurance that they would survive.

(18) Now Euarestus Arruntius was a professional auctioneer and therefore possessed of a powerful voice; he had accumulated money till he had as much as the wealthiest of the Romans, and was able both then and later to do just as he liked throughout the city. This man arrayed himself in the deepest possible mourning; for though he hated Gaius as much as anyone, yet the discipline of fear and the strategy required to secure his survival outweighed any pleasure of the moment. He therefore dressed himself with all the detail that would have been employed in mourning the most honoured dead, and passed into the theatre, where he announced the death of Gaius, thus putting an end to any further activity on the part of the people that was due to misinformation as to what had happened. By now Arruntius had got control ^a and accompanied the

An auctioneer announces the death of Gaius, and the Germans are quieted.

^a Text emended. The best manuscript reads "Stelas [*i.e.* Stella] Aruntius [*i.e.* Arruntius]" for "Arruntius had got

corr., *ύ* in ras. A: καὶ στείλας M: καὶ στίλλας E: etiam statuas Lat.: Παῦλος Dindorf ex § 102.

⁸ παρῆν] circumibat Lat.: περιῆει Dindorf ex Lat.

- Γερμανοὺς καὶ οἱ χιλίαρχοι σὺν αὐτῷ κελεύοντες
κατατίθεσθαι τὸν σίδηρον καὶ διασαφοῦντες Γαῖου
149 τὴν τελευτήν. τοῦτο καὶ σαφέστατα ἔσωσεν τοὺς
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ συνειλεγμένους καὶ πάντας, οἱ καὶ
ὅπως οὖν¹ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς περιτύχοιεν· ἐλπίδος γὰρ
αὐτοῖς παραγενομένης ἔμπνουν κεῖσθαι τὸν Γάιον
150 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὔτινος κακῶν ἂν ἀπέσχοντο. τοσόνδε
ἐπερίσσευσεν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς
κἂν μετὰ τοῦ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀπολουμένου τῆς ψυχῆς
κτῆσασθαι τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοσαύτη
151 δυστυχία μὴ συνεσόμενον.² παύονται δὲ τοῦ ὠργη-
κότος εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν μαθήσεως σαφοῦς παρα-
γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ, διὰ τε τὸ εἰς
ἀχρεῖον ἐπιδείξασθαι τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς εὐνοίας, ὃς
ἀμεύβαιτο αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότος, καὶ δέει, μὴ καὶ
περαιτέρω τῇ ὕβρει χρωμένων ἐπιστροφή γένοιτο
ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἴπερ εἰς ἐκείνην περισταίῃ τὸ
152 κράτος, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπικαταστάντος ἄρχοντος. καὶ
Γερμανοὶ εἰ καὶ μόλις, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπαύσαντο λύσεως
τῆς ἐπὶ Γαῖου τῷ θανάτῳ καταλαμβανομένης αὐ-
τούς.
- 153 (19) Χαιρέας δέ, σφόδρα γὰρ περὶ Βινουκιανῶ³
ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρεῖν μανία τῶν Γερμανῶν περι-
πεσών, ἕκαστόν τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν μετῆι προ-
μηθεῖσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δεόμενος καὶ μὴ
154 ἀπολώλοι πολλὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιούμενος. καὶ Βινου-

¹ ὅπως οὖν] ed. pr. : ὅπως ἂν codd.

² μὴ συνεσόμενον] Hudson : συνεσόμενον codd.

³ conl. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανῶ codd.

control." If so, this may be the Arruntius Stella who in 55 had charge of the games that were prepared by the emperor (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 22). But it seems unlikely that Josephus,

tribunes recalling the Germans, bidding them sheathe their swords and giving a full account of the death of Gaius. This was certainly the thing that saved those who were assembled in the theatre and all who in any way came in contact with the Germans ; for, had the Germans been given any hope that Gaius still lay breathing, there is no crime from which they would have refrained. So great was their loyalty to him that they would even have risked their own lives to secure for him immunity from plots and avoidance ^a of so great a disaster. But an end was put to their furious quest for vengeance, once they had been fully informed about the death of Gaius ; for it was of no use to display their ardent devotion, now that the one who would have rewarded them had perished. They feared, moreover, that, if they proceeded further in their lawless mood, they might attract attention from the senate, supposing that it should succeed to power, or from the imperial ruler who won control. So the Germans did, at any rate, though it was a narrow escape, desist from the frenzy that took possession of them at the death of Gaius.

(19) Chaerea was much alarmed for Vinicianus ^b lest he should meet with and be killed by the frenzied Germans. He went among the soldiers one by one, begging them to take precautions for Vinicianus' safety, and satisfying himself by much questioning that he had not lost his life. Meanwhile, Vinicianus

immediately after mentioning and identifying Euarestus Arruntius, should mention, without further identification, another man named Arruntius who performed a similar function of giving an account of Gaius' death.

^a The mss. have " participation in," but the negative is clearly intended from the context.

^b MSS. (here and in § 154) Minucianus ; *cf.* note on § 18.

- κιανόν¹ μὲν Κλήμης, ἀνάγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτον, μεθί-
 ησιν πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν δικαιοσύνην
 τῇ πράξει συμμαρτυρῶν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῖς ἐντεθυ-
 155 μημένοις καὶ πράσσειν μὴ ἀποδεδειλιακόσι². τυραν-
 νίδα γὰρ εἰς ὀλίγον μὲν ἐλθεῖν³ ἡδονῇ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν
 ἐπαρθεῖσαν, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἄρα ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπ-
 αλλαγὰς τοῦ βίου μίσει τῆς ἀρετῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν
 156 χρωμένης, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοιαύτης δυστυχίας, ὅποια
 δὴ Γάιον συνελθεῖν πρὸ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων καὶ
 συνθέντων⁴ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν αὐτὸν⁵ ἐπίβουλον αὐτῷ
 γενόμενον⁶ καὶ διδάξαντα οἷς ὑβρίζων ἀφόρητος ἦν
 ἀφανίζων τοῦ νόμου τὴν πρόνοιαν πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐ-
 τὸν χρῆσθαι τοὺς φιλτάτους, καὶ νῦν λόγῳ μὲν εἶναι
 τούτους οἱ ἀνηγήκασι Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑφ'
 ἑαυτοῦ κεῖσθαι διολωλότα.
- 157 (20) Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐξανίστατο τῶν
 φυλακῶν αἱ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς⁷ πάνυ πικραὶ ἐγένοντο
 ὑπανεισῶν.⁸ αἰτία δ' ἦν τοῦ προθύμως καὶ⁹ δια-
 φευξομένου τῶν θεωρῶν Ἀλκύων¹⁰ ὁ ἰατρός, συν-
 αρπασθεὶς μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τινῶν τραυματιῶν,
 ἐκπέμψας δὲ τοὺς συνόντας λόγῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ μετ-
 ελευσομένους ὅποσα εἰς τὴν ἱασιν τοῖς τραυμα-

¹ coni. Niese (cf. § 18): Μινουκιανόν E Lat.: Μινουκιανὸς codd.

² καὶ Βινουκιανὸς . . . ἀποδεδειλιακόσι] et Minucianum quidem Clemens adduxit in medium. ad Chaeream vero conversus cum multis aliis senatoribus iustitiaeque et virtuti testabatur eius laudans cogitationem et actum sine formidatione completum Lat.

³ ἀνθεῖν Hudson.

⁴ Dindorf: συντεθέντων codd.

⁵ ed. pr.: αὐτῶν codd.

⁶ εὐτυχεῖς . . . γενόμενον] quippe cum non posset felix vita illi praeberi, qui virtuti probaretur odibilis, sed cum tali calamitate deficere quali Gaius, qui etiam ante coniuratorum

was brought up before Clemens, who released him ; for Clemens, together with many others of senatorial rank, bore witness to the justice of the deed and to the valour of those who had made the plans and shown no weakness in the execution of them. " For," he said, " tyranny, which is motivated by lust for unrestrained violence, lasts but a short time. As we see, there is no happy ending for the life of a tyrant, since the virtuous hate him. No, he is visited with such disaster as has come to Gaius, who had plotted against himself before there was any uprising or any organization of the attack. It was by the lessons that he gave to those who could not endure his violations, and by his abolition of legal protection, that he taught his dearest friends to make war on him. And now, though they are said to be the slayers of Gaius, he has fallen, in fact, a victim to his own design."

(20) By now the occupants of the theatre were rising from their seats, the guard which at first had been so cruel being somewhat relaxed. The person responsible for the spectators being allowed to depart so readily was Alcyon the physician. He had been seized and carried off in order that he might care for some wounded men. He then dispatched those present with him, as if they were to fetch some supplies that he needed to treat the patients, but his

consensum proprium facinus sibi constituit inimicum Lat. : γερόμενον] ed. pr. : γενομένην AW : γενησομένην M.

⁷ αἱ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς] i. marg. A, quod etiam Lat. habuisse vid. : καὶ ἀρχαὶ codd. : καὶ παραχαὶ ed. pr.

⁸ ὑπανεισῶν] coni. Niese : ὑπανίσως A : τοῦ πᾶν εἶσω MW : τῶν εἶσω ed. pr. : ὑπανεισῶν Herwerden ; ἥδη . . . ὑπανεισῶν] iam ergo surgebant de theatro custodiae, quae principio perniciosae fuerant, quando omnes velociter abscedere festinabant Lat.

⁹ om. W.

¹⁰ A (λ in ras.) : Ἀρκύων M : Ἀρκύων W : Alcyon Lat.

- τίαις πρόσφορα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὡς ἀπέσονται¹ κινδύνου
 158 τοῦ κατειληφότες. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ βουλῆς τε γίνεται
 σύνοδος καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἥπερ καὶ εἰώθασιν ἐκκλη-
 σιάζειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταστάς ἐν ζητήσῃ τῶν
 σφαγέων τῶν Γαῖου ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν δῆμος καὶ πάννυ
 159 ἐκθύμως, δοκεῖν δὲ καὶ ἡ βουλή. καὶ ἦν γὰρ
 Ἀσιατικὸς Οὐαλέριος ὑπατικὸς ἀνὴρ, οὗτος ἐπὶ
 τὸν δῆμον καταστάς, θορυβούντων καὶ δεινὸν τιθε-
 μένων τὸ ἔτι λανθάνον τῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπ-
 εκτονότων, ἐπεὶ προθύμως πάντες αὐτὸν ἤροντο, τίς
 160 ὁ πράξας τυγχάνει, "εἶθε γὰρ ἔγωγε," φησί. καὶ
 προὔθεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ διάγραμμα Γαῖου μὲν
 κατηγορίας ποιούμενοι, κελεύοντες δὲ τῷ τε² δῆμῳ
 καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπιέναι, τῷ μὲν
 δῆμῳ πολλὴν ἀνέσεως ἐπαγγελλλόμενοι ἐλπίδα, τῷ
 στρατιωτικῷ δὲ τιμῶν, εἰ ἐν κόσμῳ μείνειαν τῷ
 εἰωθότι μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν ἐξαγόμενοι· δέος γὰρ ἦν, μὴ
 ἐξαγριωσάντων ἀπολαύσειεν τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ πόλις
 καθ' ἀρπαγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ συλήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν τρε-
 161 πομένων. ἐφθάκει δὲ ἤδη τῶν βουλευτῶν τὸ πᾶν
 πλῆθος συνειλεγμένον καὶ μάλιστα οἱ εἰς³ τοῦ Γαῖου
 συνελθόντες⁴ τὸν φόνον θράσει τε ἤδη χρώμενοι
 καὶ καταφρονήματι⁵ μεγάλῳ ὄντες ὡς εἰς αὐτοὺς
 ἀνακειμένων δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων.
 162 (ii. 1) Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων
 αἰφνίδιον ἀρπάζεται Κλαύδιος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας· οἱ γὰρ

¹ ed. pr. : πέισοιντο AM : πέσοιντο W : (pericula) decli-
 narent Lat.

² δὲ τῷ τε] Ernesti : τε τῷ A : δὲ τῷ τότε MW : δὲ τῷ E.

³ A : om. MWE.

⁴ συνθέντες E.

⁵ φρονήματι E.

^a Cf. §§ 102 and 252.

real purpose was to remove them from the danger that had overtaken them. Meanwhile, a meeting of the senate was convened; and the people also met in the Forum, where they customarily hold their assemblies. Both were engaged in an investigation of the murderers of Gaius. The populace was in fact quite zealous, but the senate merely made a show of zeal. Now there was a certain Valerius Asiaticus,^a a man of consular rank, presiding over the popular assembly,^b who, when the people were in an uproar and indignant that the emperor's murderers were still undetected, and when everybody urgently demanded to be told who had done the deed, replied, "Would that it had been I." The consuls also proposed a decree bringing charges against Gaius, and bade both the people and the soldiers depart to their quarters, giving the people every assurance that they would receive some relief, while the soldiers were to receive rewards, if they maintained the usual discipline and did not resort to violence. For the consuls feared that if they ran amuck, the city would suffer the consequences, once they turned to plunder the citizens and violate the temples. By now all the senators had assembled, and in particular those who had plotted the assassination of Gaius. These latter were now full of confidence and had great notions of their own exalted position, thinking that the government was now in their hands.

Meetings of
the senate
and
popular
assembly.

(ii. 1) Such was the political scene when Claudius^c was suddenly kidnapped from his house. For the

The
soldiers
veto demo-
cracy and

^b In Dio lix. 30. 2 he addresses an assembly of the praetorian guard. His statement so alarms them that they stop their outcry.

^c There is a parallel, but much briefer, account of the accession of Claudius in *B.J.* ii. 204-214.

- στρατιῶται συνόδου γενομένης αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις καὶ αὐτοῖς λόγον δόντες περὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις ἑώρων δημοκρατίαν ἀδύνατόν τε ὃν ἐν κράτει τοσῶνδε ἂν ποτε γενέσθαι πραγμάτων ἐξικομένην τε οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῷ αὐτῶν κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἴ τέ τις τῶν κατὰ ἓνα σχήσοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἰς πάντα λυπηρὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὴ οὐ συνεργοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστασιν.¹ καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν ἀκρίτων ἔτι ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμόνα αἰρεῖσθαι Κλαύδιον, πάτρωά τε ὄντα τοῦ τεθνεώτος καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συλλεγομένων οὐδενὸς οὐτινος οὐκ ἀξιολογώτερον προγόνων τε ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ³ κατ' αὐτὸν παιδείαν μελετηκότι, καὶ σταθέντα αὐτοκράτορα τιμήσειν τε τὰ εἰκότα καὶ ἀμείψεσθαι³ δωρεαῖς. ταῦτα διανοοῦνται τε καὶ ἔπραξαν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα. ἥρπαστο μὲν δὴ Κλαύδιος ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ.
- 166 Ναῖος⁴ δὲ Σέντιος⁵ Σατορνίνος⁶ καίτοι πεπυσμένος τὴν Κλαυδίου ἀρπαγὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπιδικάζοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς⁷ ἄκων μὲν δοκεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς καὶ βουλήσει τῇ αὐτοῦ, καταστὰς ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ μηδὲν ἐκπλαγεῖς ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ γενναίοις ἀνδράσι πρεπόντως ποιεῖται παραίνεσιν τάδε λέγων.
- 167 (2) “ Εἰ καὶ ἄπιστον, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, διὰ τὸ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἤκειν ἀνέλπιστον οὖσαν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχομεν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἄδηλον μὲν

¹ ἐξικομένην . . . καταστασιν] nec sibi utile si quis illorum, qui operatores in nece Gai fuerant, ad imperium perveniret Lat. ² Herwerden : τῶν codd.

³ ed. pr. : ἀμείψασθαι codd. E.

⁴ Niese : νέος codd. E : Γνέος ed. pr. : om. Lat. : Γναῖος Hudson.

⁵ Σέντιος] Σέρτιος ex Σέντιος corr. A : ἔτι ὦν E.

⁶ AM : Σατορνίλος W.

⁷ MW : ἀρετῆς A.

soldiers had held a meeting and had taken counsel with each other to decide what should be done. They saw that it was out of the question for a democracy to control such a mighty realm. Even if it did succeed, it would not govern in their interest. On the other hand, if any single individual should gain supreme authority, it would be constantly harmful to them not to have taken a stand to help establish the government. It was therefore best, they thought, while matters were still undecided, to choose Claudius as emperor. He was an uncle of the deceased, and there was no one among those assembled in the senate whom he did not excel both by distinction of his ancestors and by his own studious devotion to learning.^a And so, once established as emperor, he would reward them with the usual privileges and repay them with gifts. No sooner had they formed these plans than they put them into effect. Claudius was, therefore, kidnapped by the soldiers. Meanwhile, Gnaeus Sentius Saturninus,^b although he had heard that Claudius was kidnapped and, despite an apparent unwillingness, had really agreed to accept and was a suitor for the throne, yet stood up in the senate, and, nothing daunted, gave them words of exhortation, such as free and noble men may fittingly speak, to this effect :

(2) "Incredible as it may appear, Romans, because it has come upon us unexpectedly after so long a time, nevertheless we enjoy the dignity of freedom.

elect
Claudius
emperor.

Speech of
Sentius
Saturninus
in the
senate.

^a Or "by his own careful education." Cf. Suetonius, *Claud.* 3, who notes that Claudius had applied himself seriously to literature from childhood and had published some of his attainments.

^b Cf. *B.J.* ii. 205. Consul in 41, he was, in all probability, the son of the identically named consul of A.D. 4.

- ἐφ' ὅποσον παρατείνουσιν καὶ γνώμη θεῶν οἱ
 ἐχαρίσαντο αὐτὴν κειμένην, εὐφραίνειν δὲ ἀρκοῦσαν
 καὶ εἴπερ ἀφαιρεθείημεν αὐτῆς¹ εὐδαιμονία συν-
 168 ἀγούσαν· ἱκανὴ γὰρ καὶ μία ὥρα τοῖς ἀρετῆς αἰσθα-
 νομένοις καὶ μετ' αὐτοτελοῦς² τῆς διανοίας³ ἐν
 αὐτοδίκῳ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ μετὰ νόμων, οἷς ποτε ἦν-
 169 θησε, διαιτωμένη βιωθεῖσα. ἐμοὶ δὲ τῆς μὲν πρό-
 τερον ἐλευθερίας ἀμνημονεῖν ἔστι διὰ τὸ κατόπιν
 αὐτῆς γεγονέναι, τῆς δὲ νῦν ἀπλήστως πιμπλαμένῳ
 μακαριστοὺς τε ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐγγενηθέντας καὶ ἐν-
 τραφέντας⁴ αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲν μειόνως ἀξίους
 τιμῆς τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ ὁψὲ γοῦν κὰν τούτῳ
 170 τῆς ἡλικίας ἡμᾶς γεύσαντας αὐτῆς. καὶ εἴη μὲν εἰς
 πᾶν τοῦ αἵωνος τὸ ἐπιὸν παραμεῖναι τὴν ἄδειαν
 αὐτῆς, ἀρκοῦσα δ' ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἡδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς
 τε νεωτέροις ἡμῶν καὶ ὅσοι γεγηράκαμεν αἰ-
 ῶν ὑπείληπται, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις δ' εἰ τῶν⁵ ἀγα-
 θῶν αὐτῆς ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ γεγονότες μετασταίην,⁶ τοῖς
 171 δὲ νεωτέροις παίδευμα ἀρετῆς καταστάσεως⁷ ἀγα-
 θὸν ὃν⁸ ἀνδράσι τοῖσδε ἀφ' ὧν γεγόναμεν, νῦν δὲ
 ἡδὴ καὶ ἡμῖν διὰ τὴν ἄρτι ὥραν οὐδὲν προυργιαί-
 τερον εἴη τοῦ ζῆν μετὰ ἀρετῆς, ἣ μόνῃ ἐκφροντίζει

¹ εἴπερ . . . αὐτῆς] si eius felicitatem nequiverimus amittere Lat.

² μετ' αὐτοτελοῦς] ed. pr. : μετὰ ταῦτα τέλους (τέλος M) codd.

³ μετ' . . . διανοίας] cum secura voluntate Lat.

⁴ ed. pr. : nutritos Lat. : ἐγγραφέντας codd.

⁵ δ' εἰ τῶν] Warmington : δ' εἰ τῶν Petersen : εἰ τῶν

Hudson : δόντων A : δεόντων MW.

⁶ μετασταίην] A : μέγα δὲ ἐν M : μέγα τε ἐν W : moriemur (i.e. μετασταίμεν) Lat.

⁷ καταστησάσης Hudson.

We cannot tell how long it will last, a matter to be determined by the gods who bestowed the gift, yet what we have now suffices for rejoicing, and even if we should be robbed of it, to possess it is bliss. Indeed, for those who appreciate virtue, it is sufficient to live but for a single hour with freedom to think as we please, in a country that is subject to its own sense of right, and that regulates itself by the constitution under which it once became a flourishing state. For myself, though I cannot recall the former age of liberty because I was born after that era, yet, as I insatiably steep myself in our present liberty, I count those enviable who were born and brought up in it ; and I hold worthy of honour not less than the gods these men here who at this late date and at this stage of our lives, have treated us to one sip of liberty that we may know its taste. I pray that the security of our present liberty may remain for all time to come. But even this one day should be sufficient for those of us who are younger, while for those who are grown old, it counts as a lifetime : to the older men if only they may depart with some experience of its joys, while to the younger it counts as a lesson in the essence^a of virtue, a lesson which was the glory of those men from whom we are sprung.^b Now, therefore, for us too, because we have this present hour, nothing can be more advantageous than to live virtuously, for virtue alone ponders and finds the

^a Or "establishment."

^b Text emended. Prof. Post, adopting Hudson's emendation, *καταστησάσης*, suggests "a lesson in the virtue that established the good fortune of those men from whom we sprang."

⁸ *ὅν* post *ἀγαθὸν* add. Petersen : aliquid ante *ἀγαθὸν* deesse putat Niese.

- 172 τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον¹. ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ οἶδα ἀκοῇ παραλαβών, οἷς δὲ ὄψει ὁμιλήσας ἡσθόμην, οἷων κακῶν τὰς πολιτείας ἀναπιμπλάσιν αἱ τυραννίδες, κωλύουσai μὲν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος ἀφαιρούμεναι τὸ ἐλεύθερον, κολακείας δὲ καὶ φόβου διδάσκαλοι καθιστάμεναι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ σοφία τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ὀργῇ τῶν
- 173 ἐφεστηκότων καταλιπεῖν τὰ πράγματα. ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ φρονήσας ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ διαβιασάμενος τὸν κόσμον τῶν νόμων τὴν πολιτείαν συνετάραξεν,² κρείσσων μὲν τοῦ δικαίου γενόμενος, ἥσσω δὲ τοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ κομιοῦντος, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν κακῶν οὐ
- 174 διέτριψεν³ τὴν πόλιν, φιλοτιμηθέντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπάντων, οἱ ἐκείνῳ διάδοχοι τῆς ἀρχῆς κατέστησαν, ἐπ' ἀφανισμῷ τοῦ πατρίου καὶ ὥς ἂν μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐρημίαν τοῦ γενναίου καταλείποιεν, διὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι πρὸς ἀσφαλείας εἶναι τῆς αὐτῶν τὸ κιβδήλοισ ἀνδράσιν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῇ προὔχειν πεπιστευμένων οὐ μόνον ὑφαιρεῖν τι τοῦ αὐχήματος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐπιψηφίζειν αὐτῶν⁴
- 175 τοῖς ὀλέθροις τῶν ἀπάντων.⁵ ἀριθμῷ τε πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ βαρύτητα ἀνύποιστον ἐπιδειξαμένων καθ' ἃ ἕκαστος ἠρξεν⁶ εἰς ὣν ὁ Γάιος ὁ σήμερον τεθνεὺς πλέω τε τῶν πάντων δεινὰ ἀπεδείξατο οὐ μόνον εἰς τοὺς συμπολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀπαίδευτον τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπαφιεῖς, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἅπασι καὶ μείζω κακὰ ἐντριβόμενος ἀδίκως τὴν

¹ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις . . . ἐλεύθερον] senibus quidem quando eius conspicientes libertatem cum dulcedine moriemur, iunioribus autem eo quod sit eis doctrina virtutis, unde constat per viros istos quorum labore consistimus propter haec quae nuper gesta noscuntur, quia nihil quam cum virtute degere maius

path of liberty for mankind. Past history I know from tradition, but from the evidence of my own eyes I have learned with what evils tyranny infects a state. For it frustrates all the virtues, robs freedom of its lofty mood, and opens a school of fawning and terror, inasmuch as it leaves matters not to the wisdom of the laws, but to the angry whim of those who are in authority. For ever since Julius Caesar was minded to destroy the democracy and caused an upheaval of the state by doing violence to law and order, setting himself above justice but really a slave to what would bring him private gratification, there is not a single evil that has not afflicted the city. All who succeeded him in the government vied with one another in abolishing our heritage and in allowing no nobility to remain among our citizens. For they supposed that the society of human counterfeits contributed to their own security, and that it was best not merely to diminish somewhat the glory of those who were believed to excel in virtue but to decree their complete extinction. But many in numbers as were these tyrants and intolerable as was the oppression that was conspicuous in their acts, Gaius, who to-day lies dead, in his sole person assailed our eyes with more outrages than all the rest. He vented an untutored rage not only upon his fellow citizens but also upon his kinsmen and his friends. For upon all alike he has inflicted evils greater than those in-

Tirade
against
tyrants.

est, de qua consuevit libertas humana solummodo cogitare Lat. ² συνετάραξεν] AM : οὐ συνετάραξε W : διετάραξε E.

³ MW : διέστρεψε (ex διέτρυψεν corr. A) AE : invasit Lat.

⁴ ἐπιψηφίζειν αὐτῶν] E : ἐπιφημίζειν αὐτῶ codd.

⁵ ἀπάντων] ἀπάντων, ὧν conl. Niese.

⁶ ἀριθμῶ . . . ἡρξεν] singuli namque regnantium quaeque sunt gravia commiserunt Lat.

- τιμωρίαν εἰσπράσσεσθαι ὠργικότων, ὁμοίως εἰς τε
 176 ἀνθρώπους ἐξαγριώσας καὶ τοὺς θεούς.¹ τυραννίδι
 γὰρ οὐ κερδαίνεται τὸ ἡδὺ οὐδὲ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἀπο-
 χρήται, οὐκ εἰς τὰ χρήματα λελυπῆσθαι² καὶ γαμετάς,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν κέρδος ἐκ τοῦ πανοικεσία διοχλουμέ-
 177 νου³ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.⁴ ἐχθρὸν δὲ τυραννίδι πᾶν τὸ ἐλεύ-
 θερον, εἰς εὐνοίαν τε ἐκκαλεῖσθαι αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐν
 ὀλίγῳ τιθεμένοις ὅποσα πεπόνθοιεν οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐξ-
 επιστάμενοι γὰρ ὦν ἀναπλήσειαν κακῶν ἔστιν οὗς
 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι⁵ μεγαλοφρόνως καταφρονήματι χρών-
 ται⁶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην, αὐτοὶ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ὦν
 πράξιαν μὴ δυνάμενοι⁷ μόνως πιστεύουσιν κτήσε-
 σθαι τοῦ ὑπόπτου τὸ ἄδεές, εἰ παντελὲς ἄρασθαι⁸
 178 δυνηθεῖεν αὐτούς. τοιούτων δὲ κακῶν ἀπογεγο-
 νότες καὶ ὑποτελεῖς ἀλλήλοις καταστάντες, αἵπερ
 πολιτειῶν ἐχεγγυώταται πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν εὖνουν
 καὶ τὸ αὖθις ἀνεπιβούλευτον καὶ τὸ δόξαν οἰκείαν⁹
 τῷ ὀρθουμένῳ τῆς πόλεως¹⁰ δίκαιοί τε¹¹ προνοῆσαι
 διὰ¹² τὸ εἰς κοινὸν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀπαντᾶν καὶ

¹ ὁμοίως τοῖς . . . θεοῖς] iniuste poenas exigens et veluti furiosus in homines atque deos ferus existens Lat.

² λελύσθαι Thackeray.

³ Bekker : διοχλουμένων codd. : διολλυμένου coni. Richards et Shutt : διολουμένου Post.

⁴ τυραννίδι . . . ἐχθρῶν] nihil etenim tyrannus suavitatis habere potest. nonne cum iniuria vobis abusus est? nonne in pecuniis vos et coniugibus contristavit? nonne omne votum vestrum praecibus agebatur insistentibus inimicis? Lat.

⁵ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι] Bekker : κακεῖνοι codd.

⁶ καταφρονήματι χρώνται] A (litt. ι χρώνται i. ras. m. 2 A) : καταφρονημάτων τε codd.

⁷ ἐξεπιστάμενοι . . . δυνάμενοι] scientes namque tyranni quibus malis insignes viros adfligant et eos videntes inpatienter

flicted by persons unjustly passionate to exact vengeance ; and he has raged like a savage against men and gods alike. For a tyranny is not satisfied with an accrual of pleasure even lawlessly procured, nor with the grief caused by assaults on property and wives ; no, it must complete the total by utterly harassing its enemies with all their households. To tyrants all show of freedom is an enemy ; and it is impossible to elicit any goodwill from them even towards those who take little account of all that they have suffered. For the tyrants know full well what a plague of evil they have brought on some, and though the afflicted should magnanimously dismiss their ill fortune as trivial, yet can the tyrants not be unaware of their own acts. Thus they have no confidence in any safety from suspected foes unless they are able to remove them utterly. Now that you have rid yourselves of such evils, and obtained a government in which you have no obligation but to one another—and of all forms of government this most guarantees both present loyalty and future immunity from hostile intrigue as well as a fame that belongs to the prosperous city that is well governed—your duty now is to make prudent proposals for the common benefit,^a or

^a Thackeray's emendation will give : " You ought now to provide for that which you decide to be proper to the restoration of the city. Indeed, to do so conduces to its common welfare."

talia sustinere nec tamen ignorare quod geritur, sed solatium expectare fortunæ Lat.

⁸ coni. Niese: αἰρεῖσθαι codd. (i. marg. γρ ἀρέσθαι A): amputare Lat. ⁹ οἰκεῖον coni. Thackeray.

¹⁰ τὸ δόξαν . . . πόλεως] restituta civilitate Lat.

¹¹ δίκαιοι τε] δίκαιοι τε ἐστὲ Hudson : iustum est ut vos Lat.

¹² ἰδίᾳ Hudson.

ἀνταποφήνασθαι γνώμην, οἷς μὴ ἀρέσκοιτο τὰ
 179 προεισηγημένα, οὐδαμῶς εἰς κίνδυνον φέρον,¹ διὰ
 τὸ μὴ δεσπότην εἶναι τὸν ἐφεστηκότα, ᾧ ἀνεύθυνόν
 τε βλάπτοντι τὴν πόλιν καὶ αὐτοκράτορι μεταστή-
 180 σασθαι τοὺς εἰρηκότας. καὶ τέτροφε τὴν τυραννίδα
 οὐδὲν ἕτερον² πλὴν ἢ τε ἀργία καὶ τὸ πρὸς οὐδὲν
 181 τῶν ἐκείνῃ θελομένων ἀντιλογία χρώμενον· τῆς γὰρ
 εἰρήνης τοῦ τερπνοῦ ἡσσωμένοι καὶ μεμαθηκότες
 ἀνδραπόδων ἐν τρόπῳ ζῆν³ ὅποσοι τε ἐπαίτομεν συμ-
 φορὰς ἀνηκέστους κακοῖς τε τοῖς πέλας ἐπείδομεν
 φόβῳ τοῦ μετ' ἀρετῆς τελευτᾶν μετὰ αἰσχύνης τῆς
 182 ὑστάτης ὑπομένοντες⁴ τὰς τελευτάς. πρῶτον δέ⁵
 τοῖς ἀραμένοις τὸν τύραννον τιμὰς αἵτινες μέγισται
 ταύτας εἰσενεγκεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ Χαιρέα τῷ Κασσίῳ·
 σὺν γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς ἀνὴρ οὗτος ποριστὴς ἡμῖν καὶ
 183 γνώμη καὶ χερσὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πέφηνεν. οὐ καλὸν
 μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπὲρ ἐλευ-
 θερίας τῆς ἡμετέρας προβεβουλευκότος τε ἅμα καὶ
 προκεκινδυνευκότος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ψηφίσασθαι
 τὰς τιμὰς πρῶτόν τε ἀνεπιτάκτους τοῦτο ἂν ἀπο-
 184 φήνασθαι. ἔργον δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ ἐλευθέροις ἀν-
 δράσι πρέπον ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς εὐεργέτας, οἷος δὴ
 καὶ ἀνὴρ οὗτος περὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας γέγονεν οὐδὲν
 παραπλησίως⁶ Κασσίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ τοῖς Γάιον
 Ἰούλιον ἀννηρηκόσιν, ἐπεὶ γε οἱ μὲν στάσεως καὶ
 πολέμων ἐμφυλίων ἀρχὰς ἐπανερρίπισαν τῇ πόλει,

¹ Dindorf : φέρειν ex φέρων ut vid. corr. A : φέρων MW : φέρουσαν Hudson.

² Naber : νεώτερον codd.

³ post ζῆν lacunam indicat Dindorf.

⁴ ὑπομένομεν Bekker.

else to make counterproposals, if some measure already proposed is not to your liking. There is no danger in opposition, for there is no longer a despot at the head of the state who is not only unaccountable for any injury that he inflicts on the city but has sole power to do away with those who have spoken. This tyranny was fostered by nothing but indolence ^a and our failure to speak in opposition to any of its wishes. We have succumbed to the seduction of peace and have learned to live like conquered prisoners. Whether we have suffered incurable disasters ourselves or have only observed the calamities of our neighbours, it is because we are afraid to die like brave men that we must be patient when slain with the utmost degradation. But our first duty is to confer the very highest honours on those who have removed the tyrant, and in particular on Cassius Chaerea; for, with the help of the gods, this man above all has both by his counsel and action shown himself our purveyor of liberty. It is right, now that we are free, that we should not be unmindful of him, but that for one who both laid the plans in time of tyranny on behalf of our liberty and was first to risk the deed, we should, in time of liberty, vote these honours and make this our first spontaneous act. It is a most noble deed, and such as becomes free men, to requite a benefactor, such as this man has now shown himself in relation to all of us. He is beyond comparison with Cassius and Brutus, the slayers of Julius Caesar; for they only fanned into fresh life the fires of sedition and civil war in the state, while

^a MSS. "not by any revolution but by indolence."

⁵ δέ] δέ δει Dindorf.

⁶ similis Lat.: παραπλήσιος Niese.

οὗτος δὲ μετὰ τῆς τυραννοκτονίας καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν
δεινῶν ἀπῆλλαξεν τὴν πόλιν.”

- 185 (3) Σέντιος μὲν τοιούτοις ἐχρῆτο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ
τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡδονῇ δεχομένων καὶ ὅποσοι τῶν
ἱππέων παρήσαν. ἀναπηδήσας δέ τις Τρεβέλλιος¹
Μάξιμος περιαιρεῖται τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ Σεντίου,
λίθος δὲ εἰκόνα Γαῖου ἐγγεγλυμμένος ἐδεσμεύετο
αὐτῷ, καὶ σπουδῇ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ ὧν ἐπενόει
πράξειν, ὅπερ ὤετο, ἐν λήθῃ γεγονότι,² καὶ ἡ μὲν
186 γλυφὴ κατάγνυται.³ προελλύθει δὲ ἡ νύξ ἐπὶ
μέγα, καὶ Χαιρέας δὲ σημεῖον ἤτει τοὺς ὑπάτους,
οἱ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν ἔδοσαν. ἐν θαύματι δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς
187 καὶ ὁμοία ἀπιστία τὰ δρώμενα· ἔτει γὰρ ἑκατοστῷ,⁴
μεθ’ ὃ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὸ πρῶτον ἀφηρέθησαν,⁵
ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους σημείου ἢ παράδοσις⁶. οὗτοι γὰρ
πρότερον ἢ τυραννηθῆναι τὴν πόλιν κύριοι τῶν⁷
188 στρατιωτικῶν ἦσαν. Χαιρέας δὲ τὸ σημεῖον λαβὼν
παρεδίδου τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλη-
τον συνεστηκόσιν. ἦσαν δὲ εἰς σπείρας τέσσαρας,
οἷς τὸ ἀβασίλευτον τιμιώτερον τῆς τυραννίδος
189 προὔκειτο. καὶ οἶδε μὲν ἀπῆσαν μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρ-
χων, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ἡδὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος περιχαρὴς καὶ

¹ Trebellius Lat. : Στρεβέλλιος codd.

² lacunam post γεγονότι indicat Niese.

³ κατὰ . . . γνυται A : καταπήγνυται MW : est agnita Lat.

⁴ ἔτει γὰρ ἑκατοστῷ] Thomas Terry : ἔτι γὰρ ἕκαστος τῷ (ῶ in ῶi corr. A) codd.

⁵ ἀφηρέθησαν] ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν Terry : ἀφηρέθησαν ἐπέστρεψεν Hudson ex Lat. : ἀφηρέθησαν ἐπανήλθε (vel simile) coni. Niese.

⁶ ἔτει γὰρ . . . παράδοσις] quia reversa videretur ad consules haec potestas Lat.

⁷ τῶν] τῶν <πολιτικῶν καὶ> coni. Richards et Shutt ex Lat.

this man has not only slain the tyrant but has also relieved the city of the horrors which originated with him."

(3) Such was the address of Sentius, which was heartily approved both by the senators and by all the equites who were present. At this point a certain Trebellius Maximus ^a leapt up and snatched off Sentius' ring, in which was set a stone graven with the image of Gaius. For, as Trebellius supposed, Sentius was too much interested in his speech and in his plans of action to notice its presence; and so the image was smashed. And now, with the night far advanced, Chaerea asked the consuls for the watchword, and they gave "Liberty." This ritual filled them with wonder, and they were almost unable to believe their ears, for it was the hundredth ^b year since they had first been robbed of the democracy to the time when the giving of the watchword reverted to the consuls. For before the city came under a tyranny, it was they who had commanded the armies. Chaerea, having received the watchword, passed it on to such of the soldiers as had joined the side of the senate; there were a total of four cohorts ^c who regarded freedom from imperial rule as more honourable than tyranny. These cohorts now left with their tribunes. By this time the people were also with-

The consuls give the watchword "liberty."

^a Mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 46, as having carried out, together with Quintus Volusius and Sextius Africanus (who despised him), an assessment of Gaul. He was consul suffectus in 56.

^b From 59 B.C., the first consulship of Julius Caesar, to A.D. 41, the date of the assassination of Gaius.

^c The parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 205, says that there were three cohorts. Since the strength of a cohort at this time was between 500 and 600 men, this would amount to a force of between 2000 and 2400 men.

ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος¹ ἐπὶ τῷ κτησαμένῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς, οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐφεστηκότι. καὶ τὰ πάντα ἦν ὁ Χαιρέας αὐτοῖς.

- 190 (4) Χαιρέας δὲ ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενος περιεῖναι τὴν θυγατέρα Γαῖου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ πανοικὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ὑπολείποιο αὐτῶν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως λειφθήσεσθαι καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἄλλως τε πρόθεσιν ἐσπουδακῶς τελειώσασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ εὐφρᾶναι μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Γάιον, Ἰούλιον ἐκπέμπει Λούππον² ἓνα τῶν χιλιάρχων κτενοῦντα τὴν τε γυναῖκα
- 191 Γαῖου καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα. Κλήμεντος δ' ὄντι συγγενεὶ τῷ Λούππῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε προὔθεσαν λειτουργίαν, ὅπως μετασχὼν κἂν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τῆς τυραννοκτονίας ἀγάλλοιτο ἀρετῇ πρὸς τῶν πολιτικῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύματος δόξειε
- 192 κοινωνεῖν τὸ πρῶτον συνθεμένων. ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν καὶ ὠμὸν ἐδόκει τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ θράσει χρησόμενον αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ³ Γάιον φύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ χρώμενον ἢ συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνης τὰ πάντα πρᾶξαι, ἐξ ὧν ἡ τε πόλις ἀπηγορεύει τοῖς κατειληφόσι κακοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὃ τι καὶ ἄνθος ἦν
- 193 ἀπώλετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῇ γνώμην τὸ δὲ πᾶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Γαῖου πεπραγμένων κακῶν ἐκείνῃ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπέφερον φάρμακον τῷ Γαῖῳ δοῦσαν ἐννοιῶν δούλωσιν καὶ ἐρώτων ἐπαγωγὰς αὐτῇ ψηφιοῦμενον, εἰς μανίαν μεταστάντος τὰ πάντα αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν νεναυπηγῆ-

¹ καὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος] hanc spem habentes atque cogitationem Lat. : μετ' ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος Ernesti : καὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος μεστὸς Dindorf.

² Lupum Lat.

³ ed. pr. : τὸν codd.

drawing, overjoyed and full of hope and pride because they had acquired self-government and no longer were under a master. Chaerea was everything to them.

(4) Chaerea was alarmed that the daughter and wife of Gaius should survive, and that his whole household had not shared his ruin. For any remnant of them that was left alive would remain a menace to the city and the laws. In any case, he was determined to do the job completely and to indulge to the full his hatred for Gaius. Thus he dispatched one of the military tribunes, Julius Lupus,^a to put the wife and daughter of Gaius to death. They proposed Lupus for this mission because he was a kinsman of Clemens, in order that by taking part in the tyrannicide even in such a way, he might be exalted in prowess in the eyes of the citizens, and might be thought to be a confederate of those who were first to organize the whole conspiracy. Some of the conspirators, however, thought that the proposal to strike at ^b Gaius' wife was too cruel, because Gaius was following his own bent and not her counsel in all that he did to bring the city to exhaustion under its burden of calamity and to destroy the finest flowers among the citizens. But others accused her of responsibility for the policy that produced such effects, and laid upon her the entire blame for the evil deeds of Gaius, saying that she had given him a drug calculated to enslave his thinking and to excite his passion for her, and that this drove him mad. Thus she, they charged, had fitted out the whole fleet of troubles

Murder of
Gaius' wife
and
daughter.

^a Suetonius, who does not mention his name, calls him (*Calig.* 59) a centurion of the praetorian guard, but this is incorrect, according to Stein, "Iulius," no. 327, Pauly-Wissowa, x¹, 1917, p. 663.

^b Lit. "to use boldness against."

μένην ἐπὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων τύχαις καὶ τῆς ὑποτελού-
 194 σης αὐτοῖς οἰκουμένης.¹ καὶ πέρας κυρωθὲν ὥστε
 αὐτὴν τελευτᾶν, οὐδὲν γὰρ οἱ ἀποσπεύδοντες οἰοί-
 τε ὠφελεῖν ἦσαν, ἐστέλλετο ὁ Λοῦππος· ἐβραδύνετο
 δὲ οὐδὲν μελλήσει τῇ κατ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μὴ οὐκ εἰς
 καιρὸν δεδιακονῆσθαι τοῖς ἀπεσταλκόσιν, θέλων
 ἐπ' οὐδαμοῖς μεμπτὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ
 195 δήμου πεποιημένων. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασι-
 λείου λαμβάνει τὴν Καισωνίαν,² γυνὴ δ' ἦν τοῦ
 Γαῖου, παρακατακειμένην τῷ σώματι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 χαμαιπετεῖ καὶ πάντων ἐν ἀτυχίᾳ ὧν χαρίζοιτ' ἂν
 ὁ νόμος τοῖς μεταστᾶσιν,³ αἵματί τε ἀναπεφυρ-
 μένην ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ταλαιπω-
 ρίαν⁴ συμφερομένην⁵ τῆς θυγατρὸς παρερριμμένης·
 ἠκούετό τε ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ κατά-
 μεμψις τοῦ Γαῖου, ὡς πιθανὴν οὐ σχόντος πολλάκις
 196 προηγορευκυῖαν αὐτήν. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω δὲ οὗτος ὁ
 λόγος καὶ τότε εἰκάζετο καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις πρό-
 κειται τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν ἀκροατῶν πρὸς ὃ τι θελή-
 σειαν ῥοπὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ προστιθέμενοι.⁶ οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 ἀποσημαίνειν ἔφασαν τὸν λόγον, ὡς συμβουλευο-
 μένης ἀποστάντα μανιῶν καὶ τοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολίτας
 ὤμου μετρίως καὶ μετ' ἀρετῆς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῶν
 πραγμάτων, μὴ⁷ παρ' αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τῷ

¹ οἱ δὲ . . . οἰκουμένης] et illi quidem his assertionibus eam defendere nitebantur. omnium autem malorum quae a Gaio gesta fuerant haec erat caput ; Gaio namque dederat poculum, ut eius mentem suo potuisset subiugare servitio et amoris incantationibus ad vesaniam transformatum ita sibi devinxerat, quatenus fortunae omnium Romanorum et totius orbis, cui praesidebat, ei subditae viderentur nihilque defensores eius valere potuerunt Lat.

² Hudson : Κεσωνίαν A¹WE : Κεσωνίαν M et ex corr. A et Busb. : Cesoniam Lat.

against the fortunes of Rome and of the inhabited world subject to that city. In the end it was decided to put her to death, for those who opposed the proposal were unable, despite their zeal, to do her any service ; and Lupus was dispatched. He, on his part, did not prolong his mission or fail to execute it in good time for the group whose emissary he was, since he was eager to incur no censure for an act performed in the public interest. On entering the palace he found Caesonia, the wife of Gaius, stretched beside the corpse of her husband that lay on the floor unprovided with any of the tributes that custom graciously bestows on the departed. She was all dabbled with blood from his wounds and in a state of deep misery, while her daughter had thrown herself down at her side. In such a scene no word was heard except her reproach of Gaius because he had not believed her oft-repeated prediction. As to the interpretation of these words, opinions at the time were divided ; and to this day the opinions of those who hear them repeated are similarly balanced, each assigning such weight to them as he chooses. Some said that her words signified that she warned him to desist from his madness and barbarity to the citizens, to administer the government with moderation and virtue and not to bring about his own destruction at their

³ καὶ πάντων . . . μεταστᾶσιν] et omnes in luctu positos sicut moris est mortuis exhiberi Lat.

⁴ πολλὴν τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν] πολλῇ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ Dindorf.

⁵ circumdata Lat. : συμπεριφερομένην Richards et Shutt.

⁶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα . . . προστιθέμενοι] haec enim ratio et tunc et nunc similiter aestimatur et in hominum mente sita est circa eos quibus compatiuntur (patiuntur cod. Ambros.) Lat.

⁷ ed. pr.; καὶ codd.

- 197 αὐτοῦ χρώμενον. οἱ δέ, ὡς λόγου τοῦ περὶ τῶν
 συνωμοτῶν ἐπιφοιτήσαντος Γαῖω κελεύσειεν μηδὲν
 εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος πάντας μεταχειρισά-
 μενον αὐτούς, κἂν εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῖεν, ἐν ἀδεεῖ κιν-
 δύνων καταστήναι, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ ἐπονειδιζό-
 μενον, ὡς προηγορευκίας διαπράξασθαι μαλακῶ
 198 γεγονότι. καὶ τὰ μὲν λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Καισωνίας
 καὶ ὅποια οἱ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐφρόνουν ταῦτα
 ἦν. ἡ δὲ ἐπεὶ θεᾶται τὴν πρόσδοτον τοῦ Λούππου
 τό τε σῶμα τοῦ Γαῖου προὔδεικνεν καὶ ἄσπον ἶέναι
 199 παρεκάλει μετ' ὀλοφυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τῇ διανοίᾳ συνεστηκότα¹ ἑώρα τὸν Λούππον, καὶ
 μηδὲν² προσιόντα ὡς ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν οὐκ αὐτῷ κεχαρισ-
 μένην,³ γνωρίσασα ἐφ' ὃ τι⁴ ἐχώρει τὴν τε σφαγὴν
 ἐγύμνου καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ποτνιωμένη ὅποια
 εἰκὸς τοὺς οὕτω σαφῶς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ζῆν γεγο-
 νότας καὶ κελεύουσα μὴ μέλλειν ἐπὶ τελειώσει τοῦ
 200 δράματος οὐ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς⁵ συνέθεσαν. καὶ ἦδε μὲν
 εὐψύχως ταύτῃ τελευτᾷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λούππου καὶ ἐπ'
 αὐτῇ τὸ θυγάτριον. καὶ Λοῦππος ταῦτα προαπαγ-
 γέλλων ἔσπευδεν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν.
 201 (5) Γάιος μὲν δὴ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγεμονεύσας
 Ῥωμαίων λείποντα τεσσάρων μηνῶν οὕτως τελευ-
 τᾷ, ἀνὴρ καὶ πρότερον ἢ τῇ ἀρχῇ συνῆλθεν σκαιός

¹ συνεστηκότα] attonitum Lat. : μὴ συνεστηκότα Hudson.

² om. Hudson.

³ καὶ μηδὲν . . . κεχαρισμένην] et nulla compassione motum Lat.

⁴ ὃ τι] Niese : ὃν codd. : quod Lat. : ὃ ed. pr.

⁵ αὐτῆς cod. Laur. : αὐτῇ Busb. E.

^a Lit. "had composed for them," i.e. for Gaius, his wife, and his daughter.

^b Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, reports that at the same time that

hands by following his own bent. Others said that a rumour had reached her concerning the conspirators and that she had bidden Gaius to do away with them all forthwith and without an instant's delay, even if they were innocent, and so render himself secure from risk ; and that this was the meaning of her reproach, namely, that he had been too soft to do a thorough job when she had predicted the result. Such were Caesonia's words and such the judgements that men passed on them. When she saw Lupus approaching she pointed to the body of Gaius, bidding him, with tears and lamentation, to come nearer. But when she saw that Lupus was firmly determined and came on showing no sign that the deed was not to his liking, she recognized the object of his coming and bared her throat most willingly, raising such cries of horror as may be expected of one whose hope of life is so plainly lost, and bidding him not put off the final act of the drama that they had composed for the downfall of the royal family.^a Thus she courageously met her death at Lupus' hands and her young daughter after her.^b And Lupus made haste to be the first to bring word of this to Chaerea and the others.

(5) Such was the end of Gaius after he had been emperor of the Romans for four years lacking four months.^c Even before he succeeded to office he was

Gaius' character and achievements.

Gaius was murdered, his wife Caesonia was stabbed with a sword by a centurion and his daughter's brains were dashed against a wall. Dio lix. 29. 7 says merely that Gaius' wife and daughter were promptly slain.

^c So also in the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 204. Suetonius, *Calig.* 59, gives the length of his reign as three years, ten months, and eight days. Dio lix. 30. 1 says that it lasted three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days.

τε καὶ κακοτροπίας¹ εἰς τὸ ἄκρον ἀφιγμένος, ἡδονῇ
 τε ἡσώμενος καὶ φίλος διαβολῇ,² καὶ τὰ μὲν φο-
 βερὰ καταπεπληγμένος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐφ' οἷς θαρ-
 σήσειε φονικώτατος,³ τῆς τε ἐξουσίας ἐφ' ἐνὶ μόνῳ
 πιμπλάμενος τῷ ὑβρίζειν, εἰς οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν
 ἀλόγῳ μεγαλοψυχία χρώμενος καὶ ποριστῆς ἐκ τοῦ
 202 κτείνειν καὶ παρανομεῖν. καὶ τοῦ μὲν θείου καὶ
 νομίμου μείζων ἐσπουδακῶς εἶναί τε καὶ δοκεῖν,
 ἡσώμενος δὲ ἐπαίνων τῆς πληθύος καὶ πάντα,
 ὅποσα αἰσchrὰ κρίνας ὁ νόμος ἐπιτιμᾷ τιμωρίαν,
 203 ἐνόμισεν ἀρετῆς. καὶ φιλίας ἀμνήμων, εἰ καὶ
 πλείστη τε καὶ διὰ μεγίστων γένοιτο, οἷς τότε⁴
 ὀργισθείη ἐκπλήξει κολάσεως καὶ ἐλαχίσταις,⁵ πο-
 λέμιον δὲ ἡγούμενος πᾶν τὸ ἀρετῇ συνερχόμενον,
 ἀναντίλεκτον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς κελεύσειε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
 204 λαμβάνων· ὅθεν καὶ ἀδελφῇ γνησίᾳ συνῆν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ
 μάλιστα αὐτῷ φύεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἤρξατο
 σφοδρότερον τὸ μῖσος διὰ τὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴ
 ἱστορημένον εἰς τε ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς
 205 τὸν πράξαντα παρακαλεῖν. ἔργον δὲ μέγα ἢ βα-
 σίλειον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένον εἴποι ἂν τις ἢ ἐπ'
 ὠφελείᾳ τῶν συνόντων καὶ αὐθις ἀνθρώπων ἐσο-
 μένων, πλήν γε τοῦ περὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Σικελίαν

¹ A : κακοπραγίας MW Exc. Peiresc.

² ἡδονῇ . . . διαβολῇ] ἡδονῆς θ' ἡττώμενος καὶ φίλων διαβολῆς conl. Richards et Shutt.

³ ἡδονῇ . . . φονικώτατος] om. E.

⁴ ποτε Exc. (?) Hudson : τε conl. Niese.

⁵ ἐλαχίσταις] ἐλαχίστης ed. pr. : ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις Hudson ; καὶ ἐλαχίσταις] καπ' ἐλαχίσταις <αἰτίαις> conl. Post ; πάντα . . . ἐλαχίσταις] quaecumque leges tamquam turpia puniunt sua credidit esse tormenta, virtutis et amicitiarum immemor, quando contra haec cum inlatione supplicii frequenter exorsus est Lat.

a sinister character who had reached the peak of perversity, a slave to pleasure, a lover of slander, a man dismayed by danger and consequently most bloodthirsty against those of whom he was not afraid. He was greedy of power with one object only, to treat abusively or to bestow senseless largess where it least behooved him, one who obtained his revenue by means of slaughter and injustice. It was his object to be and to be thought stronger than religion or the law, but he had no strength to resist the flat-teries of the mob, and regarded as virtuous achievement everything that the law condemns as disgraceful and on which it imposes a penalty. He was unmindful of friendship, however close it was and however great the occasion for it, and he would inflict punishment for the slightest matter on any at whom he became enraged. Everything that went with virtue he regarded as hostile ; if he took a fancy to anything he tolerated no opposition to any command that he gave. Hence he even had sexual intercourse with his own sister ^a : this conduct was the source from which the citizens' hatred of him grew fiercer and fiercer. For such a deed, which for ages past had not been recorded, drew them to incredulity and hatred of the doer. No great work, not even a palace, can be cited as constructed by him for the benefit either of his contemporaries or of posterity, excepting the harbour which he planned near Rhegium and

^a Julia Drusilla. Named in 37 to succeed Gaius, she died in 38. She was married successively to Cassius Longinus (*cf. Ant.* xv. 406, xx. 1 and 7) and Aemilius Lepidus (§§ 20, 49). The scandal of Gaius' incest with her is not mentioned by Philo, Seneca, or Tacitus, but it is related by Suetonius, *Calig.* 24, and Dio lix. 3. 6, both of whom declare that he committed incest with all three of his sisters.

ἐπινοηθέντος ἐν ὑποδοχῇ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου σιτη-
 206 γῶν πλοίων· τοῦτο δὲ ὁμολογουμένως μέγιστόν τε
 καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον τοῖς πλέουσιν· οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τέλος
 γε ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἡμίεργον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμβλυτέρως
 207 αὐτῷ ἐπιπονεῖν κατελείφθη. αἴτιον δ' ἦν ἡ περὶ
 τὰ ἀχρεῖα σπουδὴ καὶ τὸ δαπανῶντα εἰς ἡδονάς, αἱ
 καταμόνας ἔμελλον ὠφελεῖν, αὐτῷ ὑφαίρειν τῆς
 ἐπὶ τοῖς κρείσσοσιν ἀνωμολογημένοις φιλοτιμίας.
 208 ἄλλως δὲ ῥήτωρ τε ἄριστος καὶ γλώσση τῇ Ἑλλάδι
 καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίοις πατρίῳ σφόδρα ἡσκημένος συνίει
 τ' ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ τοῖς ὑφ' ἑτέρων συντε-
 θεῖσιν τε καὶ ἐκ πλείονος προσυγκειμένοις ἀντειπὼν
 ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος φανῆναι πιθανώτερος ἐν μεγίστῳ
 πράγματι παρ' ὄντιν οὖν γενόμενος, εὐκολία τε εἰς
 αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῷ¹ εἰς ἰσχὺν αὐτῇ προσλα-
 209 βεῖν μελέτην² τοῦ ἐπιπονεῖν. ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ παιδὸς
 υἱεὶ γεγονότι Τιβερίου, οὗ καὶ διάδοχος γίνεται,
 μέγα ἀνάγκασμα παιδείας ἀντέχεσθαι διὰ τὸ καὶ
 αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ κατορθῶν διαπρέπειν,
 καὶ συνεφιλοκάλει Γάιος συγγενοῦς τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ

¹ Ernesti : τοῦ codd. Exc.

² Ernesti : μελέτη codd. Exc.

^a Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. 4. 10-5. 13 (so also Suet. *Calig.* 21), cites one project undertaken by Gaius that would have been of great commercial benefit, namely, the building of a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth. But the project was never completed. Frontinus, *Aquaed.* i. 13, declares that Gaius began two aqueducts in Rome since the seven then existing seemed insufficient to meet both the public needs and the luxurious private demands of the day. These also were left incomplete at Gaius' death but were finished by Claudius. Suetonius, *Calig.* 21, however, cites several projects that Gaius did complete: the temple of Augustus, Pompey's theatre, and the repair of the city walls and temples at Syracuse. He also mentions his plans to restore the palace of

Sicily for the reception of the grain transports from Egypt.^a This was, admittedly, a very great work, and of the greatest utility to seafarers. It was not finished, however, but was left half-completed owing to the laggard way in which he dealt with the task. This is explained by his great interest in useless objects, and by his squandering ^b money on pleasures that would benefit no one but himself; and thus he suffered the gradual loss of any ambition for achievements that would have been without question greater. He was, moreover, a first-rate orator,^c deeply versed in the Greek and Latin languages. He knew how to reply impromptu to speeches which others had composed after long preparation, and to show himself instantly more persuasive on the subject than anyone else, even where the greatest matters were debated. All this resulted from a natural aptitude for such things and from his adding to that aptitude the practice of taking elaborate pains to strengthen it. For, being the grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whom he succeeded, he was under a great compulsion to apply himself to education, because Tiberius himself also had conspicuously succeeded in attaining the highest place in it. Gaius followed him in his attachment to such noble pursuits, yielding to the

Polycrates at Samos, to finish the temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Ephesus, to found a city high up in the Alps, and to build an amphitheatre near the Sæpta.

^b Dio lix. 4. 5 also says that Gaius spent money most unsparingly. Suetonius, *Calig.* 37, gives a catalogue of his extravagances. Thus, for example, he would drink expensive pearls dissolved in vinegar and would serve his guests bread and meat of gold. He thereby squandered in less than a year the 2,700,000,000 sesterces that Tiberius had amassed.

^c Cf. Dio lix. 19. 3: "Gaius always claimed to surpass all the orators."

- ἡγεμόνος εἶκων ἐπιστολαῖς¹ ἐπρώτευσέν τε τῶν
 210 κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀντισχεῖν οἶά τε
 ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας συλλεγέντα ἀγαθὰ
 πρὸς τὸν ἐπελθόντα ὀλεθρον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας·
 οὕτως ἄρα δυσπόριστον ἢ ἀρετὴ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οἷς
 211 ἀνυπεύθυνον τὸ πράσσειν ῥαστώνῃ πάρεστιν. φίλοις
 μὲν κεχρηῆσθαι καὶ πάντα ἀξιολόγοις ὑποσπουδα-
 σθεῖς² τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑπὸ τε παιδείας καὶ³ δόξης
 ζήλου τῶν κρειττόνων, μέχρι δὴ⁴ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ
 ὑβρίζειν ἀπαμφίαςις⁵ εὐνοίας⁶ ἢ⁷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχρή-
 σαντο, μίσους ὑποφύεντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλευθεῖς
 τελευτᾷ.⁸
- 212 (iii. 1) Κλαύδιος δέ, καθάπερ ἀνώτερον ἔφην,
 ἀπορρήξεως αὐτῷ τῶν Γαίου ὁδῶν γενομένης καὶ
 τοῦ οἴκου θορυβηθέντος πάθει τῆς Καίσαρος τε-
 λευτῆς,⁹ ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ὧν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔν
 τινι στενωπῷ κατειλημμένος ἔκρυπτεν ἑαυτὸν
 οὐδεμίαν κινδύνων αἰτίαν πλὴν τῆς γενναιότητος¹⁰
- 213 ὑφορώμενος· μέτριον γὰρ ἰδιώτης ὧν ἦγεν αὐτὸν
 καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν¹¹ ἀρκῶν ἦν, παιδεία τε συνιῶν¹²

¹ καὶ συνεφιλοκάλει . . . ἐπιστολαῖς] Gaius itaque puer colebat haec quasi cognatus et imago principis Lat.

² ὑπερσπουδασθεῖς coni. ex Liddell-Scott-Jones.

³ καὶ] A : κατὰ M : καὶ τὰ W Exc.

⁴ ed. pr. : δὲ codd. Exc.

⁵ A : ἀπαμφιάσεις MW Exc. : γρ ἀπαλειφείσης i. marg. A : ἀπαμφιασθείσης Lowthius.

⁶ A (σ ex ι corr.) : εὐνοία MW. ⁷ ed. pr. : τῇ codd.

⁸ μέχρι . . . τελευτᾷ] postea perductus ad iniuriarum onus et odium, quod circa eum homines omissa priore devotione gerebant, ad id usque descendit, ut ab eisdem insidias passus extingueretur Lat.

⁹ ἀπορρήξεως . . . τελευτῆς] interruptione facta viarum egrediebatur de theatro. qui Gaio mortuo et domo Caesaris nece turbata Lat.

injunctions of a man who was both his kinsman and his commander-in-chief. Thus he came to stand highest among the citizens of his time. For all that, the advantages obtained from education could not withstand the corruption wrought upon him by his rise to power; so hard to achieve, it seems, is the virtue of moderation for those who find it easy to take action for which they need account to no one. At the outset, owing to education and a reputation for a zeal for the higher pursuits, he took some pains to cultivate the friendship of men who were in every respect worthy of regard; but in the end, because of his surpassing brutality, their former loyalty was discarded; when hatred had grown in its place, they aimed at him the plot that cost him his life.

(iii. 1) Now Claudius, as I said above, had broken away from the route taken by Gaius, and since the palace was thrown into an uproar by the death of Caesar, he had no means to secure his own safety. He was in a narrow passage when cut off and concealed himself there, though he could see no cause, other than his noble rank, for alarm. For in private life he bore himself modestly and was satisfied with what he had. He pursued his studies,^a especially in Greek,^b

Claudius is found hiding by the praetorian guard.

^a Suetonius, *Claud.* 3 and 41, and Dio lx. 2. 1 say that he had applied himself seriously to literature from childhood and had composed some historical works.

^b After becoming emperor, Claudius indicated his preference for Greek by often answering Greek envoys in their own language, by quoting Homer from the tribunal, and by writing twenty books of Etruscan history and eight of Carthaginian history in Greek (Suet. *Claud.* 42).

¹⁰ μετριότητος E.

¹¹ Terry: πᾶσιν codd.

¹² A: συνών MWE: compositus Lat.

καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Ἑλληνίδι καὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς θόρυ-
 214 βον ἀνακειμένου παντοίως ἀπαλλάσσω αὐτόν. τότε
 δὲ πτοίας κατειληφύας τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τοῦ βασιλείου
 παντὸς στρατιωτικῆς μανίας ἀνάπλεω γεγονότος
 καὶ δειλίας καὶ ἀταξίας ἰδιωτῶν οἶον ἀπειληφότων
 σωματοφυλάκων,¹ οἱ περὶ τὸ² στρατηγικὸν καλού-
 μενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς καθαρώτατον, ἐν
 βουλῇ περὶ τοῖς πρακτέοις ἦσαν, ὅσοι δὲ καὶ
 παρετύγχανον, τὴν μὲν Γαῖου τιμωρίαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 215 τιθέμενοι διὰ τὸ κατὰ δίκην αὐτῷ τὰς τύχας συν-
 ελθεῖν, τὰ δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνεσκοποῦντο μᾶλλον ὃν
 τρόπον σχήσοι καλῶς καὶ³ τῶν Γερμανῶν τε ἐν
 τιμωρίαις τῶν σφαγέων ὄντων ὠμότητος χάριτι τῆς
 216 ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συμφέροντος τοῖς πᾶσιν. ὑφ'
 ὧν ἀπάντων ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐθορυβεῖτο δεδιὼς περὶ
 τῆς σωτηρίας, ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν
 Ἀσπρῆναν ἐτεθέατο τὰς κεφαλὰς παραφερομένας·
 εἰστήκει δὲ κατὰ τι προσβατὸν ὀλίγαις βαθμίσι
 217 χωρίον ὑπεσταλκῶς τῷ κατ' αὐτὸ σκότῳ. καὶ
 Γράτος τῶν περὶ τὸ βασιλείον τις στρατιωτῶν θεα-
 σάμενος καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀκριβωσομένου τὴν ὄψιν
 ἀμαθὴς ὧν διὰ τὸν σκότον, τοῦ δὲ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι
 τὸν ὑπολογῶντα κριτῆς εἶναι μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένος,
 προσήει τε ἐγγύτερον καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ἡξιωκότος
 ἐπέκειτο καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐπιγινωρίζει, “ Γερμανικὸς
 μὲν οὗτος,” φησὶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπομένους, “ καὶ στη-

¹ καὶ δειλίας . . . σωματοφυλάκων] et terror atque indisci-
 plinatio cunctos privatos adpraehendisset Lat.

² ed. pr. : τὸν codd.

³ δειλίας . . . καλῶς καὶ] om. E.

^a Or “tucked away in the dark.”

^b Or “sought leave to withdraw.” According to Sueto-

and abstained completely from the kind of action that could lead to any disturbance. But now the crowd was panic-stricken, and the soldiers raged throughout the palace in their fury, while the emperor's bodyguards reverted to a timidity and lack of discipline worthy of civilians. These troops, called the praetorian guard, being the cream of the army, were in session debating their next move. Such as were present were little concerned to avenge Gaius, reasoning that he had justly met his fate. They were rather investigating what course would redound to their advantage. Even the German troops were engaged in vengeance on the assassins more to gratify their own ferocity than to promote the general good of all. Claudius was disturbed by all this and alarmed for his own safety, especially as he had seen the spectacle when the heads of Asprenas and the others were carried past. There he stood in an alcove to which a few steps led, making himself as small as he could ^a in the gloom. Gratus, one of the palace guard, caught sight of him, but was unable to make out his features well enough to recognize him in the dim light. Still he was not so far afield as not to determine that the lurking creature was human. He approached nearer, and when Claudius asked him to withdraw,^b he pounced upon him and caught him. On recognizing him, he cried to his followers: "Here is a Germanicus ^c: let us set him up as emperor and

nus, *Claud.* 10, Claudius fell to his feet in terror. Dio lx. 1. 2-4 also confirms Josephus' account of how Claudius was dragged forth and reluctantly made emperor.

^c Suetonius, *Claud.* 1, explains that among the honours voted to Claudius' father Drusus because of his victories in Germany was that the surname Germanicus should be retained by himself and his descendants forever.

- 218 σώμεθα τοῦτον ἡγεμόνα φερόμενοι.” Κλαύδιος δὲ
 ἐφ’ ἀρπαγῇ παρεσκευασμένους ὁρῶν καὶ δείσας, μὴ
 κατὰ φονὴν¹ ἀποθάνει τὴν Γαῖον,² φειδῶ σχεῖν
 ἡξίου τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀνεπαχθοῦς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῖς
 ὑποτιθεῖς καὶ τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς³ τῶν γεγονότων.
 219 καὶ ὁ Γράτος μειδιάσας ἐπισπᾶται τῆς δεξιᾶς, καί,
 “ παῦσαι,” φησίν, “ μικρολογούμενος περὶ τῆς σω-
 τηρίας δέον σε μεγαλοφρονεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας,
 ἣν οἱ θεοὶ Γάιον ἀφηρημένοι τῇ σῇ συνεχώρησαν
 ἀρετῇ πρόνοιαν τῆς οἰκουμένης λαβόντες. ἀλλ’ ἴθι
 220 καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἀπολάμβανε τὸν θρόνον.” ἀν-
 εβάσταζέν τε αὐτὸν οὐ πάνυ τοῖς ποσὶ βαίνειν δυνά-
 μενον ὑπὸ τε φόβου καὶ χάρματος τῶν εἰρημένων.
 221 (2) Συνεστρέφοντο δὲ περὶ τὸν Γράτον ἤδη καὶ
 πλείους τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ θεωροῦντες τὸν
 Κλαύδιον ἀγόμενον ἐσκυθρώπαζον⁴ δόξῃ τοῦ ἐπὶ
 κόλασιν ἔλκεσθαι⁵ τῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ζημιῶν ὡς ἄνδρα
 ἀπράγμονα διὰ βίου τοῦ παντὸς καὶ κινδύνους οὔτι
 μετρίως ἐπὶ τῆς Γαῖου ἀρχῆς ὠμιληκότα, τινὲς δὲ
 καὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιτρέπειν⁶ κρίσιν ἡξίου
 222 τὴν περὶ αὐτόν.⁷ καὶ πλειόνων τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ
 συστρεφομένων φυγαί τε ἦσαν τοῦ ὀμίλου καὶ προ-
 ὁδων⁸ ἀπορία τῷ Κλαυδίῳ δι’ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώ-
 ματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ τὸ φορεῖον αὐτοῦ φέροντες περὶ⁹
 τὴν ἀρπαγὴν αὐτοῦ παραγενομένης φυγῆς ἔσωζον

¹ A (ο ex ω corr., i. marg. φονὴν εἶπε τὸν φόνον ποιητικῶς) : φωνὴν M : φώνην W.

² κατὰ φονὴν . . . τὴν Γαῖον] propter Gaium Lat.

³ ἀνυπευθύνου coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ ἀγόμενον ἐσκυθρώπαζον] E : ἀγόμενον codd.

⁵ post ἔλκεσθαι lacunam indicat Niese.

⁶ E et i. marg. A : ἐντρέπειν A : ἐμπρέπειν MW.

⁷ τινες . . . περὶ αὐτόν] om. Lat.

move fast." Claudius saw that they were prepared to carry him off; and fearing that he might be put to death for the slaying of Gaius, he asked them to spare him, reminding them that he had never given them offence, and that he had had no part in planning the course of events. Gratus broke into a smile, tugged at his right arm, and said: "Stop this niggling about saving your life, when you should be making big plans to gain the empire. The gods have taken it from Gaius and granted it to you for your virtue because they wished to promote the welfare of mankind. Do come and accept the throne of your ancestors that is your due." So off he carried him, for Claudius was utterly unable to walk, from both fear and joy at what Gratus had said.

(2) By this time, more of the bodyguard were collected around Gratus, and when they saw Claudius being hurried along,^a apparently being dragged off to punishment, they greeted with black looks the penalization of such a man. For he had all his life avoided meddling in public affairs and had also experienced no small share of danger under Gaius' rule; and some of them urged that his case should be put before the consuls. As more of the soldiers gathered, the crowd began to take flight, but Claudius had no means of proceeding onward owing to his physical weakness; for, when he was seized, even his litter-bearers took to their heels to save them-

^a Suetonius, *Claud.* 10, says that the people who saw him pitied him as if he were an innocent man being hurried to execution.

⁸ E: προσόδων codd.: fugere Lat.

⁹ φέροντες περὶ] φέροντες πύστεως περὶ, litt. τες . . . περὶ i. ras. m. 2 A.

- αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἐλπίδος θέμενοι τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ δε-
 223 σπότου. ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Παλατίου γενομένοις,
 πρῶτον δὲ οἰκηθῆναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως τοῦτο
 παραδίδωσιν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ δη-
 μοσίου ἀντιλαμβανομένοις πολὺ πλείων ἢ ἐπιφοί-
 τησις ἦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν χαρᾷ τὴν ὄψιν δεχομένοις
 τοῦ Κλαυδίου, περὶ πλείστου τε ἦν αὐτοῖς αὐτο-
 κράτορα στήσεσθαι¹ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐνοία τε τοῦ²
 Γερμανικοῦ, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα πᾶσιν
 τοῖς ὠμιληκόσιν καταλελοιπότης³ κλέος τὸ αὐτοῦ.
 224 ἀναλογισμὸς τε αὐτοὺς εἰσῆει τῆς τε πλεονεξίας
 τῶν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυναστευόντων καὶ ὅποσα ἐπὶ
 225 τῆς πρὶν ἀρχῆς ἡμάρτητο αὐτῇ. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ
 ἀμήχανον τοῦ πράγματος κατενόουν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς
 ἑνὸς ἀρχὴν μεθισταμένων τῶν ὅλων κινδύνους αὐ-
 τοῖς φέρειν δι' ἑνὸς⁴ κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν⁵ παρὸν⁶
 ἐπιχωρήσει καὶ εὐνοία τῇ αὐτῶν λαβόντα Κλαύδιον
 μνημονεύσεις τε χάριτος αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντα τιμὴν,
 ἣ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις γένοιτ' ἂν ἀρκοῦσα.⁷
 226 (3) Ταῦτα πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ δι' ἑαυτοὺς δι-
 εξήεσαν καὶ τοῖς αἰὲ προσπίπτουσιν διηγοῦντο.⁸ οἱ
 δὲ πυνθανόμενοι προθύμως ἐδέχοντο τὴν πρόκλη-
 σιν, συμφράξαντές⁹ τε καὶ περικλάσαντες¹⁰ ἤγον
 ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φοράδην ἀναβαστάσαντες, ὥς

¹ στήσασθαι Niese.² τῇ E.³ καταλελοιπὼς E.⁴ δι' ἑνὸς] A : διὰ τινος MW.⁵ ἀρχὴν] Hudson : ἀρχὴν μεθισταμένων τῶν ὅλων codd.⁶ παρὸν] W : παρ' ὃν AM : παρὰ τὸν Post.⁷ δι' ἑνὸς . . . ἀρκοῦσα] quando quodcumque solus vellet efficeret, sed etiam quia Claudius cum imperium susciperet, pro favore senatui gratiam repensaret sufficienter Lat.⁸ Cocceji : διηροῦντο codd. E.⁹ A : συμπράξαντές MW.¹⁰ MW : περικλείσαντες (ει ex a corr.) A.

selves, despairing of their master's life. But when they had come to the open area of the Palatine—legend has it that this was the first site of the city of Rome to receive a settlement^a—and were just reaching the Treasury,^b there was a far larger concourse of soldiers, who were overjoyed at the sight of Claudius and who were determined to proclaim him emperor because of the popularity of his brother Germanicus, who had left behind him an immense reputation among all who had known him. They reflected on the rapacity of the powerful members of the senate, and what errors the senate had committed when it was in power before. Moreover, they took into account the impracticability of having the senate handle affairs,^c and also considered that if the government again passed into the hands of a single ruler they would take a risk upon themselves since one individual would have gained the throne for himself, whereas it was possible for Claudius to receive it by their motion and support. And Claudius would then show his appreciation by an honorarium adequate to such a service.

The soldiers decide to proclaim Claudius emperor.

(3) They expounded their views to one another, pondered them in their own minds, and reported them to each group as it came in. They, on hearing the report, welcomed the summons to action. They closed their ranks about Claudius, wheeled around and proceeded towards the camp, taking his litter

^a Cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* v. 164, Tac. *Ann.* xii. 24, Diony. i. 87. 3, and Livy i. 7.

^b Lit. "public building." In *Ant.* xiii. 265-266 and xvi. 164 it refers to the public treasury. Suetonius, *Claud.* 10, says that he was ultimately taken to the praetorian camp, where he spent the night.

^c Lit. "the impracticability of the matter."

- 227 μὴ ἐμποδίζοιτο αὐτοῖς ἢ ἔπειξις.¹ διεισθήκεσαν δὲ αἱ γινῶμαι τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς· οἱ μὲν ἀξιωματός τε τοῦ² πρότερον ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ δουλείαν ἔπακτον αὐτοῖς ὕβρει τῶν τυράννων γενομένην
 228 φιλοτιμούμενοι διαδιδράσκειν χρόνῳ παρασχόν,³ ὃ δὲ δῆμος φθόνῳ τε πρὸς ἐκείνην καθιστάμενος καὶ τῶν πλεονεξιῶν αὐτῆς ἐπιστόμισμα τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἰδὼς καὶ αὐτοῦ καταφυγὴν ἔχαιρεν Κλαυδίου τῇ ἀρπαγῇ στάσιν⁴ τε ἔμφυλον, ὅποια καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου γένοιτο, ἀπαλλάξειν αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον τοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα καθιστάμενον.⁵ γνοῦσα δ' ἡ βουλή τὸν Κλαύδιον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφιγμένον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέμπει πρὸς ἐκείνον ἄνδρας ἀρετῇ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν προὔχοντας,⁶ οἱ δὲ δάξειαν μὴ δεῖν⁷ ἐπὶ καθέξει τῆς ἀρχῆς βιάζεσθαι,
 230 παραχωρεῖν δὲ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἕνα ὄντα ἡσώμενον⁸ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ παραχωροῦντα τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς κόσμου τὴν πρόνοιαν, μνημονεύοντα ὧν οἱ πρότεροι τύραννοι κακώσειαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὧν ὑπὸ Γαῖου καὶ αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσειεν σὺν αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ μισήσαντα⁹ τὴν βαρύτητα τῆς τυραννίδος ὑφ' ἐτέρων πρασσομένης τῆς ὕβρεως αὐτὸν ἐθελουσίως ἐπὶ παροινία θαρσεῖν τῆς πατρίδος.
 231 καὶ πειθομένῳ μὲν τοῦ πρότερον ἀπράγμονος τὴν

¹ MW : ἐπίδειξις A.

² E Lat. : οὐ codd.

³ Hudson : παρέσχον codd. ; χρόνῳ παρασχόν] om. Busb.

⁴ ed. pr. Lat. : πᾶσι codd.

⁵ Hudson : καθισταμένου codd. ; στάσιν . . . καθισταμένου] tunc itaque paene bellum iam civile quale sub Pompeio flagrabat, quod tamen imperatore constituto sedatum est Lat.

⁶ αὐτῶν προὔχοντας] E : αὐτῶν codd. ; ἄνδρας . . . προὔχοντας] viros de suo coetu virtute claros Lat.

on their shoulders in order that there might be no drag on their speed. The will of the people and that of the senators were at variance. The latter were eager to regain their former prestige and earnestly aspired, since after long years they now had the chance, to escape a slavery brought upon them by the insolence of the tyrants. The people, on the other hand, were jealous of the senate, recognizing in the emperors a curb upon the senate's encroachments and a refuge for themselves. They rejoiced in the seizure of Claudius, and supposed that his securing the throne would avert from them any civil strife such as had occurred in Pompey's day.^a The senate, having learned that Claudius had been brought into the camp by the soldiers, sent some of their men of superior character to impress on him that he must not take forcible action to put himself on the throne.^b On the contrary, they said, he should yield to the senate, submitting, as a single individual, to so large a number of men, and allowing the law to provide for the organization of the commonwealth. He should remember what injuries former tyrants had inflicted on the state and what perils he, along with themselves, had undergone at the hands of Gaius. Since he detested the cruelty of tyranny when insolently practised by others, he should not voluntarily take rash action and indulge in a burst of violence against his fatherland. If he complied and showed that his former good conduct in avoiding

Opposition
of the
senate and
people.
Embassy to
Claudius.

^a 49-46 B.C.

^b Similarly Dio lx. 1. 4.

⁷ μὴ δεῖν] μὴδὲν E et i. marg. A et ut vid. Lat.

⁸ A : ἢ ἐσόμενον MW.

⁹ μιμησάμενον Richards et Shutt.

- ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένῳ βέβαιον τιμὰς τε ὑπάρξειν,
 αἱ ὑπὸ ἐλευθέρων ψηφισθεῖεν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ
 ἐπιχωρήσει τοῦ νόμου τὸ μέρος ἄρχοντά τε καὶ
 232 ἀρχόμενον κερδανεῖν¹ ἔπαινον ἀρετῆς. εἰ δὲ ἀπο-
 νοοῖτο μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαῖου τελευτῆς σωφρονιζόμε-
 νος οὐτι γέ αὐτοὶ ἐπιτρέψειν· τῆς τε γὰρ στρατιᾶς
 πολὺ εἶναι τὸ συνεστηκὸς αὐτοῖς ὄπλων τε εὐπορίαν
 233 καὶ πληθὺν οἰκετῶν, οἱ χρῆσαιντο αὐτοῖς.² μέγα
 δὲ μέρος τὴν τε ἐλπίδα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τύχην, τοὺς τε
 θεοὺς οὐκ ἄλλοις συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μετ' ἀρετῆς
 καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιουμένοις. εἶναι δὲ
 τούτους, οἱ ἂν περὶ ἐλευθερίας μάχωνται τῆς πα-
 τρίδος.
- 234 (4) Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρεσβευταὶ Οὐηράνιος³ τε καὶ
 Βρόγχος,⁴ δῆμαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀμφοτέρω, τοῖσδε
 ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ καθικέτευον τοῖς γόνασιν
 αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες μηδαμῶς πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς
 ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, θεωροῦντες⁵ στρατιᾶς πληθύ-
 235 τος ὄντας συγκρίσει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν. εἴ τε τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ὀρέγοιτο, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δέχεσθαι διδο-
 μένην· αἰσιώτερον γὰρ καὶ εὐδαιμονέστερον χρῆ-

¹ Niese : κερδαίνειν codd. E.

² οἱ χρῆσαιντο αὐτοῖς] quibus adversus cum fortiter uteren-
 tur Lat. : οἷς χρῆσαιντο Hudson ex Lat.

³ ed. pr. ex Lat. : Οὐῖράνιος A : Οὐῖράνιος M : Οὐῖράνιος
 W : γρ ἐν ἄλλοις Οὐράνιος i. marg. A.

⁴ Hudson : Βρόγχος A : Βροῦχος MW : Βρόσχος E : Βρό-
 χος Busb. : Bracchus Lat. : Βροῦτος Casaubonus.

⁵ θεωροῦντες] θεωροῦντες δὲ E.

trouble could be trusted to continue, he would obtain honours, which would be voted him by free citizens; for if he did his part in yielding to the law, he would gain plaudits for virtuous conduct whether as subject or as ruler. If, however, he was reckless and had learnt no wisdom from the death of Gaius, they certainly would not permit him to act thus; for they were supported by a large part of the army and were well supplied with arms and had a host of slaves to use them. Hope and Fortune, they remarked, were a large asset; and the gods seconded the efforts of those alone who strove to win without sacrificing moral and spiritual values, namely, those who fought for the freedom of their country.

(4) This message was delivered by the envoys Veranius ^a and Brocchus, ^b both tribunes of the people, who fell on their knees and besought him on no account to involve the city in wars and calamities; for they saw that Claudius was under protection of a large army and that the consuls were as nothing in comparison with him. They went on to say that if he sought the throne, he should receive it as a gift from the senate, for he would exercise it more aus-

^a Quintus Veranius, tribunus plebis in 41 (so also *Inscr. Gr. ad Res Rom. per.* iii. 703), governor of Lycia (or Lycia-Pamphylia), consul in 49, governor of Britain in 58, where he died that same year (*Tac. Agr.* 14 and *Ann.* xiv. 29). From a new inscription discussed at length by A. E. Gordon ("Quintus Veranius Consul A.D. 49," *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Archaeol.* ii. 5, 1952, pp. 231-341), it appears that the emperor Claudius was connected with Veranius' being named to the consulship, and that during that year he was named augur and raised to the rank of patrician.

^b The spelling in the mss. varies: Bronchus, Brouchos, Broschus, Brochus, Bracchus. He is otherwise unknown. Of the various spellings only Brocchus is actually found in an inscription.

σθαι τὸν μὴ μετὰ ὕβρεως ἀλλ' εὐνοία τῶν διδόντων παραλαμβάνοντα.

- 236 (iv. 1) Κλαύδιος δέ, ἡπίστατο γὰρ μεθ' οἷας αὐθαδείας ἀποσταλεῖεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν γνώμη τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μετριώτερον τρεπόμενος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτοὺς φόβῳ διαναστὰς ἅμα μὲν θάρσει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἅμα δὲ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύοντος μὴ¹ προέσθαι τῶν χειρῶν τηλι-
 237 καύτην ἀρχὴν ἤκουσαν αὐτόματον. πράξας μὲν καὶ περὶ Γάιον οἶον εἰκὸς ἄνδρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς ἡγμένον, καὶ γὰρ τὸν νεκρὸν περιέσπεν² τοῦ Γαίου καὶ ἀναθέμενος ἐπὶ κλίνης καὶ περιστείλας ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων εἰς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ὑπεχώρει, ζῆν μὲν τὸν Γάιον ἀπαγγέλλων κακοπαθοῦντι³ δέ⁴ ὑπὸ⁵ τραυμάτων ἰατροὺς μετέσεσθαι⁶
 238 λέγων⁷. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀρπαγὴν ὠθεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν τεταραγμένον καὶ οἶόν τε ἐκχωρεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἀνήγειρεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι κελεύων τῆς
 239 ἡγεμονίας. ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον εἰπὼν προσεχώρει πρὸς αὐτόν,⁸ καὶ μετακαλούσης αὐτὸν τῆς βουλῆς χρισάμενος μύροις τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἀπὸ

¹ om. Lat.

² Bekker: περιέπεσε (-σεν A¹) codd. E: περιέπλεξε Hudson.

³ κακοπαθοῦντα E.

⁴ MWE: γε A.

⁵ E Busb.: ἀπὸ codd.

⁶ A: μετίεσθαι M et i. marg. A: μεθίεσθαι W: μετελθεῖν E: μετείσεσθαι conl. Niese dubitans.

⁷ καὶ γὰρ . . . λέγων] et eius lectum lugubriter prosecutus Lat.

⁸ Hudson: αὐτόν codd.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, B.J. ii. 206, where Agrippa has the passive rôle and Claudius the active rôle, since it is

piciously and more fortunately if he obtained it not by violence but by favour of the donors.

(iv. 1) ^a Claudius knew with what contumacy they had been sent, but was for the present moved by their views to greater moderation. Nevertheless, he had recovered from his fear of them both because of the bold action of the soldiers and because of the advice of King Agrippa ^b not to let slip through his hands such an office which had come unsought. Agrippa had done for Gaius what was to be expected of one who had been held in honour by him. For he attended to the corpse of Gaius, laid it upon a bier, and after dressing it with such materials as were at hand retired to the bodyguard and announced that Gaius was alive, saying that physicians would be arriving to aid him inasmuch as he was suffering from serious wounds. On hearing of the kidnapping of Claudius by the soldiers, Agrippa forced his way to him ; and finding him perplexed and on the point of yielding to the senate, he stirred him up and bade him make a bid for the empire. After these words to Claudius Agrippa returned home. On being summoned by the senate, he anointed his head with unguents as if he had arrived from a banquet that

Agrippa persuades Claudius to become emperor and offers to persuade the senate.

the latter who takes the initiative to summon the former—the reverse of the situation here. Cf. V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 1940, pp. 58-59, who is justified in his scepticism of the account in the *Antiquities*, since it seems strange that the senators should think that they could win by persuasion what they could not obtain by force, especially since the senatorial envoys Veranius and Brocchus had already indicated (§§ 230-231) that the senate was ready to accept a compromise, namely that Claudius should receive his imperial power from the senate.

^b Agrippa's rôle in helping to make Claudius emperor is also mentioned briefly by Dio lx. 8. 2.

- συνουσίας γινομένης ἀναλύσεως αὐτῇ¹ παρῆν καὶ
 240 ἤρετο τοὺς βουλευτάς, τί πέπραχε Κλαύδιος. τῶν
 δὲ τὰ ὄντα φαμένων καὶ προσανερομένων, ἦντινα
 γνώμην ἔχοι περὶ τοῖς ὅλοις, τελευτᾶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 κατ' ἐκείνην εὐκλεοῦς ἔτοιμος ἦν τοῖς λόγοις, σκο-
 πεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευε περὶ τῷ συμφέροντι πᾶν ὃ τι καὶ
 241 εἰς ἡδονὴν φέροι ὑπεξελομένους· χρεῖαν γὰρ εἶναι
 τοῖς ἀρχῆς μεταποιουμένοις καὶ ὅπλων καὶ στρατι-
 ωτῶν, οἳ φράξαιντο αὐτοῖς, μὴ καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι
 242 καταστάντες εἰς τάδε σφαλεῖεν. ἀποκριναμένης δὲ
 τῆς βουλῆς ὅπλων τε εὐπορίαν καὶ χρήματα εἰσοί-
 σειν, καὶ στρατιᾶς τὸ μὲν τι αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνεστη-
 κός, τὸ δὲ συγκροτήσειν ἐλευθερώσεως δούλων γενο-
 μένης. “εἴη μὲν, ὦ βουλή,” φησὶν ὁ Ἀγρίππας
 ὑποτυχών, “πράσσειν ὅποσα θυμὸς ὑμῖν, λεκτέον
 δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντί μοι διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ φέρειν
 243 τὸν λόγον. ἵστε μὴν στρατόν, ὃς ὑπὲρ Κλαυδίου μα-
 χεῖται, πλήθει χρόνου ὀπλιτεύειν μεμελετηκότα, τὰ δ'
 ἡμέτερα, συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος δ' ἔσται καὶ
 τῶν παρὰ δόξαν τῆς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένων, δυσ-
 κράτητα. πρὸς δὲ τεχνίτας μαχοῦμεθα προαγαγόν-
 244 τες ἄνδρας μὴδ' ὅπως σπάσαι τὰ ξίφη εἰδότες. ὥστε
 μοι δοκεῖ πέμπειν ὥς Κλαυδίον πείσοντας κατα-
 τίθεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, πρεσβεύειν τε ἔτοιμός εἰμι.”
 245 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν, καὶ συγκαταθεμένων
 πεμφθεῖς σὺν ἐτέροις τὴν τε ταραχὴν τῆς βουλῆς
 διηγεῖται καταμόνας πρὸς τὸν Κλαυδίον ἐδίδασκέν
 τε ἡγεμονικώτερον ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι
 246 τῆς ἐξουσίας χρώμενον. ἔλεγεν οὖν Κλαύδιος, οὐ

¹ Hudson : αὐτῷ ex corr. A : αὐτῷ MW.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 208.

had just broken up, appeared before them and asked the senators what Claudius had done. They told him the state of affairs and asked him in return what he thought of the whole situation. He declared that he was ready to die for the honour of the senate, but bade them consider what was expedient and to set aside all personal predilections. For, he noted, those who made a bid to rule the state needed arms and soldiers for their defence, lest on taking a stand unprepared they should find that this was their fatal mistake. The senate replied that they were well supplied with arms and would contribute money, that they had something of an army standing by them, and that they would whip more troops into shape by liberating slaves. "May you succeed, senators," said Agrippa in reply, "in doing what you desire, but I must speak without shilly-shallying because my speech has a bearing on your security. You know, of course, that the army that will fight for Claudius has been long trained to bear arms, while ours will be a motley rabble consisting of men who have unexpectedly been released from slavery and who are consequently hard to control. We shall fight against experts, having brought into play men who do not even know how to draw their swords. Therefore my judgement is to send a deputation to Claudius to persuade him to lay down his office; and I am ready to act as ambassador."

(2) So he spoke, and on their agreeing to his proposal he was dispatched with others. He thereupon recounted to Claudius in private the confusion of the senate and advised him to reply rather imperiously, speaking with the dignity of one in authority.

"Claudius accordingly replied that he did not wonder Claudius'
reply to the
senate.

- θαυμάζειν τὴν βουλὴν ἡδονῇ μὴ φέρουσιν ἄρχεσθαι διὰ τὸ ὠμότητι τετρῦσθαι τῶν πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγεμονεύειν καταστάντων, γεύσειν τε αὐτοὺς ἐπικεία τῇ καθ' αὐτὸν μετρίων καιρῶν, ὀνόματι μὲν μόνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσομένης, ἔργῳ δὲ κοινῆς πᾶσι προκεισομένης¹ εἰς μέσον. διὰ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποικίλων ὠδευκότι² πραγμάτων ἐν ᾧ τῇ ἐκείνων
- 247 καλῶς ἔχειν μὴ ἀπιστεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τοιούτων ἀκροάσει λόγων καθομιληθέντες ἐξεπέμποντο. Κλαύδιος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ συλληχθέντι διελέγετο ὅρκους λαμβάνων ἢ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν³ πίστει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, δωρεῖται τοὺς σωματοφύλακας πεντακισχιλίαις δραχμαῖς κατὰ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, τοῖς τε ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἀνάλογον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὅποι ποτὲ στρατοπέδοις ὑπισχνεῖτο τὰ ὅμοια.
- 248 (3) Συνεκάλουν δὲ οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ νικηφόρου Διός· ἔτι δὲ νύξ ἦν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει κλέπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεδοίαζον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρῶν

¹ ἔργῳ . . . προκεισομένης] A : om. MW.

² Hudson : ὠδευκότων codd. : ὠδευκότων τῶν E.

³ Dindorf : ἐμμένειν codd. E.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 208, where Claudius similarly informs the senate through his envoy Agrippa that he will be content with the honour of the title of emperor and adds that even if he were not naturally moderate the death of Gaius would be a sufficient warning to him to act thus.

^b Or perhaps "the army."

^c Balsdon, *op. cit.*, p. 188, notes the discrepancy between this figure in Josephus (=20,000 sesterces) and the figure cited in Suetonius, *Claud.* 10 (15,000 sesterces = 3750 drachmas) and remarks that the payment of this sum to the prae-

328

that the senate was not pleased at the prospect of submitting to authority because they had been oppressed by the brutality of those who had previously held the imperial office. But he promised to behave with such propriety that they would taste for themselves the savour of an era of fair dealing ; that only nominally would the government be his, that in reality it would be thrown open to all in common. Seeing that he had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune before their eyes, they would do well not to distrust him.^a The envoys, conciliated by the words that they heard, were ushered out. Claudius assembled and addressed the army, binding them by oath that they would remain loyal to him. He presented the praetorian guard^b with five thousand drachmas^c apiece and their officers with a proportionate sum and promised similar amounts to the armies wherever they were.

(3) The consuls then called together the senate in the Temple of Jupiter Victor^d while it was still night. Some of the senators who were in hiding in the city hesitated when they heard the summons ; others had departed to their private estates, for the praetorian guard alone would have amounted to 135,000,000 sesterces.

Meeting of
the senate
in the
Temple of
Jupiter.

^a Livy x. 29. 14 and 18 refers to a vow by Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus to build a temple to Jupiter Victor ; and Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 621-622, declares that the temple was dedicated on the Ides of April. Dio Cassius refers (xlv. 17. 2, xlvii. 40. 2) to temples or shrines to Ζεὺς Νίκαιος. But there is considerable doubt whether these refer to the same temple and where that temple was located. The epithet "Invictus" in inscriptions is probably an alternate for Victor. Cf. S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 1929, pp. 306-307. In the parallel passage (*B.J.* ii. 205), in Suetonius, *Calig.* 60, and in Dio lx. 1. 1 it is in the Capitol that the senate meets after Gaius' death.

- ἐγγεγόνεισαν ἔξοδοι προορωμένοις ἢ χωρήσει τὸ
 πᾶν ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ἐλευθέρου γεγονότος,¹ καὶ
 πολὺ κρεῖττον ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τοῦ δουλεύειν ὑπειλη-
 φότες διαβιοῦν ἀργία τοῦ πονεῖν ἢ κτώμενοι τὸ
 ἀξίωμα τῶν πατέρων περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀμφίβολοι
 249 καταστῆναι. συνελέγησαν δ' ὁμως ἑκατὸν οὐ
 πλείους, καὶ διαβουλευομένων περὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν
 αἰφνίδιον αἴρεται βοή τοῦ συνεστηκότος αὐτοῖς
 στρατιωτικοῦ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα κελευόντων
 τὴν βουλὴν ἐλέσθαι καὶ μὴ φθεῖρειν πολυαρχία τὴν
 250 ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεφαίνοντο
 περὶ τοῦ μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφέσιμον
 εἶναι, ὁρᾶν² δὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅστις τοσαύτης
 προστασίας ἄξιος. ὥστε ἐν ἀνία³ τὰ τῶν συγκλη-
 τικῶν ἦν πολὺ πλεόν δι' ἁμαρτίαν μὲν τοῦ κατὰ
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐχήματος, φόβῳ δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου.
 251 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐφιέμενοι γένους τε ἀξιώματι
 καὶ οἰκειότησιν γάμου· καὶ γὰρ Βινίκιος⁴ Μάρκος⁵
 καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν γενναιότητι ἀξιόλογον ὄντα⁶ καὶ
 δὴ ἀδελφὴν Γαῖου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν, πρόθυμός
 τε ἦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, κατεῖχον δὲ οἱ
 252 ὕπατοι πρόφασιν ἐκ προφάσεως ἀναρτῶντες. Οὐα-

¹ προορωμένοις . . . γεγονότος] *prospicientes quoniam si res ad effectum veniret in libertatis desperatione consisterent* Lat.

² ἐᾶν Naber.

³ ἐν ἀνία] Niese: ἐναντία A: ἐναντία MW: *contraria* Lat.: ἐν ἀδμονία E: τῷ δῆμῳ ἐναντία coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ coni.: Βινίκιον Naber: Μινουκιανὸς codd.: Μινουκιανὸν E.

⁵ MW: Μάρκον A.

⁶ καὶ γὰρ . . . ὄντα] Minucianus namque Marcum fortitudine dignum Lat.

^a Or perhaps "leisure for work."

^b The parallel account, *B.J.* ii. 209, has the senate rejecting Claudius' offer to rule with moderation and asserting that they

seeing how it would all come out. These latter despaired of liberty and deemed it far better to live out their lives free from the perils of servitude and with leisure from toil ^a than to maintain the dignity of their fathers and have no assurance of surviving. Nevertheless, one hundred—no more—assembled; and, as they were deliberating ^b about the matter in hand, suddenly a shout arose from the soldiers who had stood by them, bidding the senate choose an emperor ^c and not to ruin the empire by entrusting it to a multitude of rulers. The senate replied that they agreed that the government must be in the hands not of everyone but of a single man, but they must see to it that they put it in charge of someone who was worthy of such pre-eminence. Thus the position of the senators was much more distressing because they had not retained the liberty about which they were so eloquent and because they were afraid of Claudius. Nevertheless, there were some who aspired to the throne by reason both of their distinguished birth and of their marriage connexions. For instance, Marcus Vinicius ^d had a good claim both because of his own noble birth and by his marriage to Gaius' sister Julia. He was eager to compete for the highest office but was restrained by the consuls, who brought up one pretext after another.

Rival
claimants
to the
empire.

will not submit to voluntary slavery. When Claudius hears this he again sends Agrippa as his envoy to the senate and threatens them with open war. It is only then that one of the soldiers who has sided with the senate shouts out on behalf of Claudius and rushes from the senate with his fellow soldiers. Then the senators, now devoid of military support, hurry to Claudius and capitulate.

^c Or "a commander-in-chief."

^d MSS. Minucianus; *cf.* note on § 102. Variant "Vinicius proposed Marcus, whose courage made him worthy . . ."

- λέριον δὲ Ἀσιατικὸν Βινουκιανὸς¹ ἐκ τῶν Γαῖου
σφαγέων ἀνείχε τοιούτων διανοιῶν. ἐγεγόνει δ'
ἂν φόνος οὐ τινος ἐλάσσων ἐπιχωρηθέντων τῶν ἐπι-
θυμούντων τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥστε ἀντιτάξασθαι
253 Κλαυδίῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ μονομάχοι, πλήθος δ'
ἦν αὐτῶν ἀξιόλογον, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ νυκτο-
φυλακοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐρέται² τε ὅποσοι
συνέρρεον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε τῶν μετιόντων
τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ μὲν φειδοῖ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ
τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν.
- 254 (4) Ὑπὸ δὲ πρώτην ἀρχὴν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ Χαι-
ρέας καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρελθόντες ἐν ἐπιχειρήσει
λόγων ἦσαν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας. τῶν δὲ τὸ
πλήθος ὡς ὀρᾷ παύσαντας³ αὐτοὺς ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ
τοῦ εἰπεῖν οἴους τε ἄρχεσθαι, ἀνεθορύβησεν μὴ ἐφι-
έναι ὥστε εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ ὠρμῆσθαι πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ
μοναρχεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἡγησόμενον ἐκάλουν ὡς οὐκ
255 ἀνεξόμενοι τὰς τριβάς. τῇ συγκλήτῳ δὲ ἀπορία
ἄρχειν τε καὶ ὃν ἀρχθεῖεν ἂν τρόπον οὔτε δεχομένων
αὐτοὺς⁴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Γαῖου σφαγέων
256 συγχωρεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐφίεντων. ἐν τοι-
ούτοις δὲ ὄντων Χαιρέας τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος
πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δώσειν ἐπηγ-
γέλλετο στρατηγόν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ σημεῖον παρὰ
257 Εὐτύχου κομίσειεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Εὐτυχὸς οὗτος ἡνίοχος
τοῦ καλουμένου πρασίνου περισπούδαστος Γαῖῳ,
καὶ περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομὰς τῶν στάσεων τοῦ περὶ

¹ conī. Niese (cf. § 18) : Μινουκιανὸς codd.

² ed. pr. : αἵρεται ex corr. A : αἵρεται A¹MW : om. Lat.

³ A : παύσαντας MW : παύοντας Niese.

⁴ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς] Hudson : δεχομένους αὐτῶν codd.

^a Cf. § 102.

^b mss. Minucianus ; cf. note on § 18.

Valerius Asiaticus ^a was restrained by Vinicianus, ^b who was one of Gaius' assassins, from similar designs. ^c There would have been a massacre second to none had those who coveted the empire been allowed to range themselves against Claudius. Above all, there were gladiators—and their number was considerable—and the soldiers of the night watch in the city and all the rowers of the fleet who were streaming into the camp. And so, of those who were candidates for the office, some withdrew in order to spare the city, others out of fear for themselves.

(4) About the break of day Chaerea and his companions came forward and attempted to talk with the soldiers. The majority of the soldiers, when they saw these men raising their hands for attention and ready to begin addressing them, clamorously protested that they should not be allowed to speak, because all were bent on having a single ruler. They consequently demanded their future ruler, for they would brook no delay. The senate was unable either to govern or to decide how they should be governed, for, on the one hand, the troops rejected them and, on the other hand, the assassins of Gaius did not permit them to give way to the soldiers. In this contingency Chaerea, unable to restrain his indignation at the soldiers' petition for an emperor, promised to give them a leader if someone would bring him the password from Eutychus. This Eutychus was a charioteer of the so-called "green faction," a great favourite of Gaius ^d; and the soldiers wore them-

The senate
is helpless
in the face
of the
soldiers.

^c A third candidate proposed for the throne was Galba, the future emperor (Suet. *Galba* 7).

^d There were four factions, named after their colours, *albata* (white), *prasina* (leek-green), *russata* (red), and *veneta* (blue). Suetonius, *Calig.* 55, also reports the ardour with

ἐκεῖνον ἱππικοῦ¹ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐτρίβετο² ἀτί-
 258 μοις ἐργασίαις ἐπικείμενον. εἰς ἅπερ ὁ Χαιρέας
 ὠνείδιζεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, τήν τε
 κεφαλὴν κομιεῖν τοῦ Κλαυδίου· δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ μετὰ
 259 μανίαν παραφροσύνη δώσουσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. οὐ
 μὴν διετράπησάν γε ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ σπασά-
 μενοι τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀράμενοι ὥχοντο
 ὡς τὸν Κλαύδιον κοινωνήσοντες τοῖς ὁμνύουσιν
 αὐτῷ. κατελείπετο δὲ ἡ τε σύγκλητος ἐπ' ἐρημίας
 τῶν ἀμνυνόντων καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ μηδὲν ἰδιωτῶν δια-
 260 φέροντες. ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ κατήφεια ἦν, οὐδ' ὅτι
 χρήσαιντο αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰδότην διὰ τὸ
 ἀνηρεθίσθαι τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις τε
 261 ἐλοιδοροῦντο, καὶ μετὰμελος ἦν αὐτοῖς.³ καὶ Σα-
 βῖνος εἰς τῶν Γαῖου σφαγέων σφάζειν πρότερον
 αὐτὸν ἡπείλει παρελθὼν εἰς μέσους ἢ Κλαύδιον
 ἄρχοντα στήσεσθαι καὶ δουλοκρατίαν ἐπόψεσθαι
 καταλαβοῦσαν, τὸν τε Χαιρέαν εἰς φιλοψυχίαν ἐπέ-
 πλησεν, εἰ καταφρονήσας Γαῖου πρῶτος⁴ ἀγαθὸν
 ὑπολαμβάνοι τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδ' οὕτως
 262 ἀποδοθῆναι δυναμένης τῇ πατρίδι. Χαιρέας δὲ
 περὶ μὲν τοῦ θνήσκειν ἐνδοκαστὸν οὐδὲν φρονεῖν
 ἔλεγεν, βούλεσθαι μέντοι διακωδωνίζειν διάνοιαν
 τὴν Κλαυδίου.

263 (5) Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖσδε ἦσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στρα-

¹ τοῦ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἱππικοῦ] ed. pr. : τοὺς περὶ ἐκεῖνον (ἐκέ-
 των W) ἱππικοὺς codd.

² ἡνίοχος . . . ἐτρίβετο] agitator prasini Gaio et militibus
 circa sollemnitates circensium et seditiones Lat.

³ αὐτοῖς] suspectum indicat Niese.

⁴ πρῶτον coni. Thackeray.

which Gaius supported the green faction. He adds tha
 334

selves out building stables for his horses, being assigned to tasks that were beneath them. This and many other things of the sort Chaerea cast in their teeth, and bade them bring the head of Claudius; for it would be monstrous, he said, if after being ruled by a madman they should hand over the empire to an addlepate. ^a The soldiers, however, were not deterred by his words, but drawing their swords and hoisting their standards, went off to Claudius to make common cause with those who were swearing allegiance to him. The senate was left without supporters, and the consuls had no more authority than private individuals. There was consternation and dejection, for the senate knew not what course to take inasmuch as Claudius was incensed with them; and they berated one another and were sorry for what they had done. Then Sabinus,^b one of Gaius' assassins, stepped forward into their midst and threatened to kill himself rather than to set up Claudius as ruler and witness their country in the grip of a slave-government. He reproached Chaerea with cowardice, if after showing contempt for Gaius he was the first to regard life as a blessing when liberty could not even thus be restored to the fatherland. Chaerea replied that he had no hesitation in his mind about dying, but that he wished to sound out the intentions of Claudius.

(5) Such was the situation in the senate. Mean-

Gaius would frequently dine and spend the night in their stables and that he once gave the driver Eutychus 2,000,000 sesterces in gifts. He provided his favourite horse, Incitatus, with a home, slaves, and furniture, and planned, according to report, to make him a consul.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii, 211.

^b Cf. § 46.

τοπέδου πανταχόθεν ὠθείτο κατὰ θεραπείαν.¹ καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ ἕτερος Κόιντος Πομπώνιος² δι' αἰτίας ἦν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ μᾶλλον ὥς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ³ τὴν σύγκλητον παρακαλῶν, ὥρμησάν τε σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, καὶ ἐπέπρακτο αὐτοῖς μὴ Κλαυδίου
 264 διακεκωλυκότος. παρακαθίζεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπατον ἐξαρκάσας τοῦ κινδύνου, τῶν δὲ συγκλητικῶν ὅσον⁴ ἦν σὺν τῷ Κοῖντῳ οὐ⁵ μεθ' ὁμοίας ἐδέχετο τιμῆς· τινὲς δὲ καὶ πληγὰς ἔλαβον αὐτῶν ἀνωθούμενοι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντεύξεως, Ἀπώνιος⁶ δὲ τραυματίας ἀνεχώρει, ἦν τε κίνδυνος περὶ πάν-
 265 τας αὐτοὺς. καὶ Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς προσελθὼν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἀξιοῖ τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ἡπιώτερον καταστήναι· γενομένου γάρ τινος κακοῦ περὶ τὴν
 266 βουλήν οὐχ ἕξιν ὦν ἄρξειεν ἑτέρων. πείθεται δὲ Κλαύδιος καὶ συγκαλεῖ τὴν βουλήν ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου διὰ τῆς πόλεως φερόμενος παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ σὺν πολλῇ πάνυ κακῶσει
 267 τῆς πληθύος.⁷ προεξήεσαν δὲ τῶν Γαῖου σφαγέων εἰς τὸ φανερώτερον Χαιρέας καὶ Σαβῖνος εἰργόμενοι προόδων κατ' ἐπιστολὰς Πολλίωνος, ὃν μικρῷ πρότερον Κλαύδιος στρατηγὸν ἤρητο⁸ τῶν σωματο-

¹ θεραπείαν] θεραπείαν Κλαυδίου A.

² Hudson : Πομπήϊος codd. E Lat. ; cf. B.J. ii. 205.

³ Niese : ἐλευθερίας codd. : ἐλευθερίαν E.

⁴ Niese : ὅς codd. E : ὁ ed. pr.

⁵ A : ὦ M : ὁ W.

⁶ Apolinus Lat.

⁷ σὺν πολλῇ . . . πληθύος] cum multo nimis impetu atque ridiculo Lat.

⁸ Bekker : ἤρετο (εἰτο i. ras. pressius scriptum A) AE : ἤρετο MW.

^a Variant " respects to Claudius."

^b Q. Pomponius Secundus, consul suffectus in 41. He

while, from all quarters men came hurrying towards the camp to pay their respects.^a One of the two consuls, Quintus Pomponius,^b was especially guilty in the eyes of the troops for summoning the senate in the cause of liberty. Drawing swords they rushed at him and would have murdered him had not Claudius intervened. Having rescued the consul from peril, Claudius took his seat beside him, but he did not receive the rest of the senators who accompanied Quintus with like honour. Some of them even received blows from the soldiers, who repulsed their attempts to get an audience with him. Aponius ^c retired wounded, and they were all in danger. King Agrippa then approached Claudius, and besought him to take a kinder attitude to the senators; for if any harm came to the senate, he would have no other subjects over whom to rule. Claudius agreed and summoned the senate to the Palatine, whither he was borne through the city, escorted by the soldiers, who dealt very harshly with the crowd. Of the assassins of Gaius, Chaerea and Sabinus had now come forward more openly, but they were prevented from advancing by the instructions of Pollio,^d whom Claudius had shortly before chosen as praetorian prefect.

Agrippa
urges
Claudius to
spare the
senators.

later joined in a rebellion against Claudius (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 43).

^c Perhaps to be identified with Aponius Saturninus, who once, having fallen asleep during an auction conducted under Gaius' auspices, kept nodding his head until he had bought thirteen gladiators for 9,000,000 sesterces (Suet. *Calig.* 38).

^d Rufius Pollio. He later accompanied Claudius on his British campaign and was honoured by receiving the right to sit in the senate (Dio lx. 23. 2). If, as seems likely (so Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, i, 1920, p. 1202), he is identical with Rufius (Rufius) Pomfilius (Sen. *Apocol.* 13. 5), he was among those later put to death by Claudius.

- 268 φυλάκων. Κλαύδιος δέ, ἐπέειπερ εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀφικνεῖται συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐταίρους¹ ψῆφον ἀνεδίδου περὶ Χαιρέου. τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔργον λαμπρὸν ἐδόκει, ἀπιστίαν δ' ἐπεκάλουν τῷ πεπραχότι καὶ αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν ἐπιβάλλειν δίκαιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπ' 269 ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου.² ἀπήγετο οὖν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λοῦππός³ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πλείους. λέγεται δὲ Χαιρέας μεγαλοφρόνως ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν συμφορὰν οὐ μόνον τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀμεταπτώτῳ τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ὀνειδίσκειεν Λοῦππον εἰς δάκρυα ἐκτετραμμένον.⁴
- 270 ἀποτιθεμένου γέ τοι τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Λούππου καὶ τὸ ῥίγος⁵ αἰτιωμένου φησίν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐναντία τοῦ Λούππου ποιήσαιτο πώποτε ῥίγος. πλήθους τε ἀνθρώπων ἐπομένου κατὰ θέαν, ὥς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἤρετο τὸν στρατιώτην, εἰ διὰ μελέτης αὐτῷ γεγόνοιεν αἱ σφαγαὶ ἢ εἰ πρῶτον ἔχοι τὸ ξίφος⁶ ἐκέλευέ τε⁷ κομίζειν ὧ Γάιον μεταχειρίσαιτο αὐτός· θνήσκει δὲ εὐδαιμόνως μιᾷς πληγῆς αὐτῷ γενο- 271 μένης. Λοῦππος δὲ οὐ πάνυ δεξιῶς ὑπεξῆλθεν ἀθυμία καὶ πληγῶν πλειόνων γενομένων διὰ τὸ μαλακῶς τὸν τράχηλον παρασχεῖν.

¹ MW : ἐτέρους A : alios Lat.

² ἀπιστίαν . . . χρόνου] sed Pollioni praecipue causam mortis applicabant, qui tantum opus fieri persuaserat et ut ipse pariter pro merito futuri temporis deperiret iustum esse clamabant Lat.

³ Λοῦπος E (sed Λοῦππος Busb.).

⁴ resolutum Lat. : ἐκκεχυμένον Richards et Shutt.

⁵ ἀποτιθεμένου . . . ῥίγος] om. E Lat.

⁶ εἰ διὰ . . . ξίφος] si interficiendi meditationem haberet Lat. ; lacunam vel ante vel post τὸ ξίφος indicat Niese.

When Claudius reached the Palatine, he assembled his companions and put the case of Chaerea to a vote.^a Their verdict was that the deed had been a splendid one; but they accused its perpetrator of disloyalty and thought it right to inflict punishment upon him as a deterrent for the future. Chaerea was accordingly led off to be executed, and with him Lupus^b and several other Romans. It is reported that Chaerea bore his fate with great dignity, as was evident not only by his own unchanged countenance, but also by his reproach of Lupus, who had given way to tears. Indeed, when Lupus took off his robe and complained of the cold,^c Chaerea remarked that "cold could never harm a wolf."^d A crowd of people followed to see the sight. When Chaerea reached the place of execution he asked the soldier whether he had had practice in executions or whether this was the first time that he had held a sword and bade him bring the sword^e with which he himself had dispatched Gaius. He was fortunate to be slain by the first blow. Lupus, for want of courage, was not very skilful in making his exit; he received several blows because he stuck his neck out so gingerly.

Chaerea
and Lupus
are
executed.

^a Dio lx. 3. 4 says that though Claudius was pleased that Gaius had been assassinated, he was displeased that an emperor had been assassinated, and so he put Chaerea and some others to death since he sought to insure his own safety.

^b The military tribune who had slain Gaius' wife and daughter (§§ 190-200).

^c This occurred a few days after Gaius' assassination on 24 January.

^d There is a play on *lupus*, the Latin word for wolf.

^e There is perhaps a slight lacuna here in the text, in which the soldier replied to Chaerea's question.

⁷ ἐκέλευέ τε] E: rogavitque Lat.: καὶ ἐκέλευε ed. pr.: ἐκέλευε codd.

- 272 (6) Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐναγισμῶν ἐν-
 εστηκότων Ῥωμαίων τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς αὐτῶν¹ ἐπι-
 φέροντες καὶ Χαιρέαν μοίραις ἐτίμησαν εἰς τὸ πῦρ
 τιθεμέναις, ἱλεων καὶ ἄμηνιν εἶναι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν
 ἀχαριστίας παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ Χαιρέα μὲν τοι-
 273 αὕτη τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου συνέτυχεν. Σαβίνος δὲ
 Κλαυδίου μὴ μόνον τῆς αἰτίας παραλύοντος αὐτὸν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν εἶχεν ἐφίεντος, ἄδικον
 ἡγεῖτο τὴν ἐκλειπίαν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συνωμότας
 πίστεως, σφάζει θ² ἑαυτὸν περιπεσὼν τῷ ξίφει
 μέχρι³ δὴ καὶ τὴν κώπην τῷ τραύματι συνελθεῖν.
 274 (v. 1) Κλαύδιος δὲ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πᾶν ὃ τι
 ἦν ὑποπτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀποσκευασάμενος διά-
 γραμμα προὔτιθει τὴν τε ἀρχὴν Ἀγρίππα βεβαιῶν,
 ἣν ὁ Γάιος παρέσχε, καὶ δι' ἐγκωμίων ἄγων τὸν
 βασιλέα. προσθήκην τε αὐτῷ ποιεῖται πᾶσαν τὴν
 ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου βασιλευθεῖσαν, ὃς ἦν πάππος αὐτοῦ,
 275 Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς
 ὀφειλόμενα τῇ οἰκειότητι τοῦ γένους ἀπεδίδου.
 Ἀβιλαν⁴ δὲ τὴν Λυσανίου καὶ ὅποσα ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ
 ὄρει ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ προσετίθει, ὄρκιά τε αὐτῷ τέμ-
 νεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἐν

¹ αὐτῶν Richards et Shutt, qui ἀπαρχὰς post αὐτῶν add.

² σφάζει θ¹] conl. Niese : σφάζει codd. : σφάζει τε E : καὶ σφάζει Suidas.

³ μέχρι] μέχρι τοῦ conl. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ A : Ἀβελαν M : Ἀβελαν W : Ἀβηλαν E : Abelan Lat.

^a Since Gaius was murdered on 24 January, the reference would seem to be to the Parentalia, 13-21 February. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 533 ff., for a description of the ceremonies, which were performed annually at the tombs of the deceased.

^b Sabinus' suicide is also mentioned by Dio lx. 3. 5.

(6) A few days later,^a when the sacrifices to the dead were offered, the Roman people brought offerings to their deceased relatives and honoured Chaerea also with portions that they cast into the flames, beseeching him to be gracious and not vengeful because of their ingratitude to him. Such was the end of Chaerea's life. As for Sabinus, he was not only released by Claudius from the charge but allowed to retain the office which he held. Nevertheless, deeming it wrong to fail in loyalty to his fellow conspirators, he slew himself, falling upon his sword till the hilt actually reached the wound.^b

(v. 1)^c Claudius speedily purged the army of all unreliable units. He then promulgated an edict whereby he both confirmed the rule of Agrippa, which Gaius had presented to him, and delivered a panegyric on the king.^d He also added to Agrippa's dominions all the other lands that had been ruled by King Herod, his grandfather, namely, Judaea and Samaria.^e He restored these lands to him as a debt due to his belonging to the family of Herod. But he also added Abila,^f which had been ruled by Lysanias,^g and all the land in the mountainous region of Lebanon as a gift out of his own territory, and he celebrated a treaty with Agrippa in the middle of the

Claudius confirms Agrippa in his kingdom and adds to it.

^c §§ 274-275 are parallel with *B.J.* ii. 215-216.

^d Dio lx. 8. 2 adds that Claudius bestowed the rank of consul on Agrippa and the rank of praetor on Agrippa's brother Herod; he then permitted them to enter the senate and to express their thanks to him in Greek.

^e Also, according to *B.J.* ii. 215, Trachonitis and Aurantitis, which Augustus had presented to Herod.

^f Or Abela, on the northern slope of Mount Hermon, north-west of Damascus. *Cf. Ant.* xx. 138.

^g See note on *Ant.* xviii. 237. Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene is also mentioned in Luke iii. 1.

- 276 τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει. Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἦν εἶχεν βασιλείαν ἀφελόμενος Κιλικίας μέρος τινὶ καὶ Κομμαγενῇ δωρεῖται. λυεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον¹ τὸν ἀλαβάρχην φίλον ἀρχαῖον αὐτῷ γεγονότα καὶ Ἀντωνίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπεύσαντα τὴν μητέρα ὀργῇ τῇ Γαίου δεδεμένον, καὶ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Βερενίκην τὴν
- 277 Ἀγρίππου γαμεῖ θυγατέρα. καὶ ταύτην μὲν, τελευτᾷ γὰρ Μάρκος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸς παρθένον λαβὼν, ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀγρίππας Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν Χαλκίδος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν εἶναι αἰτησάμενος παρὰ Κλαυδίου.
- 278 (2) Στασιάζεται δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον Ἰουδαίων² τὰ πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Γαίου τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος³ ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνου τεταπεινωμέ-

¹ Ἀλέξανδρον] A : Ἀλέξανδρον Λυσίμαχον MWE : γρ Λυσίμαχον i. marg. A : Lysimachum Lat.

² Ἰουδαίους E.

³ γένος E.

^a An alliance of Agrippa with the senate and the Roman people is depicted on a coin, for which see F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 136-137.

^b Gaius had named Antiochus IV king of Commagene in northern Syria in 38 and added the Cilician coast to his realm (Dio lix. 8. 2). His kingdom was taken from him shortly thereafter by Gaius, but it was soon returned to him by Claudius in 41 (Dio lx. 8. 1). He was deprived of his kingdom in 72. Cf. *B.J.* v. 461 and vii. 219-243 ; and *Ant.* xviii. 140, xix. 338 and 355, and xx. 139.

^c For Claudius' maintenance of the Roman policy of establishing protectorates on the fringe of the empire even at the expense of incorporated territory see also *Ant.* xix. 351 and 362, xx. 104 and 138 ; *B.J.* ii. 215-217, 223, and 247, vii. 97 ; and Dio lx. 8. 1 (cited by J. G. C. Anderson, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 752). The kingdom of which Antio-

Forum in the city of Rome.^a He deprived Antiochus^b of the kingdom that he held, and presented him with a portion of Cilicia and with Commagene.^c He further liberated Alexander^d the alabarch,^e an old friend of his, who had acted as guardian for his mother Antonia and had been imprisoned by Gaius in a fit of anger. The son^f of Alexander married Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa. After the death of Marcus, son of Alexander, who was her first husband, Agrippa gave her to his own brother Herod,^g after asking Claudius to give him the kingdom of Chalcis.^h

(2) About this time, there arose a feud between Jews and Greeks in the city of Alexandria. For upon the death of Gaius, the Jews, who had been humili-

Strife of
Greeks and
Jews in
Alexandria.

chus was deprived may have been in southern Lycaonia north of the Taurus, since numismatic evidence indicates that he ruled this area at one time. More likely it is Josephus who is confused, since it appears that the kingdom of which Antiochus was deprived was Commagene, and that it was Gaius who deprived him of it (*cf.* Dio lx. 8. 1). It was then restored to Antiochus by Claudius, as we learn also in Dio lx. 8. 1. See D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, ii, 1950, pp. 1367-1368 n. 49.

^a Some mss. add "Lysimachus," but this is a gloss, as noted by J. Schwartz, "Note sur la famille de Philon d'Alexandrie," *Ann. d. l'Inst. d. Philol. et d'hist. or. et sl. : univ. libre d. Brux.* xiii, 1953 (= *Mélanges Isidore Lévi*), p. 596.

^c *Cf. Ant.* xviii. 159 ff.

^f Marcus Julius Alexander. His name occurs frequently in the ostraca of Nicanor, one of whose leading customers he was during the period from 37 to 43/44. These ostraca indicate that Marcus had important business dealings with Arab countries and with India. See A. Fuks, "Notes on the Archive of Nicanor," *Jour. of Juristic Papyr.* v, 1951, pp. 207-216, esp. 214-215.

^g The marriage took place in 43 or 44, as indicated by A. Fuks, "Marcus Julius Alexander" [in Hebrew], *Zion* xiii-xiv, 1948-1949, pp. 15-17.

^h In the Lebanon valley : *cf. B.J.* i. 185.

νον καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ὑβρισμένον¹
 279 ἀνεθάρσυσέ τε καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις εὐθέως ἦν. καὶ Κλαύ-
 διος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ ἐπαρχοῦντι² κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυ-
 πτον ὥστε τὴν στάσιν καταστεῖλαι, πέμπει δὲ καὶ
 διάγραμμα παρακεκληκότων αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου τε
 καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν βασιλέων εἰς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
 δρειαν καὶ Συρίαν γεγραμμένον τοῦτον τὸν τρό-
 280 πον. “Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερ-
 281μανικὸς³ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας λέγει.⁴ ἐπιγνοὺς
 ἀνέκαθεν τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους Ἀλεξ-
 ανδρεῖς λεγομένους συγκατοικισθέντας⁵ τοῖς πρώ-

¹ A: βιαζόμενον MWE.

² Dindorf: ἱππαρχοῦντι codd.: praefecto Lat.: ὑπαρχοῦντι coni. Niese.

³ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος post Γερμανικὸς add. Hudson.

⁴ λέγει] ὑπατος λέγει E.

⁵ Dindorf: συγκατωκισθέντας (-ησθ- W) codd.

^a Probably C. Vitrasius Pollio, but perhaps it is his successor L. Aemilius Rectus.

^b The edict which follows mentions the rights of the Alexandrian Jews only, but presumably a similar edict, *mutatis mutandis*, reaffirmed the civic rights granted the Jews of Syria by Seleucus Nicator (*Ant.* xii. 119).

^c Hudson adds “pontifex maximus,” to make this edict parallel with the edict sent by Claudius to the rest of the world (§ 287). In his letter to the Alexandrians later in the year (London Papyrus 1912: published by H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924, pp. 1-37), Claudius also refers to himself as pontifex maximus.

^d There has been considerable debate as to the meaning of the term Ἀλεξανδρεῖς (“Alexandrians”). If it means simply “inhabitants of Alexandria,” the edict would be redundant in speaking of the Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria who are called inhabitants of Alexandria; moreover, the Greek says “so-called Alexandrians,” with the implication that this is a technical term meaning something different from mere inhabitants of Alexandria. Perhaps the term

ated under his rule and grievously abused by the Alexandrians, took heart again and at once armed themselves. Claudius commanded the prefect ^a of Egypt to put down the factional war. In addition, on the petition of Kings Agrippa and Herod, he issued an edict to Alexandria and Syria ^b to the following effect: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus,^c of tribunician power, speaks. Having from the first known that the Jews in Alexandria called Alexandrians ^d were fellow colonizers

Claudius' edict to Alexandria and Syria on behalf of the Jews.

^eἈλεξανδρεῖς refers to the entire Greek population of Alexandria, whether citizens or not; the term "called Alexandrians" would then mean that the Jews, because of the degree to which they were Hellenized, were indistinguishable from the Greek inhabitants of Alexandria. But such a "popular" use is unlikely in a legal document. A clue to the meaning of "Alexandrians" in the edict is, it would appear, to be found in a papyrus dating from the reign of Augustus (*B.G.U.* 1140 = V. A. Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, no. 151), in which a man calling himself an Alexandrian petitions the Roman governor Gaius Turanius. Someone—it is not clear who—has substituted "a Jew from Alexandria" for "Alexandrian" in the papyrus; and the most likely assumption, as indicated by V. A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 1959, p. 312, is that when the Jew presented the petition he asserted his claim to civic rights, but that he was unable to prove this and hence was forced to designate himself merely as an inhabitant of Alexandria. The term "Alexandrians," therefore, probably implies civic rights; "called Alexandrians" means that the Jews are alleged to have civic rights (πολιτεία). Thus in *Contra Apionem* ii. 38, Josephus mentions Apion's astonishment at the idea of Jews being called Alexandrians; this indicates that Apion saw no basis for the claim. V. A. Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, i, 1957, p. 41 n. 102, who has made a careful study of the papyrological documents, concludes that the term Ἀλεξανδρεῖς was applied to the whole body of citizens of Alexandria. Since, however, the papyri seem to speak of ἄστοι as distinct from Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, perhaps, though there is no evidence to prove it, the ἄστοι

τοῖς εὐθὺ καίροῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ ἰσῆς πολιτείας
παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τετευχότας, καθὼς φανερόν

were those citizens who were enrolled in tribes and demes, while the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς were citizens who were not thus enrolled (so M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, 1915, pp. 110-111), since, as Tcherikover, *ibid.*, has noted, such an enrolment was probably connected with certain pagan religious practices which would be repugnant to Jews.

^a Cf. *B.J.* ii. 487 and *Ap.* ii. 42, which record that Alexander the Great, as a reward for Jewish support against the Egyptians, granted the Jews permission to colonize Alexandria on terms of equality (ἐξ ἰσομοιρίας, var. ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας) with the Greeks.

^b Or perhaps "citizenship." There is a huge literature on the question as to whether or not the Jews were citizens of Alexandria. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*,³ 1952, p. 221, asserts that it is inconceivable that the Jews were citizens of Alexandria or of any other Greek city since full citizenship entailed worship of the city gods, and this meant apostasy to the Jews. Perhaps, though we have no evidence, the Jews were granted an exemption from this worship by the Ptolemies, just as in later times they were granted exemption by the Roman emperors from worship of the emperors as gods; and in any case, as I have indicated ("The Orthodoxy of the Jews of Hellenistic Egypt," *Jewish Soc. Stud.* xxii, 1960), the Jews of Alexandria were probably not as orthodox as was formerly thought, and we know from the papyri that there were some Jews at least who were citizens. Elsewhere (*Ant.* xiv. 188) Josephus says explicitly that Julius Caesar set up a bronze tablet for the Jews in Alexandria declaring that they were citizens (πολίται) of Alexandria. Moreover, Philo, *In Flacc.* 47, speaks of Jewish citizens; and in *In Flacc.* 78-80, while not explicitly stating that the Jews were citizens, he does say that the Jews were classed with the Alexandrians when it came to the method whereby they might be beaten. But the publication of London Papyrus 1912 has led most scholars to conclude that the Jews were not citizens. In this papyrus Claudius addresses the Alexandrians (Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μὲν, line 82) and the Jews (Ἰουδαίους δέ, line 88), with the contrast clearly marked by the μὲν and δέ; hence the Jews were not legally "Alexandrians," citizens of Alexandria. A

from the very earliest times ^a jointly with the Alexandrians and received equal civic rights ^b from the

crucial phrase in the letter (line 95) speaks of the Jews as living "in a city not their own" (ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει); and it is unlikely that Claudius, who appears impartial in the rest of the letter, would thus speak of the Jews if they were citizens of Alexandria. Finally, the letter forbids the Jews to participate in the athletic contests presided over by the gymnasiarchs and cosmetae, and it is probable (though admittedly somewhat doubtful: see S. Davis, *Race Relations in Ancient Egypt*, 1952, pp. 106-107) that participation in these games was restricted to citizens. It is possible that Claudius composed the edict quoted by Josephus under the influence of Agrippa and before he had really heard the arguments on both sides, and that later in the same year (41), when he had had an opportunity to review the evidence more thoroughly, he revised his views as to the Jewish rights. But the letter (lines 87-88) indicates that there had been an official hearing before the issuance of the edict. It is also possible that the situation in Alexandria, or Claudius' view of the situation, had changed between the time that he had issued the edict and the time that he sent the letter, and that perhaps, as indicated by Tcherikover, *Corpus*, i, pp. 72-73, he was particularly disgusted by new factors indicated in the letter, namely, the sending of delegations by two separate factions of the Jewish community (perhaps, though it is only a guess, those who were citizens and those who were not: so A. Momigliano, *Claudius*, 1934, p. 97), and the influx of Jews into Alexandria from the Egyptian countryside and from Palestine. It is more likely that Claudius, as Tcherikover, pp. 71-73, has indicated, was not hasty in issuing the edict, and that the letter did not contradict the edict. T. Zieliński, "L'Empereur Claude et l'idée de la domination mondiale des Juifs," *Rev. de l'Univ. de Brux.* xxxii, 1926-1927, pp. 128-148, wrongly assuming the identity of the edict and the letter, asserts that the former was completely forged. T. Reinach, "L'Empereur Claudius et les Juifs," *Rev. d. Ét. juives* lxxix, 1924, pp. 125-126, seeking to reconcile the two, proposes the elimination from the edict of the sentence on equality of rights. Tcherikover, pp. 70-71 n. 45, attempts to reconcile the two by asserting that parts of the edict are a forgery, namely, the reference to the Jews as Alexandrians,

ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
 282 τῶν διαταγμάτων, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡγεμο-
 νίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑποταχθῆναι
 πεφυλάχθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων
 ἐπάρχων κατὰ διαφόρους χρόνους μηδεμίαν τε
 ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ τούτων γενομένην τῶν δικαίων
 283 αὐτοῖς, ἅμα καὶ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Ἀκύλας ἦν ἐν
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 ἐθνάρχου τὸν Σεβαστὸν μὴ κεκωλυκέναι ἐθνάρχας
 γίνεσθαι βουλόμενον ὑποτετάχθαι ἐκάστους ἐμμέ-
 νοντας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσιν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἀναγ-
 284 καζομένους τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν,¹ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς
 δὲ ἐπαρθῆναι κατὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων² ἐπὶ
 τῶν Γαῖου Καίσαρος χρόνων τοῦ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν
 ἀπόνοιαν καὶ παραφροσύνην, ὅτι μὴ παραβῆναι

¹ ἐπιγνοὺς . . . θρησκείαν] om. E.

² ἴσης πολιτείας τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τετυχηκότων post Ἰουδαίων add. E.

the statement that the Jews lived in Alexandria from the very earliest times, and the assertion that the Jews enjoyed ἴση πολιτεία with the Alexandrians. He suggests that the first passage in the edict ran perhaps as follows: ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνέκαθεν τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους, συγκατοικισθέντας ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ ἰδίας πολιτείας παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τετυχότας, etc. But there is no necessary contradiction: (1) The Jews *claim* that they are Alexandrians, whereas Claudius does not commit himself on the question; (2) It is not unduly biased for Claudius to assert that the Jews were residents of Alexandria from the earliest times—in the letter he says that they have been inhabitants from olden times (ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων)—since this does not mean that they are entitled to citizenship; (3) The term ἴση πολιτεία may mean not “equal citizen status” but equal status as a community (πολίτευμα: see Davis, *op. cit.* pp. 101-104); and we know that the Jewish community of Alexandria was autonomous

kings,^a as is manifest from the documents in their possession and from the edicts ; and that after Alexandria was made subject to our empire by Augustus their rights were preserved by the prefects sent from time to time, and that these rights of theirs have never been disputed ; moreover, that at the time when Aquila was at Alexandria, on the death of the ethnarch of the Jews, Augustus did not prevent the continued appointment of ethnarchs,^b desiring that the several subject nations should abide by their own customs and not be compelled to violate the religion of their fathers ; and learning that the Alexandrians rose up in insurrection against the Jews in their midst in the time of Gaius Caesar, who through his great folly and madness humiliated the Jews because they re-

under its own ethnarchs, as is indicated by the edict, § 283. H. Stuart Jones, " Claudius and the Jewish Question in Alexandria," *Jour. of Rom. Stud.* xvi, 1926, p. 28, suggests that the members of a *πολίτευμα* no doubt called each other *πολίται* and referred to the bestowal of their *πολιτεία* on entering members of the community. In any case, Philo and Josephus, particularly the latter, since he was removed from the scene, may well be guilty of wishful thinking in their apologetics ; and their legal and technical terminology is likely to be looser than that of the emperor Claudius, whose letter on papyrus is, after all, first-hand evidence of what the emperor actually said.

^a The Ptolemies. So also *B.J.* ii. 488.

^b Philo, *In Flacc.* 74, apparently contradicts Josephus when he says that a council of elders (*γερουσία*) was appointed by Augustus to manage Jewish affairs after the death of the genarch (who must be the same as the ethnarch : see H. Box, *Philonis Alexandrini In Flaccum*, 1939, p. 102). Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 124 n. 5, suggests that the text of Josephus has probably been altered and that *ἄρχοντας* should be read for *ἐθνάρχας*. Box, p. 103, however, suggests that the discrepancy may be resolved by supposing that Augustus established a *γερουσία*, over which the ethnarch was to preside.

- ἠθέλησεν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν
καὶ θεὸν προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, ταπεινώσαντος
285 αὐτούς· βούλομαι μηδὲν διὰ τὴν Γαῖου παραφρο-
σύνην τῶν δικαίων τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει παραπε-
πτωκέναι, φυλάσσεσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πρότερον
δικαιώματα ἐμμένουσι τοῖς ἰδίους¹ ἔθεσιν, ἀμφο-
τέροις τε διακελεύομαι τοῖς μέρεσι πλείστην ποιή-
σασθαι πρόνοιαν, ὅπως μηδεμία ταραχὴ γένηται
μετὰ τὸ προτεθῆναί μου τὸ διάταγμα.”²
- 286 (3) Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰου-
δαίων διάταγμα τοῦτον ἦν τὸν τρόπον γεγραμ-
μένον· τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην εἶχεν οὕτως³·
- 287 “Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπάτος
288 χειροτονηθεὶς τὸ δεύτερον λέγει. αἰτησαμένων με
βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φιλάτων
μοι, ὅπως συγχωρήσαιμι τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς
ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίοις
φυλάσσεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ,
ἥδιστα συνεχώρησα οὐ μόνον τοῦτο τοῖς αἰτησα-
289 μένοις με χαριζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν
παρεκλήθην ἀξίους κρίνας διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
πίστιν καὶ φιλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ δίκαιον κρίνων μη-
δεμίαν μηδὲ Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν τῶν δικαίων τούτων
ἀποτυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
290 αὐταῖς ἦν τετηρημένα. καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν⁴ καὶ
Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὕφ' ἡμᾶς κόσμῳ τὰ
πάτρια ἔθνη ἀνεπικωλύτως φυλάσσειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς
ἥδη νῦν παραγγέλλω μου ταύτῃ τῇ φιланθρωπία
ἐπιεικέστερον χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων
350

fused to transgress the religion of their fathers by addressing him as a god ; I desire that none of their rights should be lost to the Jews on account of the madness of Gaius, but that their former privileges also be preserved to them, while they abide by their own customs ; and I enjoin upon both parties to take the greatest precaution to prevent any disturbance arising after the posting of my edict."

(3) Such was the tenor of the edict sent to Alexandria on behalf of the Jews. And that to the rest of the world ran as follows : " Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus, of tribunician power, elected consul for the second time, speaks : Kings Agrippa and Herod, my dearest friends, having petitioned me to permit the same privileges to be maintained for the Jews throughout the empire under the Romans as those in Alexandria enjoy, I very gladly consented, not merely in order to please those who petitioned me, but also because in my opinion the Jews deserve to obtain their request on account of their loyalty and friendship to the Romans. In particular, I did so because I hold it right that not even Greek cities should be deprived of these privileges, seeing that they were in fact guaranteed for them in the time of the divine Augustus. It is right, therefore, that the Jews throughout the whole world under our sway should also observe the customs of their fathers without let or hindrance. I enjoin upon them also by these presents to avail themselves of this kindness in a more reasonable spirit,

Claudius' edict to the rest of the world.

¹ A : Ἰουδαίων MWE.

² A : διάγραμμα MWE : dicta Lat.

³ τὸ μὲν . . . οὕτως] καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην ἔστειλε διάγραμμα ταῦτα φράζον E.

⁴ ἔχει coni. Niese.

- ἐθνῶν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξουθενίζειν, τοὺς ἰδίους δὲ
 291 νόμους φυλάσσειν. τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα τοὺς
 ἄρχοντας τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν κολωνιῶν καὶ μουνι-
 κιπίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐκτός, βασιλεῖς
 τε καὶ δυνάστας διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρεσβευτῶν ἐγ-
 γράψασθαι βούλομαι ἐκκείμενόν τε ἔχειν οὐκ ἔλατ-
 τον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ὅθεν ἐξ ἐπιπέδου καλῶς
 ἀναγνωσθῆναι δύναται.”
- 292 (vi. 1) Τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῖς διατάγμασιν εἰς
 Ἀλεξάνδρειάν τε καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἀπο-
 σταλεῖσιν ἐδήλωσεν ἣν περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχοι γνώμην
 Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ· αὐτίκα δὲ Ἀγρίππαν κομιού-
 μενον τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς λαμπροτέραις ἐξέ-
 πεμψε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἡγεμόσιν καὶ τοῖς
 ἐπιτρόποις διὰ γραμμάτων ἐπιστείλας ἐράσμιον
 293 ἄγειν αὐτόν. ὁ δ', ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κρείττοσιν
 τύχαις ἀνερχόμενον, μετὰ τάχους ὑπέστρεψεν, εἰς
 Ἱεροσόλυμα δ' ἐλθὼν χαριστηρίους ἐξεπλήρωσε
 294 θυσίας οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ νόμον παραλιπών. διὸ καὶ
 Ναζιραίων ξυρᾶσθαι διέταξε μάλα συχνούς, τὴν δὲ
 χρυσὴν ἄλυσιν τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Γαῖου ἰσό-
 σταθμον τῇ σιδηρᾷ, ἥ τὰς ἡγεμονίδας χεῖρας ἐδέθη,

^a The last clause is practically identical with the Latin formula *ut de plano recte legi possi(n)t*, “so that it (they) can plainly be read from the ground,” found abbreviated *u.d.p.r.l.p.* in a law concerning the nomination of municipal candidates (H. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*², ii. 1, no. 6089, li; cf. lxiii).

^b The joy that one of Agrippa's subjects felt at his safe return is to be seen in W. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* i, 1903, no. 418, pp. 629-630.

^c Lit. “shaven.” It is hardly likely, as Whiston and Mathieu-Herrmann translate the phrase, that Agrippa, who was scrupulously observant of the Jewish religion (§ 331), should have ordered the Nazirites to violate their vow of not

and not to set at nought the beliefs about the gods held by other peoples but to keep their own laws. It is my will that the ruling bodies of the cities and colonies and municipia in Italy and outside Italy, and the kings and other authorities through their own ambassadors, shall cause this edict of mine to be inscribed, and keep it posted for not less than thirty days in a place where it can plainly be read from the ground."^a

(vi. 1) By these edicts which were sent to Alexandria and to the world at large Claudius Caesar showed what he had decided about the Jews. He forthwith sent Agrippa to take over his kingdom with more splendid honours than before, giving written instructions to the governors of the provinces and to the procurators to treat him as a special favourite. Agrippa naturally, since he was to go back with improved fortunes, turned quickly homewards. On entering Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving, omitting none of the ritual enjoined by our law.^b Accordingly he also arranged for a very considerable number of Nazirites to be shorn.^c Moreover, he hung up, within the sacred precincts, over the treasure-chamber,^d the golden chain which had cutting their hair (Num. vi. 5). And even if the reference here is to temporary Nazirites, there is no indication that the time limit of all these Nazirites had simultaneously expired. It seems best, therefore, to assume that Agrippa had shouldered the expenses for the offerings of poor Nazirites. The same expression, *le-galeah*, "to shave," is found several times in the Mishnah, *Nazir* ii. 5 and 6 in the sense of "to bring the offerings of a Nazirite." The phrase is similarly to be interpreted in Acts xxi. 24. For a discussion of the origin of the phrase and for other Talmudic references see J. N. Epstein, "On the Terms of Naziriteship" [in Hebrew], in *Magnes Anniversary Book*, 1938, pp. 15-16.

Agrippa returns to Palestine and dedicates a golden chain.

^a There were thirteen horn-shaped money-chests in the

- τῆς στυγνῆς εἶναι τύχης ὑπόμνημα καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω μαρτυρίαν μεταβολῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐντὸς ἀνεκρέμασεν περιβόλων ὑπὲρ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον, ἢ ἡ δείγμα καὶ τοῦ τὰ μεγάλα δύνασθαι ποτε πεσεῖν
 295 καὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐγείρειν τὰ πεπτωκότα· πᾶσι γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐνεφάνιζεν ἢ τῆς ἀλύσεως ἀνάθεσις, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἀπὸ μικρᾶς αἰτίας εἰς δεσμώτην ἀπέδυ τὸ πρὶν ἀξίωμα καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς πέδης ἐκβὰς εἰς βασιλέα τοῦ πάλαι λαμπρότερον ἡγέρθη.
 296 διὰ τούτων¹ ἐννοεῖσθαι, ὅτι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως καὶ πᾶσιν² ὀλισθάνειν τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ κλιθέντα δύναται περιφανὲς λαβεῖν πάλιν ὕψος.
 297 (2) Ἐντελῶς δ' οὖν θρησκευσας τὸν θεὸν Ἀγρίππας Θεόφιλον μὲν τὸν Ἀνάνου τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μετέστησεν, τῷ δὲ Βοηθοῦ Σίμωνι, τούτῳ Κανθηρᾶς ἐπὶ κλησις ἦν, τὴν ἐκείνου προσένειμε τιμὴν.

¹ διὰ τούτων] propter haec ergo Lat. : διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν Niese.

² MW : πεσεῖν A : spurium aut corruptum putat Niese.

forecourt ('azarah) of the temple, six of which were for various kinds of freewill offerings (Mishnah, *Shekalim* vi. 5). It is presumably over one of these six that Agrippa hung his golden chain. J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, 1867, p. 209 n. 1, says that this chain is to be identified with the golden chains mentioned in Mishnah, *Middot* iii. 8; but this is unlikely since the chains mentioned in the Mishnah served as a ladder by which the young priests could ascend and view the ornaments set over the windows of the sanctuary, and it is improbable that Agrippa's chain was of such size.

^a *Ant.* xviii. 237.

^b *Cf. Ant.* xviii. 123.

^c *Cf. Ant.* xv. 320-322, xvii. 78, xviii. 109 and 136. He is perhaps to be identified (so H. Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle," *Hebrew Union Coll. Ann.* viii-ix, 1931-1932, p. 300) with the Simon the Righteous who is reported in the Talmud (*Soṭah* 33a) to have heard a voice from the Holy of Holies in

been presented to him by Gaius,^a equal in weight to the one of iron with which his royal hands had been bound, as a reminder of his bitter fortune and as a witness to his reversal for the better, in order that it might serve as a proof both that greatness may sometime crash and that God uplifts fallen fortunes. For the dedication of the chain was a symbol to show all men that King Agrippa had on trifling grounds been thrown into prison and been stripped of his former rank, and that, not long after, he had stepped out of his chains, and had been uplifted to rule as king with greater glory than before. These things may lead us to reflect that it lies in the nature of man for all grandeurs to glide away and for fallen fortunes to rise again to a resplendent eminence.

(2) Having thus fully discharged his service to God, Agrippa removed Theophilus^b son of Ananus from the high priesthood and bestowed his high office on Simon^c son of Boethus,^d surnamed Cantheras. Simon

Simon
Cantheras
is appointed
high priest.

the temple proclaiming "Annulled is the decree which the enemy intended to introduce into the temple." The reference is clearly to Caligula's order to have his statue brought into the temple, since the account continues: "Then was Gaius Caligula [the name is corrupted in the text] slain and his decrees were annulled." It appears from Josephus that Simon Cantheras was not appointed high priest until shortly after Gaius' death, but he was certainly active as a priest in the temple before then; or we may follow the suggestion of P. Winter, "Simeon der Gerechte und Caius Caligula," *Zeitsch. f. Rel.-u. Geistesgesch.* vi, 1954, p. 73 n. 6, that Agrippa was already exercising the functions of his office while still in Rome (so Philo, *Leg.* 35) and that he may have appointed Simon before his departure for Palestine, though Josephus in the present passage says that he appointed him after he had returned to Palestine and had expressed his thanks to God.

^a An Alexandrian. Cf. *Ant.* xv. 320, xvii. 78 and 339,

δύο δ' ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ τῷ Σίμωνι καὶ πατὴρ Βοηθός,
 οὗ τῇ θυγατρὶ βασιλεὺς συνώκησεν Ἡρώδης, ὡς
 298 ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται. σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς οὖν¹ τὴν
 ἱερωσύνην ἔσχεν ὁ Σίμων καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρί, καθὰ
 καὶ πρότερον ἔσχον οἱ Σίμωνος τοῦ Ὀνία παῖδες
 τρεῖς ὄντες ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς, ὅπερ ἐν
 ταῖς προαγούσαις γραφαῖς παρέδομεν.

299 (3) Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς
 οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἡμέψατο
 τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας· ἀνῆκε γοῦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ
 ἐκάστης² οἰκίας, ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενος ἀντιδοῦναι τοῖς
 ἡγαπηκόσιν στοργήν.³ ἔπαρχον⁴ δὲ ἀπέδειξεν παν-
 τὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος Σίλαν ἄνδρα πολλῶν αὐτῷ
 300 πόνων συμμετασχόντα. παντάπασιν δὲ ὀλίγου
 χρόνου διελθόντος Δωρῖται νεανίσκοι τῆς ὀσιότητος
 προτιθέμενοι τόλμαν καὶ πεφυκότες εἶναι παρα-
 βόλως θρασεῖς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα κομίσαντες εἰς
 301 τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν ἀνέστησαν. σφόδρα
 τοῦτο Ἀγρίππαν παρώξυνεν· κατάλυσιν γὰρ τῶν
 πατρίων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἐδύνατο. ἀμελλητὶ δὲ πρὸς
 Πούπλιον Πετρώνιον, ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς Συρίας οὗτος

¹ A : οὗ A¹MW.

² εἰς αὐτὸν . . . ἐκάστης] A : om. MW.

³ ἐν καλῷ . . . στοργήν] om. E.

⁴ A : ἱπαρχον MWE et i. marg. A : praefectum Lat.

xviii. 3. Niese, in the index to his edition, *s.v.* Βοηθός, says that the father of the Simon here mentioned seems to be different from the Boethus, father of the high priests Simon, Joazar, and Eleazar. Presumably Niese's suspicion is based on the long lapse of time between the two Simons, the first 356

had two brothers ^a and his father Boethus. Simon's daughter was married to King Herod, as I explained earlier.^b Simon accordingly, as did his brothers and father, obtained the high priesthood, repeating the record of the three sons of Simon son of Onias under the Macedonian rule, as we reported in an earlier account.^c

(3) Having in this way taken care of the high priesthood, the king recompensed the inhabitants of Jerusalem for their goodwill to him by remitting to them the tax on every house,^d holding it right to repay the affection of his subjects with a corresponding fatherly love. He also appointed as commander of the entire army Silas, a man who had shared many hardships with him. A very short time after this, certain young men of Dora,^e who set a higher value on audacity than on holiness and were by nature recklessly bold, brought an image of Caesar into the synagogue of the Jews and set it up. This provoked Agrippa exceedingly, for it was tantamount to an overthrow of the laws of his fathers. Without delay he went to see Publius Petronius,^f the governor of

The men of Dora are rebuked for placing the emperor's statue in a synagogue.

having been appointed high priest about 24 B.C., the second in A.D. 41. But it is clear from Josephus' reference to his previous account of the marriage of Simon's daughter to King Herod that he regarded the two Simons as identical.

^a Joazar (*Ant.* xvii. 339, xviii. 3 and 26) and Eleazar (*Ant.* xvii. 339, 341).

^b *Ant.* xv. 320-322.

^c *Ant.* xii. 224-225, 237-238.

^d Cf. *Mishnah Baba Batra* i. 5, which mentions the apparently common practice whereby citizens of a town are compelled to contribute to the building of its walls.

^e A city in Phoenicia (Hebrew *Dor*), somewhat north of the modern village of *Tantura*, near Mount Carmel. Cf. *Ap.* ii. 116, *Vita* 31, etc.

^f Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 261 ff.

- 302 ἦν, παραγίνεται καὶ καταλέγει τῶν Δωριτῶν. ὁ δ' οὐχ ἦττον ἐπὶ τῷπραχθέντι χαλεπήνας, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἀσέβειαν τὴν τῶν ἐννόμων παράβασιν,¹ τοῖς ἐπιστάσι² τῶν Δωριτῶν σὺν ὀργῇ ταύτ' ἔγραψεν. “ Πούπλιος Πετρώνιος πρεσβευτὴς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δωριέων³ τοῖς πρώτοις λέγει. ἐπειδὴ τοσαύτη τόλμη ἀπονοίας τινὲς ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδὲ διὰ τὸ προτεθῆναι διάταγμα Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐφίεσθαι Ἰουδαίους φυλάσσειν τὰ πάτρια πεισθῆναι ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, τὰναντία δὲ πάντα πρᾶξαι, συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων κωλύοντας εἶναι διὰ τὸ μεταθεῖναι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα, παρανομοῦντας οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὗ ὁ ἀνδριὰς βέλτιον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ ἢ ἐν ἄλλοτρίῳ ἐτίθετο καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τῆς συναγωγῆς τόπῳ, τοῦ φύσει δικαιοῦντος⁴ ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἰδίων τόπων κυριεύειν κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος ἐπικρίμα· τοῦ γὰρ ἑμοῦ ἐπικρίματος μιμνήσκεσθαι γελοῖόν ἐστιν μετὰ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διάταγμα τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, ἔτι μέντοι γε καὶ συμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν κεκελευκότος· 306 τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ διάταγμα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τοιαῦτα τετολμηκότας,⁵ ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγανάκτησαν οἱ δοκοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐξέχειν⁶ οὐ τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει

¹ καὶ γὰρ . . . παράβασιν] om. E.

² conī. Post: ἀποστᾶσι codd.: indiscipinatis Lat.: προεστῶσι conī. Niese.

³ A: Δωριαίων MW: γρ Δωριτῶν i. marg. A.

⁴ τοῦ φύσει δικαιοῦντος] τῇ φύσει δικαίου ὄντος Hudson.

⁵ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν μετατεθεικότας τὸν ἀνδριάντα post τετολμηκότας add. E.

Syria, and denounced the people of Dora. Petronius was no less angry at the deed, for he too regarded the breach of law as sacrilege. He wrote in anger to the leaders ^a of Dora as follows: "Publius Petronius, legate of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, to the leading men of Dora speaks: Inasmuch as certain of you have had such mad audacity, notwithstanding the issuance of an edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus pertaining to the permission granted the Jews to observe the customs of their fathers, not to obey this edict, but to do the very reverse, in that you have prevented the Jews from having a synagogue by transferring to it an image of Caesar, you have thereby sinned not only against the law of the Jews, but also against the emperor, whose image was better placed in his own shrine than in that of another, especially in the synagogue; for by natural law each must be lord over his own place, in accordance with Caesar's decree. For it is ridiculous for me to refer to my own decree after making mention of the edict of the emperor which permits Jews to follow their own customs, yet also, be it noted, bids them to live as fellow citizens with the Greeks. As for those who have, in defiance of the edict of Augustus, been so rash as to act thus—at which deed even those who are regarded as eminent among the transgressors are indignant and assert that it was done not because anyone deliberately and

^a MSS. "apostates." But it is clear from the address in § 303 and from § 307 that Petronius is speaking to the leaders and that he is making a distinction between these leaders and the irresponsible young men of Dora.

⁶ E et i. marg. A: ἐξεκείνου A: ἐξελεῖν MW; οἱ δοκοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐξέχειν] eorum iudices Lat.

γεγενῆσθαι λέγοντες ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὀρμῇ,
 ὑπὸ ἑκατοντάρχου Πρόκλου Οὐιτελλίου¹ ἐκέλευσα
 ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἀναχθῆναι τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀπο-
 308 δώσοντας,² τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις ἄρχουσι παραινῶ, εἰ
 μὴ βούλονται δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν
 γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἀδίκημα, ἐπιδείξαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῷ
 ἑκατοντάρχῃ μηδεμιᾶς στάσεως μηδὲ μάχης ἔωντας
 ἀφορμὴν γενέσθαι, ἣν περ δοκοῦσιν μοι θηρεύεσθαι
 309 διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, καμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τιμιωτά-
 του μοι βασιλέως Ἀγρίππου οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον³ προ-
 νοουμένων, ἢ ἵνα μὴ ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενοι τὸ τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει⁴ συν-
 310 αθροισθὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χωρῇ. ἵνα δὲ γνωριμώτε-
 ρον ᾦ, τί καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς περὶ ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος
 ἐφρόνησε, τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ αὐτοῦ διατάγματα
 προτεθέντα προσέθηκα,⁵ ἅπερ εἰ καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσιν
 εἶναι δοκεῖ, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέγνω ὁ
 τιμιώτατός μοι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δικαιολογη-
 σάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς
 311 τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δωρεᾶς. εἷς τε οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν παραγ-
 γέλλω μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν στάσεως μηδὲ ταραχῆς
 ζητεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκάστους τὰ ἴδια ἔθῃ θρησκεύειν.''
 312 (4) Πετρώνιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω προὔνοιησε διορθώ-
 σεως μὲν τὸ παρανομηθὲν ἤδη τυχεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ
 313 παραπλήσιον μηδὲν εἰς αὐτούς.⁶ Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ
 βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τὸν Καν-

¹ M : Οὐιτελλίου AW : Οὐιτενίου E.

personally proposed it, but by an impulse of the mob—I have given orders that they are to be brought before me by Proclus Vitellius the centurion to give an account of their actions. To the ranking magistrates I give this warning : that, unless they wish to have it thought that the wrong was committed with their consent and intent, they must point out the guilty parties to the centurion, allowing no occasion to occur that could lead to strife or battle. For this, in my opinion, is precisely what they hope to achieve by such actions. For both King Agrippa, my most honoured friend, and I have no greater interest than that the Jews should not seize any occasion, under the pretext of self-defence, to gather in one place and proceed to desperate measures. And, that you may be better informed of His Imperial Majesty's policy concerning the whole matter, I have appended his edicts which were published at Alexandria. Although they seem to be universally known, my most honoured friend King Agrippa read them before my tribunal at the time when he pleaded that the Jews ought not to be despoiled of the privileges granted by Augustus. For the future, therefore, I charge you to seek no pretext for sedition or disturbance, but to practise severally each his own religion."

(4) Such were the precautions taken by Petronius to rectify the breach of law that had already occurred and to prevent any similar offence against the Jews. King Agrippa deprived Simon Cantheras of the high

Agrippa
proposes to
replace

² παρανομούντας οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα post ἀποδώσοντας add. E. ³ ἦττον E.

⁴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει] ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει E : ἀμύνης προφάσει Dindorf : ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσεως ed. pr.

⁵ ed. pr. : προέθηκα codd. : praeposui Lat.

⁶ εἰς αὐτοὺς] εἰσαὐθις coni. Richards et Shutt.

- θηρᾶν¹ Σίμωνα, Ἰωνάθην δὲ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦγεν
 τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦτον ἀξιώτερον τῆς τιμῆς ὁμολογῶν
 εἶναι. τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἄσμενιστὸν ἐφάνη τὴν τοσαύτην
 ἀπολαβεῖν τιμὴν, παρηγεῖτο δ' οὖν ταῦτα λέγων·
 314 “ σοὶ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τετιμημένος χαίρω διὰ
 ψυχῆς ἔχων τοῦθ' ὃ μοι γέρας δίδωσιν ἢ σὴ βουλή,²
 καὶ πρὸς οὐδέν με τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἄξιον ἔκρινεν
 ὁ θεός. ἅπαξ δ' ἐνδὺς στολισμὸν ἱερὸν ἀρκοῦμαι·
 τότε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡμφιασάμην ὀσιώτερον ἢ νῦν ἀπολή-
 315 ψομαι. σὺ δ', εἰ βούλει τὸν ἀξιώτερον ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ
 γέρας λαβεῖν, διδάχθητι· πάσης καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
 ἀμαρτίας καὶ πρὸς σέ, βασιλεῦ, καθαρὸς ἀδελφὸς
 ἔστι μοι· πρέποντα τῇ τιμῇ τοῦτον συνίστημι.”
 316 τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡσθεῖς τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ἰωνάθην
 μὲν ἡγάσато τῆς γνώμης, τὰδελφῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ
 Μαθθία³ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔδωκεν.⁴ καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ
 Πετρώνιον μὲν Μάρσος διεδέξατο καὶ διείπε Συρίαν.
 317 (vii. 1) Σίλας δ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἑπαρχος⁵ ἐπεὶ

¹ E : Κανθηρᾶ A : Καθηρα MW : Catharam Lat. : Καθηρᾶν Zonaras (cod. A).

² δίδωσιν ἢ σὴ βουλή] A : δίδωσι βουλήσει MW : σὴ δίδως βουλήσει E : σὴ δίδοται βουλήσει Lowthius ; σοὶ μὲν . . . βουλή] tu quidem o rex meo honori congaudens hanc mihi restituis proprio consilio dignitatem Lat.

³ τὸν Ἰωνάθην . . . Μαθθία] E : τῷ (ὦ ex corr.) Ἰωνάθην (ἡ ex ἡν corr.) μὲν γνώμη τὰδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαθθία, i. marg. γρ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἡγάσато τῆς γνώμης τῷ ἀδελφῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ Μαθθαί A : τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὲν ἡγήσато γνώμης τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαθθία MW : τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὲν ἔασε, γνώμη δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαθθία ed. pr.

⁴ τούτοις . . . ἔδωκεν] in his ergo sermonibus rex Agrippa collaudans Ionaе voluntatem praebuit Mathiae eius fratri pontificatum Lat.

⁵ Dindorf : ἱππαρχος codd. E : praefectus Lat.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 95, 123. According to *Ant.* xx. 162-164, he was slain by brigands at the instigation of the procurator
 362

priesthood, and proposed to restore it to Jonathan ^a the son of Ananus, ^b conceding that he was more worthy of the honour. Jonathan, however, regarded the resumption of such an honour as unwelcome and declined it in the following words: "I rejoice, O king, to be honoured by you, and heartily appreciate this high prize offered me by your will, although God has adjudged me in no way worthy of the high priesthood. But I am content to have put on the holy vestments once, for then I arrayed myself in them with more regard for sanctity than would be shown if I were to take them back. But if you desire that another, worthier than I, should receive the honour, be instructed by me. I have a brother, pure of all sin against God and against you, O king. Him I recommend as suitable for the honour." The king rejoiced at these words, respected Jonathan for his decision, and gave the high priesthood to his brother Matthias. Not long after this, Petronius was succeeded by Marsus ^c as governor of Syria.

Simon as high priest with Jonathan son of Ananus.

(vii. 1) Now Silas, the king's general, ^d had been

Silas, Agrippa's

Felix. Mathieu-Herrmann, in their note on this passage, assert that he is identical with Theophilus the son of Ananus (§ 297), since the names Jonathan in Hebrew and Theophilus in Greek have similar meanings. But the meanings are somewhat different, since Jonathan means "God gave" or "God's gift" and Theophilus means "loved by God." Moreover, in *Ant.* xviii. 123, we are told that Theophilus succeeded Jonathan; and it is unlikely that Josephus, who was himself a priest, would err in such a matter.

^b Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 26 and note.

^c C. Vibius Marsus, consul suffectus in 17. In 19 he was *legatus pro praetore* in Antioch in Syria. He succeeded Petronius as governor of Syria in 42. Cf. also *Ant.* xix. 326, 340-342, 363; xx. 1.

^d The mss. read "master of the horse," but it seems clear from § 299 that Silas was commander of the entire army.

- διὰ πάσης αὐτῷ τύχης ἐγεγόνει πιστὸς οὐδένα κίν-
 δυνόν ποτε κοινωνεῖν ἀνηνάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς σφα-
 λερωτάτους ὑποδὺς πολλάκις πόνους, πεποιθήσεως
 ἦν ἀνάπλεως, προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων ἰστοιμίαν
 318 βεβαιότητι φιλίας. οὐδαμῇ τοίνυν ὑποκατεκλίνε-
 το βασιλεῖ, παρρησίαν δὲ διὰ πάσης ὁμιλίας ἤγεν,
 καὶ ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσιν ἐγένετο φορτικὸς¹ σε-
 μνύνων ἑαυτὸν ἀμέτρως καὶ πολλάκις τῷ βασιλεῖ
 τὰ στυγνὰ τῆς τύχης ἄγων εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, ἵνα τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ τότε σπουδὴν παραδεικνύῃ, συνεχῶς δ' ἦν,
 319 ὥς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κάμοι, πολλὰ διεξιών.² τούτων οὖν
 τὸ πλεονάζον ὀνειδισμὸς ἐδόκει³. διὸ προσάντως ὁ
 βασιλεὺς ἐδέχετο τὴν ἀταμίευτον παρρησίαν τὰν-
 δρός· οὐχ ἡδεῖαι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ἀδόξων χρόνων ἀνα-
 μνήσεις, εὐήθης δὲ ὁ διηνεκῶς ἅ ποτε ὠφέλησεν
 320 προφέρων. τέλος γοῦν ἀνηρέθισε σφόδρα ὁ Σίλας
 τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν θυμὸν καὶ κεῖνος ὀργῇ πλέον ἢ
 λογισμῷ διδοὺς οὐ τῆς ἐπαρχίας⁴ μόνον μετέστησε
 τὸν Σίλαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέδωκεν δεθησόμενον εἰς
 321 τὴν ἐκείνου πατρίδα πέμψας. χρόνῳ δὲ τὸν θυμὸν
 ἡμβλύνθη καὶ λογισμοῖς εἰλικρινέσι τὴν περὶ τὰν-
 δρός κρίσιν ἐφῆκεν ἐν νῷ λαμβάνων ὅσους ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ⁵ πόνους ἐκεῖνος ἀνέτλη. ἡμέραν οὖν ἑορτά-
 ζων αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον, ὅτε πᾶσιν ὦν ἦρχεν εὐφροσύνη

¹ παρρησίαν . . . φορτικὸς] ita ut maxima ab eo beneficia postulando onerosus esse videretur Lat.

² συνεχῶς . . . διεξιών] om. E.

³ τούτων . . . ἐδόκει] quod cum crebro faceret ut mihi videretur impropere beneficia noscebatur Lat.

⁴ Dindorf: a praefectura Lat.: ἱπαρχίας codd. E.

loyal to him through every vicissitude of fortune,^a and had never refused to share any danger, but had often undertaken the most hazardous tasks. He was full of self-confidence, for he assumed that there could be no solid friendship without equal standing. Accordingly, he never deferred to the king,^b but spoke frankly in all his conversation. Moreover, in convivial gatherings, he proved himself a nuisance by singing his own praises inordinately and by frequently reminding the king of the frowns of fortune in the past, which gave him an opportunity to display his own devotion at the time. He would incessantly relate at length how he had laboured on the king's behalf. The abundance of such talk gave the impression of a reproach, which accounts for the king's resentment in the face of the fellow's unstinted frankness. For it is unpleasant to be reminded of inglorious episodes; and one who perpetually brings up his former services is a simpleton. In the end, at any rate, Silas stirred the king to very great wrath; and the latter, more in passion than by calculation, not only removed Silas from his command, but sent him to his own country and consigned him to captivity. But in time his anger lost its edge, and he submitted his judgement on the man to dispassionate reflection, taking into consideration all the hardships that the man had borne for his sake. In consequence, when he was celebrating his birthday and all his

general, is dismissed for his presumption.

Silas declines Agrippa's offer to release him from prison.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 204, which records that he was among those who brought food and clothing and performed other services for Agrippa while the latter was imprisoned in Rome.

^b Or perhaps "he would not sit lower than the king at table" (Whiston).

⁵ Herwerden : ἐκείνου codd.

ἦν καὶ¹ καθίσταντο θαλαίαι,² τὸν Σίλαν ἀνεκάλει παρ-
 322 αὐτίκα συνέστιον αὐτῷ γενησόμενον. τῷ δέ, τρόπος
 γὰρ ἐλευθέριος ἦν, ἐδόκει προσειληφέναι δικαίαν
 αἰτίαν ὀργῆς, ἣν οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο πρὸς τοὺς
 323 μετιόντας αὐτὸν³ λέγων. “ ἐπὶ ποίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 τιμὴν ἀνακαλεῖ με τὴν μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπολουμένην;⁴
 οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτά μοι γέρα τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας
 324 ἐτήρησεν, ἀπεσύλησεν δ’ ὑβρίσας. ἡ πεπαῦσθαι
 νενόμικέ με τῆς παρρησίας, ἣν ἀπὸ ποίου συνειδότος
 ἔχων βοήσομαι μᾶλλον,⁵ ὅσων αὐτὸν ἐξελυσάμην
 δεινῶν, ὅσους ἡνεγκα πόνους ἐκείνῳ ποριζόμενος⁶
 σωτηρίαν τε καὶ τιμὴν, ὧν γέρας ἡνεγκάμην δεσμὰ
 325 καὶ σκότιον εἴρκτην. οὐκ ἐγὼ ποτε τούτων λή-
 σομαι· τάχα μοι τὴν τῆς ἀριστείας συνεποίσεται
 μνήμην καὶ μεταστᾶσα τῆς σαρκὸς ἢ ψυχῆ.” ταῦτα
 ἀνεβόα καὶ διετάττετο τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγειν. ὁ δ’ ὡς
 ἀνιάτως ἐώρα διακείμενον, πάλιν εἶασεν ἐν φρουρᾷ.
 326 (2) Τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη τὰ πρὸς τὴν
 καινὴν νεύοντα πόλιν δημοσίαις ὠχύρου δαπάναις,
 τῇ⁷ μὲν εὐρύνων εἰς πλάτος τῇ⁸ δὲ εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίρων,
 καὶ ἐξεργάσατο ταῦτα πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείτ-
 τονα βίας, εἰ μὴ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν
 Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσε τὸ
 327 πραττόμενον. καὶ νεωτερισμὸν τινα Κλαύδιος ὑπ-

¹ εὐφροσύνη ἦν καὶ] Post: εὐφροσύνη ἢ A (ἦμ, i. i. ras.): εὐ-
 φροσύνη MW: εὐφροσύνη conl. Niese.

² ὅτε . . . θαλαίαι] om. E.

³ τῷ δέ . . . αὐτὸν] ille vero modum libertatis quem iustum
 esse credebat venientibus ad se non tacuit Lat.

⁴ A: ἀπολλυμένην MW: ablaturus est Lat.

⁵ ἡ . . . μᾶλλον] cum qua ergo fiducia aut qua conscientia
 ad eum veniam Lat.

⁶ A: χαριζόμενος MW.

⁷ Hudson: τὴν codd. E.

⁸ Hudson: τὴν codd. E.

subjects were participating in the joyous festivities, he recalled Silas at a moment's notice to share his table. The latter, however, for he had an independent spirit, thought that he had had just cause for anger, and this he did not conceal from those who came to fetch him. "What honour is this," he said, "to which the king recalls me—an honour so soon to perish? He has not even let me keep my former rewards for the loyalty which I showed him, but has wantonly stripped me of them. Does he think that I have given up my habit of speaking my mind? No, I keep it and I shall shout the louder what I know in my heart, mentioning all the bad scrapes from which I rescued him and all the hardships that I bore in securing his safety and position—as a reward for which I received chains and a gloomy dungeon. I will never forget these things; perhaps my soul, even when severed from my body, will carry with it the memory of my prowess." These words he shouted out and commanded the messengers to repeat them to the king. The king, however, when he saw that his malady was beyond remedy, decided again to leave him in prison.

(2) ^a Agrippa fortified the walls of Jerusalem on the side of the New City ^b at the public expense, increasing both their breadth and height, and he would have made them too strong for any human force had not Marsus, the governor of Syria, reported by letter to Claudius Caesar what was being done. Claudius, suspecting that a revolution was on foot,

Agrippa is ordered to desist from restoring the walls of Jerusalem.

^a Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 218. The wall is also mentioned in *B.J.* v. 152.

^b Cf. *B.J.* v. 151, which notes that in the vernacular this district, which is to the north of Jerusalem, was known as Bezetha.

οπτεύσας ἐπέστειλεν Ἀγρίππα μετὰ σπουδῆς παύ-
σασθαι τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐξοικοδομήσεως· ὁ δ'
ἀπειθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν.¹

- 328 (3) Ἐπεφύκει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐεργετικὸς
εἶναι ἐν δωρεαῖς καὶ μεγαλοφρονῆσαι ἔθνη² φιλό-
τιμος καὶ πολλοῖς³ ἀθρόως δαπανήμασιν ἀνιστὰς
αὐτὸν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν ἡδόμενος τῷ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ
τῷ βιοῦν ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χαίρων,⁴ κατ' οὐδὲν Ἡρώδῃ
τῷ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖ τὸν τρόπον συμφερόμενος·
329 ἐκείνῳ γὰρ πονηρὸν ἦν ἦθος ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπότομον
καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀπηχθημένων ἀταμίευτον, Ἑλλησι
πλέον ἢ Ἰουδαίοις οἰκείως ἔχειν ὁμολογούμενος·
ἀλλοφύλων γέ τοι πόλεις ἐσέμνυνεν δόσει χρημάτων
βαλανείων θεάτρων τε⁵ ἄλλοτε κατασκευαῖς, ἔστιν
αἷς ναοὺς ἀνέστησε, στοὰς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίων
οὐδεμίαν πόλιν οὐδ' ὀλίγης ἐπισκευῆς ἡξίωσεν οὐδὲ
330 δόσεως ἀξίας μνημονευθῆναι. πραῦς δ' ὁ τρόπος
Ἀγρίππα καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὸ εὐεργετικὸν ὅμοιον.
τοῖς ἄλλοεθνεσιν ἦν φιλάνθρωπος καὶ κείνοις ἐνδεικ-
νύμενος τὸ φιλόδωρον τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἀναλόγως
331 χρηστός καὶ συμπαθὴς μᾶλλον. ἡδεῖα γοῦν αὐτῷ
δαίαιτα καὶ συνεχῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν καὶ τὰ
πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει. διὰ πάσης γοῦν αὐτὸν

¹ ὁ δ' ἀπειθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν] om. E.

² ἔθνη] <πρὸς τὰ> ἔθνη Richards et Shutt.

³ ed. pr. : πόλεως codd. : civitatem Lat.

⁴ καὶ πολλοῖς . . . χαίρων] om. E ; καὶ τῷ . . . χαίρων] et
favorabiliter suae vitae iura disponderet Lat.

⁵ ed. pr. : δὲ codd. : τε καὶ E.

earnestly charged Agrippa in a letter to desist from the building of the walls ; and Agrippa thought it best not to disobey.

(3) Now King Agrippa was by nature generous in his gifts and made it a point of honour to be high-minded towards gentiles ^a ; and by expending massive sums he raised himself to high fame. He took pleasure in conferring favours and rejoiced in popularity, thus being in no way similar in character to Herod, who was king before him. The latter had an evil nature, relentless in punishment and unsparing in action against the objects of his hatred. It was generally admitted that he was on more friendly terms with Greeks than with Jews. For instance, he adorned the cities of foreigners by giving them money, building baths and theatres, erecting temples in some and porticoes in others, whereas there was not a single city of the Jews on which he deigned to bestow even minor restoration or any gift worth mentioning.^b Agrippa, on the contrary, had a gentle disposition and he was a benefactor to all alike. He was benevolent to those of other nations and exhibited his generosity to them also ; but to his compatriots he was proportionately more generous and more compassionate. He enjoyed residing in Jerusalem and did so constantly ; and he scrupulously observed the traditions of his people. He neglected no rite of

Agrippa
contrasted
with Herod
the Great.

(*e.g.* Ps. ii. 1), as a translation of Hebrew *goyim*, in the sense of non-Jews.

^b Though it is true that Herod gave money for the erection of monuments in Rhodes, Athens, Sparta, and many other cities outside Palestine, it is not true that he neglected buildings in Jewish cities completely, since, of course, his most magnificent work was the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem.

ἤγεν ἀγνείας οὐδ' ἡμέρα τις παρώδευεν αὐτῷ τὰ νόμιμα χηρεύουσα θυσίας.

- 332 (4) Καὶ δὴ τις ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνὴρ ἐπι-
 χώριος ἐξακριβάζειν δοκῶν τὰ νόμιμα, Σίμων ἦν
 ὄνομα τούτῳ, πλήθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀλίσας τηνικάδε
 τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐκδεδημηκότος ἐτόλ-
 μησεν αὐτοῦ κατεπειν, ὥς οὐχ ὅσιος εἶη, δικαίως
 δ' ἂν εἵργοιτο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς εἰσόδου¹ προσηκούσης
 333 τοῖς εὐαγέσιν.² δηλοῦται μὲν δὴ διὰ γραμμάτων
 ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς πόλεως τῷ βασιλεῖ δημη-
 γορήσας Σίμων ταῦτα, μεταπέμπεται δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ
 βασιλεὺς καί, καθέζετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τότε,
 καθεσθῆναι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ἡρέμα τε καὶ
 πράως, "εἰπέ μοι," φησὶν, "τί τῶν ἐνθάδε γινομένων

¹ ὡς . . . εἰσόδου] quasi non sanctum et iustum suadens
 uti rex prohiberetur a templi limine Lat.

² τοῖς εὐαγέσιν] conl. Niese: τοῖς εὐγενέσι (-σιν A¹) AM:
 τοῖς ἐγγενέσιν W: τῆς εὐγενέσι E: dignis Lat.

^a His identity is otherwise unknown. There is no evidence supporting the guess of Z. Frankel, *Darke ha-Mishnah*, 1859, pp. 58-59, that he was perhaps the son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel I.

^b Lit. "unholy." But it is clear from § 331 and from the Talmudic sources (*Mishnah*, *Bikkurim* iii. 4, Bab. *Pesahim* 107 b, *Ketubot* 17 a, *Leviticus Rabbah* iii. 5) that Agrippa was scrupulously observant, at least in Jerusalem, and that he was praised for his piety by the rabbis. (It is not always certain, however, whether Agrippa I or II is meant in these rabbinic references.)

^c I have adopted Niese's emendation. One of the mss. reads ἐγγενέσιν, "those who were natives," i.e. of Jewish stock. This reading has some appeal since Agrippa's ancestry was a source of embarrassment to him, as he was part Edomite, while the Torah demands that a king be "from among thy brethren" (Deut. xvii. 15). Indeed we hear (*Mishnah*, *Soṭah* vii. 8: the reference, in all probability, is to

purification, and no day passed for him without the prescribed sacrifice.

(4) Here is a supreme example of his character. A native of Jerusalem named Simon ^a with a reputation for religious scrupulousness assembled the people in a public meeting at a time when the king was absent in Caesarea, and had the audacity to denounce him as unclean.^b He asserted that the king ought properly to be excluded from the temple, since the right of entrance was restricted to those who were ritually clean.^c The commanding officer in the city reported to the king by letter that Simon had made this harangue. The king thereupon sent for him, and, since he was sitting in the theatre at the time, bade Simon sit down beside him. "Tell me," he then said quietly and gently, "what is contrary to the law

An example of Agrippa's forgiving nature.

Agrippa I rather than Agrippa II) that when Agrippa reached this passage he burst into tears. But only a non-Jew (Mishnah, *Kelim* i. 8) was excluded from the temple; Agrippa (Mishnah, *Bikkurim* iii. 4) did enter the temple, bringing the first-fruits as far as the altar. We read, furthermore (Mishnah, *Sotah* vii. 8), that the rabbis approved of his standing rather than sitting in the temple while reading the selection from Deuteronomy pertaining to the institution of the king; hence they did not regard him as a non-Jew. He could not have been excluded as an Edomite since he was more than three generations removed from the Edomite Antipas, grandfather of Herod the Great, who was Agrippa's grandfather; and Edomites were prohibited to enter the house of Israel only until the third generation (Deut. xxiii. 8). Hence the only possible reason for claiming that Agrippa ought to have been excluded is that he was impure (Mishnah, *Kelim* i. 8). It is possible that Agrippa contacted such impurity at or on his way to or from the theatre and that this is the significance of Agrippa's summoning Simon to the theatre and asking him what he found contrary to the law there, the implication being that Agrippa had taken proper precautions to prevent contact with uncleanness there.

334 ἐστὶ παράνομον; ” ὁ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἔχων οὐδὲν τυχεῖν
 ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμης. ἀλλὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς θᾶπτον¹ ἢ
 προσεδόκησέν τις διηλλάττετο² τὴν πραότητα
 κρίνων βασιλικωτέραν ὀργῆς καὶ πρέπειν εἰδὼς
 τοῖς μεγέθεσι θυμοῦ πλέον ἐπιείκειαν. τὸν Σίμωνα
 γοῦν καὶ δωρεᾶς τινος ἀξιώσας ἀπεπέμπετο.

335 (5) Πολλοῖς δὲ κατασκευάσας πολλὰ Βηρυτίους
 ἐξαιρέτως ἐτίμησεν· θέατρον γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατε-
 σκεύασε πολυτελείᾳ τε καὶ κάλλει πολλῶν διαφέρον
 ἀμφιθέατρον τε πολλῶν ἀναλωμάτων βαλανεῖα πρὸς
 τούτοις καὶ στοάς, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἔργων στενότητι
 δαπανημάτων ἢ τὸ κάλλος ἀδικήσας ἢ τὸ μέγεθος.

336 ἐπεδαφιλεύσατο δ’ αὐτῶν τὴν καθιέρωσιν μεγαλο-
 πρεπῶς, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μὲν θεωρίας ἐπιτελῶν πάνθ’
 ὅσα μουσικῆς ἔργα παράγων καὶ ποικίλης ποιητικᾶ
 τέρψεως, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀμφιθέατρῳ πλήθει μονομάχων

337 τὴν αὐτοῦ δεικνὺς μεγαλόνοϊαν. ἔνθα καὶ τὴν κατὰ
 πλήθος ἀντίταξιν βουλευθεὶς γενέσθαι τῶν θεωμένων
 τέρψιν ἐπτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐπτακοσίοις μαχησο-
 μένους εἰσέπεμψεν κακούργους ὅσους εἶχεν ἀποτά-
 ξας εἰς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἵν’ οἱ μὲν κολασθῶσιν, τὸ
 πολέμου δ’ ἔργον γένηται τέρψις εἰρήνης. τούτους
 μὲν οὖν πασσυδὶ διέφθειρεν.³

338 (viii. 1) Ἐν Βηρυτῷ δὲ τελέσας τὰ προειρημένα
 μετῆλθεν εἰς Τιβεριάδα πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἦν
 δὲ ἄρα τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσιν περίβλεπτος. ἦκε
 γοῦν παρ’ αὐτὸν Κομμαγενῆς μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀντί-

¹ θᾶπτον] Hudson : αὐτὸν codd. : αὐτῷ E.

² ἀλλὰ . . . διηλλάττετο] tunc rex in aliis circa eum placatus
 quam ab aliquo crederetur Lat.

³ τούτους . . . διέφθειρεν] om. E.

^a Modern Beirut.

^b Cf. § 276 and note.

in what is going on here ? ” Simon, having nothing to say, begged pardon. Thereupon the king was reconciled to him more quickly than one would have expected, for he considered mildness a more royal trait than passion, and was convinced that considerate behaviour is more becoming in the great than wrath. He therefore even presented a gift to Simon before dismissing him.

(5) He erected many buildings in many other places but he conferred special favours on the people of Berytus.^a He built them a theatre surpassing many others in its costly beauty ; he also built an amphitheatre at great expense, besides baths and porticoes ; and in none of these works did he allow either the beauty or the size to suffer by stinting on the expenses. He was also magnificently lavish in his provision at the dedication of them ; in the theatre he exhibited spectacles, introducing every kind of music and all that made for a varied entertainment, while in the amphitheatre he showed his noble generosity by the number of gladiators provided. On the latter occasion also, wishing to gratify the spectators by ranging a number of combatants against each other, he sent in seven hundred men to fight another seven hundred. All these men were malefactors set aside for this purpose, so that while they were receiving their punishment, the feats of war might be a source of entertainment in peace-time. In this way he brought about the utter annihilation of these men.

(viii. 1) Having completed the aforesaid ceremonies at Berytus, he went next to Tiberias, a city in Galilee. Now he was evidently admired by the other kings. At any rate, he was visited by Antiochus ^b

Agrippa's
buildings
at Berytus.

Agrippa en-
tertains
certain
kings at
Tiberias.

οχος, Ἐμεσῶν¹ δὲ Σαμφιγέραμος καὶ Κότυς,² τῆς
 μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας οὗτος ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ Πολέμων
 τὴν Πόντου κεκτημένος δυναστείαν³ Ἡρώδης τε·
 οὗτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ, ἦρχεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος.
 339 ὤμιλησε δὲ πᾶσιν κατὰ τε τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ φιλο-
 φρονήσεις ὥς μάλιστα διαδείξας φρονήσεως ὕψος
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε δοκεῖν δικαίως τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως⁴
 340 παρουσίᾳ⁵ τετιμῆσθαι.⁶ ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων διατρι-
 βόντων ἔτι παρ' αὐτῷ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγε-
 μὼν παρεγένετο. πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οὖν τιμητικὸν
 τηρῶν ὑπαντησόμενος αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπωτέρω
 341 σταδίου ἐπτά προῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς. τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα
 ἔμελλεν τῆς πρὸς Μάρσον ἀρχὴ γενήσεσθαι δια-
 φορᾶς· συγκαθεζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπῆνης ἐπήγετο
 τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας,⁷ Μάρσῳ δ' ἡ τούτων ὁμόνοια
 καὶ μέχρι τοσοῦδε φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπωπτεύθη
 συμφέρειν οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνοντι Ῥωμαίοις δυναστῶν

¹ Hudson ex Ant. xviii. 135: Δαμάσων codd. E: Damasorum Lat.

² AW: Κότης M.

³ καὶ Πολέμων . . . δυναστείαν] qui etiam in Ponto Polemiaco regnabat Lat.

⁴ τοῦ βασιλέως] τῆς βασιλείας E: τῶν βασιλέων Hudson ex cod. Voss.

⁵ A: παρουσίας MW: προσηγορίᾳ Cocceji: παρρησίᾳ coni. Niese.

⁶ ὤμιλησε . . . τετιμῆσθαι] habuitque colloquium apud eos susceptione et amicitiiis valde dignissimum, ita ut ostenderet suae sapientiae culmen et in praesenti eos videretur regaliter honorare Lat.

⁷ συγκαθεζόμενος . . . βασιλέας] sedens enim in tribunali Agrippa invitavit alios reges Lat.

^a His daughter Jotape was married to Agrippa's brother Aristobulus. Cf. Ant. xviii. 135.

king of Commagene, Sampsigeramus ^a king of Emesa, ^b and Cotys ^c king of Armenia Minor, ^d as well as by Polemo, ^e who held sway over Pontus, and Herod ^f his brother, who was ruler of Chalcis. His converse with all of them when he entertained and showed them courtesies was such as to demonstrate an elevation of sentiment that justified the honour done him by a visit of royalty. It so happened, however, that while he was still entertaining them, Marsus the governor of Syria arrived. The king therefore, to do honour to the Romans, advanced seven furlongs outside the city to meet him. Now this action, as events proved, was destined to be the beginning of a quarrel with Marsus; for Agrippa brought the other kings along with him and sat with them in his carriage; but Marsus was suspicious of such concord and intimate friendship among them. He took it for granted that a meeting of minds among so many chiefs of state was prejudicial to Roman interests.

Marsus,
governor of
Syria,
orders the
kings to
depart.

^b Modern *Homs* in Syria Apamene on the Orontes River, just north-east of the Lebanese border.

^c Son of the identically named king of Thrace. Appointed by Gaius in 37 to be king of Armenia Minor (*cf.* Dio lix. 12. 2). Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 9, reports that in 47 he was stopped by a dispatch from the emperor Claudius from opposing by force the return of Mithridates, who was under Roman sponsorship, as ruler of Armenia.

^d A small district west of Armenia proper.

^e Julius Polemo (see *Pap. Brit. Mus.* iii. 1178, line 22), brother of Cotys, king of Armenia Minor. He was king of Pontus from 37 to 63. Dio lx. 8. 2 confuses this Polemo with the Marcus Antonius Polemo who was king of Cilicia; but Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 145, rightly mentions the latter separately, as indicated by D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, ii, 1950, p. 1407 n. 26.

^f *Cf.* *Ant.* xviii. 133 ff. His kingdom of Chalcis was at the foot of Mount Lebanon (*cf.* *Ant.* xiv. 40).

- τοσούτων συμφρόνησιν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς πέμπων ἐπέστελλεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
- 342 δίχα μελλήσεως ἀπέρχεσθαι. ταῦτα Ἀγρίππας ἀνιαρῶς ἐξεδέχετο· καὶ Μάρσῳ μὲν ἐκ τούτου διαφόρως ἔσχεν. τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ Ματθίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτ' αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλιωναῖον τὸν τοῦ Κανθηρᾶ¹ παῖδα.
- 343 (2) Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης² Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο, καὶ παρῆν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν, ἣ τὸ πρότερον Στράτωνος πύργος ἐκαλεῖτο. συνετέλει δ' ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἑορτὴν τινα ταύτην ἐπιστάμενος,³ καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἤθροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει καὶ προβεβηκότων εἰς
- 344 ἀξίαν πλήθος. δευτέρα δὲ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρα στολὴν ἐνδὺς ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, ὡς θαυμάσιον ὑφὴν εἶναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας. ἔνθα ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἡλιακῶν

¹ Ἐλιωναῖον τὸν τοῦ Κανθηρᾶ] Hudson: Ἐλιωναῖον τὸν τοῦ Κιθαίρου A: Ἀλιωναῖον τὸν τοῦ Κιθαίου MW: γρ Δηλιωλαῖον τὸν τοῦ Κανθαῤᾶ i. marg. A: Helioneum Cantherae Lat.

² τῆς ὅλης] om. Lat.

³ ἐπιστησάμενος Thackeray: ἐνιστάμενος Post.

^a This reading is found in the Latin version and in the margin of one of the mss. The mss. read Cithaerus, but in *Ant.* xx. 16, when the next change in the high priesthood is reported, we hear of the deposition of "the high priest surnamed Cantheras." The Mishnah *Parah* iii. 5 speaks of a high priest named Eliehonai (or Elioenai) ben Hakkof (or Hakkayaf); apparently Elionaeus is there regarded as the son of Joseph Caiaphas.

He therefore at once sent some of his associates with an order to each of the kings bidding him set off without delay to his own territory. Agrippa felt very much hurt by this and henceforth was at odds with Marsus. He also deprived Matthias of the high priesthood and appointed Elionaeus the son of Cantheras^a to be high priest in his stead.

(2) After the completion of the third year^b of his reign over the whole of Judaea, Agrippa came to the city of Caesarea,^c which had previously been called Strato's Tower.^d Here he celebrated spectacles in honour of Caesar,^e knowing that these had been instituted as a kind of festival on behalf of Caesar's well-being. For this occasion there were gathered a large number of men who held office or had advanced to some rank in the kingdom. On the second day of the spectacles, clad in a garment woven completely of silver so that its texture was indeed wondrous, he entered the theatre at daybreak. There the silver,

Agrippa is hailed as a god in the theatre at Caesarea.

^b So also in the parallel account, *B.J.* ii. 219.

^c Acts xii. 19-20 also places the scene which follows—Agrippa's death—in Caesarea; but there is no mention in Josephus of Agrippa's meeting with the ambassadors of Tyre and Sidon as reported in the narrative of Acts.

^d In Phoenicia between modern *Jaffa* and *Tantura*. Herod built a magnificent harbour there and renamed the city Caesarea in honour of Augustus. Cf. *Ant.* xv. 331-341 and *B.J.* i. 408-414. A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1937, p. 231, speculates that the name may imply that it was founded by one of the Stratos who were kings of Sidon in the fourth century, or it may be a hellenization of *Migdol Astart*, lit. "Astarte's Tower," just as Strato itself represents *Abd Astart*.

^e Thackeray's emendation, "which he [*i.e.* Agrippa] had instituted," is unlikely because these were presumably the quinquennial games (*B.J.* i. 415) which Herod had instituted and named after Caesar.

ἀκτίνων ἐπιβολαῖς ὁ ἄργυρος καταυγασθεὶς θαυμασίως ἀπέστειλε μαρμαίρων τι φοβερὸν καὶ τοῖς
 345 εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζουσι φρικῶδες. εὐθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακες
 τὰς οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ¹ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν²
 φωνὰς ἀνεβόων, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες, “εὐμενὴς τε
 εἷης,” ἐπιλέγοντες, “εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπον
 ἐφοβήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦντεῦθεν κρείττονά σε θνητῆς
 346 φύσεως ὁμολογοῦμεν.” οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν τούτοις ὁ
 βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κολακείαν ἀσεβοῦσαν³ ἀπετρίψατο.
 ἀνακύψας δ’ οὖν μετ’ ὀλίγον τὸν βουβῶνα
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ὑπερκαθιζόμενον εἶδεν ἐπὶ
 σχοινίου τινός. ἄγγελον τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν
 κακῶν εἶναι τὸν καὶ ποτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον,
 καὶ διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὀδύνην, ἄθρουν δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς
 κοιλίας προσέφυσεν⁴ ἄλγῃμα μετὰ σφοδρότητος

¹ ἀγαθοῦ] MW: ἀγαθοῦ ταῖς ἀληθείαις A: τὰς οὐδὲ . . . ἀγαθοῦ] om. E: quae nec illi bonae pro veritate videbantur Lat.

² τὰς οὐδὲ . . . ἄλλοθεν] i. ras. pressius scripta m. 2 A.

³ ἀσεβοῦσαν] ἀσεβῇ οὔσαν vel. <ὡς> ἀσεβοῦσαν coni. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ codd.: γρ προσεφοίτησεν i. marg. A: προσέφν L. Dindorf: προσίθυσεν Busb.

^a J. Morgenstern, “The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel,” *Hebrew Union Coll. Ann.* xx, 1947, pp. 90-91, presents the extravagant suggestion that Agrippa was playing the rôle of a sun-god and that the festival was actually an equinoctial or solstitial New Year’s Day festival. He compares the festival with that celebrated by the Roman legions at Durostorum in Lower Moesia (cf. *Acta Dasi*) in which there is a human victim clothed in royal garments and playing the rôle of a divine king who is required to sacrifice himself after thirty days.

^b Acts xii. 21-22 similarly reports that after Herod [Agrippa], arrayed in royal apparel, had sat upon his throne

illuminated by the touch of the first rays of the sun,^a was wondrously radiant and by its glitter inspired fear and awe in those who gazed intently upon it. Straightway his flatterers raised their voices from various directions—though hardly for his good—addressing him as a god.^b “May you be propitious to us,” they added, “and if we have hitherto feared you as a man, yet henceforth we agree that you are more than mortal in your being.” The king did not rebuke them nor did he reject their flattery as impious. But shortly thereafter he looked up and saw an owl perched on a rope over his head. At once, recognizing this as a harbinger of woes just as it had once been of good tidings,^c he felt a stab of pain in his heart. He was also gripped in his stomach by an ache that he felt everywhere at once and that was intense from the start.^d Leaping

Agrippa
sees an owl
and is
smitten
with illness.

and made an oration, the people shouted: “The voice of a god, and not of man!”

^c In *Ant.* xviii. 195, Josephus mentions that an owl alighted on the tree against which Agrippa was leaning after he had been imprisoned by Tiberius. Another prisoner, a German, interprets this as a portent of Agrippa’s speedy release from chains and of his advance to great power. Agrippa is told, however (*Ant.* xviii. 200), that when he sees the owl again, it will indicate that his death is to follow within five days.

^d Acts xii. 23 does not mention the owl, but says that immediately after the people had called Agrippa a god, “an angel of the Lord smote him, because he did not give God the glory; and he was eaten by worms and died.” Cf. also Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 10, in whose account it is not an owl but an angel that Agrippa sees above his head. A physician, E. M. Merrins, “The Deaths of Antiochus IV, Herod the Great, and Herod Agrippa I,” *Bibliotheca Sacra* lxi, 1904, pp. 561-562, says that the immediate cause of Agrippa’s death was surely peritonitis, and that Agrippa was afflicted with appendicitis, which is the most frequent cause of such abdominal pain as is here described. He thinks,

- 347 ἀρξάμενον. ἀναθορών¹ οὖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, “ὁ
 θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐγώ,” φησὶν, “ἤδη καταστρέφειν ἐπιτάτ-
 τομαι τὸν βίον, παραχρῆμα τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὰς
 ἄρτι μου² κατεψευσμένας φωνὰς ἐλεγχούσης³. ὁ
 κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἤδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι.
 δεκτέον δὲ τὴν πεπρωμένην, ἧ θεὸς βεβούληται·
 καὶ γὰρ βεβιώκαμεν οὐδαμῇ φαύλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς
 348 μακαριζομένης λαμπρότητος.” ταῦθ’ ἅμα λέγων
 ἐπιτάσει τῆς ὀδύνης κατεπονεῖτο· μετὰ σπουδῆς
 οὖν εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον ἐκομίσθη καὶ διῆξε λόγος εἰς
 πάντας, ὡς ἔχοι τοῦ τεθνάναι παντάπασι μετ’ ὀλίγον.
 349 ἡ πληθὺς δ’ αὐτίκα σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ παισὶν ἐπὶ
 σάκκων καθεσθεῖσα τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τὸν θεὸν
 ἰκέτευεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἰμωγῆς δὲ πάντ’ ἦν
 ἀνάπλεα καὶ θρήνων. ἐν ὑψηλῷ δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς
 δωματίῳ κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων αὐτοὺς
 πρηνεῖς καταπίπτοντας ἄδακρυς οὐδ’ αὐτὸς διέ-
 350 μενεν. συνεχεῖς⁴ δ’ ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς
 γαστρὸς ἀλγῆματι διεργασθεὶς τὸν βίον κατέ-
 στρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ
 351 τέταρτον, τῆς βασιλείας δ’ ἑβδομον. τέτταρας μὲν
 οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτοὺς τῆς
 Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας, τῷ

¹ A: ἀναθεωρῶν MWE Eus.: respiciens Lat.

² ἄρτι μου] AW: ἀτίμους καὶ M.

³ παραχρῆμα . . . ἐλεγχούσης] repente namque increpitu-
 sum, cum mendaces ad me voces adclamarentur Lat.

⁴ συνεχῶς E Eus. et i. marg. A.

following the account in Acts, that roundworms, so common in Eastern countries, may have hastened his death by becoming active in Agrippa's alimentary canal, since these worms become notably more destructive when any part of

up^a he said to his friends : " I, a god in your eyes, am now bidden to lay down my life, for fate brings immediate refutation of the lying words lately addressed to me. I, who was called immortal by you, am now under sentence of death. But I must accept my lot as God wills it. In fact I have lived in no ordinary fashion but in the grand style that is hailed as true bliss." Even as he was speaking these words, he was overcome by more intense pain. They hastened, therefore, to convey him to the palace ; and the word flashed about to everyone that he was on the very verge of death. Straightway the populace, including the women and children, sat in sackcloth in accordance with their ancestral custom and made entreaty to God on behalf of the king. The sound of wailing and lamentations prevailed everywhere. The king, as he lay in his lofty bedchamber and looked down on the people as they fell prostrate, was not dry-eyed himself. Exhausted after five straight days by the pain^b in his abdomen, he departed this life in the fifty-fourth year of his life and the seventh of his reign. He had reigned for four years^c under Gaius Caesar, ruling during three of them over the tetrarchy of Philip, and adding that

Death of
Agrippa.

the body is diseased. J. Meyshan, " The Coinage of Agrippa the First," *Israel Explor. Jour.* iv, 1954, p. 187 n. 2, suggests that Agrippa was poisoned by arsenic, the standard poison of the era. A quantity of arsenic less than 0.1 gram is undetected in food and will bring about either sudden death or an agony extending over a few days and culminating in death.

^a Variant " looking up."

^b Variant " Exhausted after five days by the unremitting pain."

^c 37-41. Cf. the less precise statement in the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 219.

τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς, τρεῖς δ' ἐπιλαβὼν τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας, ἐν οἷς τῶν τε προειρημένων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσέλαβεν Σαμάρειάν τε καὶ Καισάρειαν. προσωδεύσατο δ' ὅτι πλείστας¹ αὐτῶν προσφορὰς διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις μυριάδας,² πολλὰ μέντοι προσεδανείσατο· τῷ γὰρ φιλόδωρος εἶναι δαφιλέστερα τῶν προσιόντων ἀνήλυσκεν,³ ἦν δὲ ἀφειδὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλότιμον.

353 (3) Ἀγνοουμένης γε μὴν τοῖς πλήθεσιν τῆς ἐκπνοῆς αὐτοῦ συμφρονήσαντες Ἡρώδης τε ὁ τῆς Χαλκίδος δυναστεύων καὶ Ἑλκίας ὁ ἑπαρχος⁴ καὶ φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρίστωνα ἔπεμψαν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον⁵ καὶ Σίλαν, ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀπέσφαξαν ὥς δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος.

354 (ix. 1) Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ κατέστρεψεν τὸν βίον, γένει⁶ δὲ αὐτῷ κατελέλειπτο υἱὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἄγων ἔτος ἑπτακαιδέκατον, τρεῖς δὲ θυγατέρες, ὧν ἡ μὲν Ἡρώδη τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφῷ γεγάμητο Βερενίκη τὸ ἑκκαί-

¹ ὅτι πλείστας] E: ὅτι πλείστους codd.: πλείστας coni. Post: innumera Lat.

² διακοσίας . . . μυριάδας] om. Lat.

³ δαφιλέστερα . . . ἀνήλυσκεν] supplicatibus larga munera conferebat Lat.

⁴ ἑπαρχος Zonaras.

⁵ codd. E: fidelissimum Lat.: ἐπιτηδείατον Ernesti.

⁶ γενεὰ Richards et Shutt.

^a Herod Antipas, who had come to Rome to seek rights equal to those accorded by Gaius to Agrippa, only to be deprived of his tetrarchy and sent into exile (*Ant.* xviii. 252).

^b 41-44.

^c About £1,157,143 or \$3,240,000. The word "drachmas" is not in the text, but it appears to be understood. If one reads πλείστας the meaning would be that the revenue that Agrippa

of Herod ^a during the fourth year. He reigned further for three years ^b under the emperor Claudius Caesar, during which time he ruled over the territory mentioned above and received in addition Judaea, Samaria, and Caesarea. He derived as much revenue as possible from these territories, amounting to twelve million drachmas, ^c but he borrowed much, for, owing to his generosity, his expenditures were extravagant beyond his income, and his ambition knew no bounds of expense. ^d

(3) While the populace was yet unaware that he had breathed his last, Herod ^e the ruler of Chalcis, conspiring together with Helcias ^f the prefect ^g and friend of the king, sent Ariston, the most suitable of their attendants, and slew Silas, ^h who was their enemy, pretending that they had had orders from the king.

(ix. 1) Such was the final scene of King Agrippa's life. ⁱ He left one son, ^j Agrippa, in his seventeenth year, and three daughters. Of these, one, Berenice, who was sixteen years old, was married to Herod, ^k

received from these territories amounted at the highest to twelve million drachmas.

^d Or "his ambition never counted the cost." A. Momigliano, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 851 n. 1, speculates that the bad financial administration of Agrippa was one of the factors that helped to bring about the reabsorption of Judaea into the empire. ^e See above, § 338.

^f See *Ant.* xviii. 273 and note.

^g Presumably he held the position formerly filled by Silas, ἑπαρχος παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος, commander-in-chief of the entire army (so W. Otto, in Pauly-Wissowa, viii, 1913, p. 96).

^h Agrippa's general who was now in prison. Cf. §§ 299 and 317-325.

ⁱ Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 220.

^j Another son, Drusus, had died before reaching adolescence (*Ant.* xviii. 132).

^k The ruler of Chalcis.

δέκατον ἔτος γεγονυῖα, παρθένοι δ' ἦσαν αἱ δύο
 Μαριάμμη τε καὶ Δρούσιλλα, δεκαετῆς μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα,
 355 ἑξαετῆς δὲ Δρούσιλλα· καθωμολόγηντο δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πατρὸς πρὸς γάμον Ἰουλίῳ¹ μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ τοῦ
 Ἑλκίου² παιδὶ Μαριάμμη, Δρούσιλλα δὲ Ἐπιφανεῖ,
 τοῦ δὲ τῆς Κομμαγενῆς βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου³ υἱὸς
 356 ἦν οὗτος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτε ἐγνώσθη τὸν βίον ἐκλι-
 πὼν Ἀγρίππας, Καισαρεῖς καὶ Σεβαστηνοὶ τῶν εὐ-
 ποιῶν αὐτοῦ λαθόμενοι τὰ τῶν δυσμενεστάτων
 357 ἐποίησαν· βλασφημίας τε γὰρ ἀπερρίπτουν εἰς τὸν
 κατοιχόμενον ἀπρεπεῖς λέγεσθαι καὶ ὅσοι στρατευό-
 μενοι τότε ἔτυχον, συχνοὶ δ' ἦσαν, οἵκαδε ἀπῆλθον
 καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρων
 ἀρπάσαντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκόμισαν εἰς τὰ πορνεία
 καὶ στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ὥς δυνατόν ἦν ἀφύ-
 358 βριζον⁴ ἀσχημονέστερα διηγῆσεως δρῶντες, ἐπὶ τε
 τοῖς δημοσίοις κατακλινόμενοι τόποις πανδήμους
 ἐστιάσεις ἐπετέλουν στεφανούμενοι καὶ μυριζό-
 μενοι καὶ σπένδοντες τῷ Χάρωνι προπόσεις τῆς
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπνοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἀνταποδιδόντες.⁵
 359 ἀμνήμονες δ' ἦσαν οὐκ Ἀγρίππα μόνον χρησα-
 μένου πολλαῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίαις, καὶ τοῦ πάπ-

¹ om. Lat.

² conl. (cf. Ant. xx. 140): Χελκίου codd.

³ A: om. MW.

⁴ AM: ἀφύπνιζον W: ἐφύβριζον E.

⁵ καὶ σπένδοντες . . . ἀνταποδιδόντες] et orco sacrificia turpiter exhibentes prandiaque sibimet alterutro pro regia morte reddentes Lat.

^a Cf. Ant. xx. 140, 147. See also Ap. i. 51, where Josephus names him as one of those to whom he sold a copy of his *Bellum Judaicum*.

her father's brother, and two were unmarried, namely Mariamme and Drusilla, aged respectively ten and six years. They had been promised by their father in marriage, Mariamme to Julius Archelaus,^a son of Helcias,^b and Drusilla to Epiphanes,^c the son of Antiochus king of Commagene. But when it became known that Agrippa had departed this life, the people of Caesarea and of Sebaste,^d forgetting his benefactions, behaved in the most hostile fashion. They hurled insults, too foul to be mentioned, at the deceased ; and all who were then on military service—and they were a considerable number—went off to their homes, and seizing the images^e of the king's daughters carried them with one accord to the brothels, where they set them up on the roofs and offered them every possible sort of insult, doing things too indecent to be reported. Moreover, they reclined in the public places and celebrated feasts for all the people, wearing garlands and using scented unguents ; they poured libations to Charon,^f and exchanged toasts in celebration of the king's death. In this they were unmindful not only of Agrippa, who had treated them with much generosity, but

The people of Caesarea and Sebaste rejoice at his death.

^b mss. Chelcias, but in *Ant.* xx. 140 the name is given as Helcias.

^c The marriage never took place, since Epiphanes was unwilling to convert to the Jewish religion, though he had contracted with Agrippa to do this (*Ant.* xx. 139).

^d Samaria.

^e That one as pious as Agrippa (*cf.* § 331) should have erected images of his daughters seems remarkable. But Schürer, i, 1901, p. 161, well notes that on Agrippa's coins also there is the same inconsistency, for those minted in Jerusalem have no image, while those from other cities often have the image of Agrippa or of the emperor.

^f The mythical ferryman of the dead over the river Styx or Acheron in the Lower World.

που δὲ Ἡρώδου· τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνος αὐτοῖς ἔκτισεν
 λιμένας τε καὶ ναοὺς κατεσκεύασεν λαμπροῖς δαπα-
 νήμασιν.

- 360 (2) Ὁ δὲ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος υἱὸς Ἀγρίππας ἐπὶ
 361 Ῥώμῃς ἦν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ τρεφόμενος παρὰ
 Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. πυθόμενός γε μὴν Καῖσαρ, ὅτι
 τέθνηκεν Ἀγρίππας, Σεβαστηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Καισαρεῖς
 362 ὑβρίκασιν εἰς αὐτόν, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἤλγησεν, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τοὺς ἀχαριστήσαντας ὠργίσθη.¹ πέμπειν οὖν εὐ-
 θέως ὥρμητο τὸν νεώτερον Ἀγρίππαν τὴν βασι-
 λείαν διαδεξόμενον ἅμα βουλόμενος ἐμπεδοῦν τοὺς
 ὁμωμοσμένους ὄρκους, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ
 φίλων οἱ πολὺ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι ἀπέτρεψαν,
 σφαλερὸν εἶναι λέγοντες κομιδῇ νέῳ μηδὲ τοὺς
 παιδὸς ἐκβεβηκότι χρόνους ἐπιτρέπειν βασιλείας
 τηλικούτον μέγεθος, ὃ μὴ δυνατόν τὰς τῆς διοική-
 σεως φροντίδας ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ τελείῳ δ' οὖν εἶναι
 βαρὺν βάσταγμα βασιλείαν.² ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοὺς
 363 εἰκότα λέγειν ὁ Καῖσαρ. ἔπαρχον οὖν τῆς Ἰου-
 δαίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης βασιλείας ἀπέστειλεν Κού-
 σπιον Φᾶδον τῷ κατοικομένῳ διδοὺς τιμὴν τὸ μὴ
 Μάρσον ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰς βασίλειον³ αὐτῷ διάφορον.
 364 ἐγνώκει δὲ πρὸ πάντων ἐπιστεῖλαι⁴ τῷ Φάδῳ
 Καισαρεῦσιν καὶ Σεβαστηνοῖς ἐπιπληῆξαι τῆς εἰς
 τὸν κατοιχόμενον ὕβρεως καὶ παροινίας εἰς τὰς ἔτι

¹ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ . . . ὠργίσθη] gravi dolore percussus est Lat.

² καὶ τελείῳ . . . βασιλείαν] om. E.

³ codd. E: regnum Lat.: βασιλείαν Hudson.

⁴ εἰς βασίλειον . . . ἐπιστεῖλαι] εἰς τὸ βασίλειον αὐτῷ ἐπεὶ διά-
 φορον τοῦτον ἐγνώκει. πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐπέστειλε E.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xv. 296-298.

^b A reference to the solemn treaty that Claudius had made
 with Agrippa in the Roman Forum (§ 275).

also of his grandfather Herod, who had built their cities and had erected harbours and temples at lavish expense.^a

(2) Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome at this time, where he was being brought up at the court of Claudius Caesar. Caesar, on hearing of the death of Agrippa, and of the insults heaped upon him by the people of Sebaste and Caesarea, was grieved for him and angry at his ungrateful subjects. He had accordingly resolved to send the younger Agrippa at once to take over the kingdom, wishing at the same time to maintain the sworn treaty ^b with him. He was, however, dissuaded by those of his freedmen and friends who had great influence with him, who said that it was hazardous to entrust so important a kingdom to one who was quite young and had not even passed out of boyhood ^c and who would find it impossible to sustain the cares of administration; even to a grown man, said they, a kingdom was a heavy responsibility. Caesar accordingly decided that their arguments were plausible. He therefore dispatched Cuspius Fadus ^d as procurator of Judaea and of the whole kingdom, so far honouring the deceased as not to bring Marsus, who, he knew, had a quarrel with Agrippa, into his royal capital.^e Above all, he had resolved to instruct Fadus to rebuke the people of Caesarea and Sebaste for their insults to the deceased, and for their intemper-

Cuspius Fadus is appointed procurator of Judaea, since Agrippa II is still a minor.

^c The term used in Greek, *παῖς*, is hardly appropriate for one who was sixteen. He was now actually a *μειράκιον*, "a stripling."

^d A.D. 44.

^e According to Hudson's emendation, "into his kingdom"; *i.e.* Claudius honoured Agrippa's memory by not choosing Marsus to succeed him.

365 ζώσας, τὴν ἴλην δὲ τῶν Καισαρέων καὶ τῶν Σε-
 βαστηνῶν καὶ τὰς πέντε σπείρας εἰς Πόντον μετα-
 γαγεῖν, ἵν' ἐκεῖ στρατεύοιντο, τῶν δ' ἐν Συρίᾳ
 Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων ἐπιλέξαι στρατιώτας κατ'
 366 ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναπληρῶσαι τόπον. οὐ
 μὴν οἱ κελευσθέντες μετέστησαν· πρεσβευσάμενοι
 γὰρ Κλαύδιον ἀπεμειλίζαντο καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ἰουδαίας ἐπέτυχον, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι χρόνοις τῶν
 μεγίστων Ἰουδαίοις ἐγένοντο συμφορῶν ἀρχὴ τοῦ
 κατὰ Φλῶρον πολέμου σπέρματα βαλόντες.¹ ὅθεν
 Οὐεσπασιανὸς κρατήσας, ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον ἐροῦμεν,
 ἐξήγαγεν² αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας.³

¹ Hudson : λαβόντος codd. : λαβόντες E.

² ἐξέβαλεν E.

³ A : ἀρχῆς MW : regione Lat.

^a Latin *ala*, numbering either 500 or 1000 men. These squadrons often bore titles, as here, indicating the country from which they had been enrolled.

^b The Sebastenian troops are frequently mentioned in Josephus (*cf. B.J.* ii. 52 and note, and *Ant.* xx. 122) and in inscriptions (listed by Schürer, i, p. 461 n. 51). They and the Caesareans made up one corps and were stationed together at Caesarea.

ate attack on his still living daughters, to transfer to Pontus the squadron ^a of cavalry composed of men from Caesarea and Sebaste,^b together with the five cohorts,^c in order to do their service there, and to enrol a proportionate number of soldiers from the Roman legions in Syria to fill their place. The troops were not, however, transferred as they had been ordered, for they sent a deputation which appeased Claudius and obtained leave to remain in Judaea. These men, in the period that followed, proved to be a source of the greatest disasters to the Jews by sowing the seed of the war in Florus' time.^d For this reason Vespasian, on coming to the throne, as we shall shortly relate,^e deported them from the province.

^c Since a cohort had a strength of 500 to 600 men, this would amount to 2500 to 3000 men.

^d Procurator 64/65. *Cf. Ant.* xviii. 25, xx. 252-258, *B.J.* ii. 277 ff.

^e This account of the expulsion of the Sebasteni is not extant in any of the existing works of Josephus. H. Petersen, "Real and Alleged Literary Projects of Josephus," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lxxix, 1958, pp. 273-274, has effectively pointed out that Josephus could easily have fulfilled this and his other promised treatments in his autobiography. That he did not do so indicates that he probably changed his plans.

BIBAIION K

(i. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, καθὼς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ἀπηγγέλλκαμεν βίβλῳ, πέμπει Μάρσῳ διάδοχον Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Κάσσιον Λογγῖνον, μνήμη τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτο χαρίζομενος, πολλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περιόντος ἀξιωθεὶς μηκέτι Μάρσον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ²πραγμάτων προΐστασθαι. Φᾶδος δὲ ὥς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει στασιάσαντας τοὺς τὴν Περαιάν κατοικοῦντας¹ Ἰουδαίους πρὸς Φιλαδελφηνοὺς περὶ ὄρων κώμης Ζιᾶς² λεγομένης πολεμικῶν³ ἀνδρῶν ἀνάπλεω· καὶ δὴ οἱ τῆς Περαιᾶς χωρὶς γνώμης τῆς τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὺς τῶν Φιλαδελ- ³φηνῶν διαφθείρουσιν. ταῦτα πυθόμενον τὸν Φᾶδον σφόδρα παρώξυνεν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ παρα-

¹ τοὺς τὴν Περαιάν κατοικοῦντας] Iudaeos habitantes trans fluvium Lat.

² Reland: *μῆας* codd.: *meas* Lat.

³ MWE: *πολεμίων* A: *armatorum* Lat.

^a *Ant.* xix. 350.

^b Consul in A.D. 30, proconsul of Asia in 40, governor of Syria from 45 to 50. His pre-eminence as a jurist is noted by Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 12; for an example of his legal mind see *Ann.* xiv. 43-44.

^c Procurator A.D. 44-45. Cf. *Ant.* xix. 363-366.

^d For a description of Peraea see *B.J.* iii. 44-47, according

BOOK XX

(i. 1) On the death of King Agrippa, as I reported in the previous book,^a Claudius Caesar sent Cassius Longinus^b as successor to Marsus. He did this in deference to the memory of the king, who in his lifetime had often sent him letters asking that Marsus might no longer have charge of the administration of Syria. Fadus,^c on his arrival in Judaea as procurator, found that the Jewish inhabitants of Peraea^d had fallen out with the people of Philadelphia^e over the boundaries of a village called Zia,^f which was infested with warlike men.^g Moreover, the Peraeans, who had taken up arms without the sanction of their leaders, inflicted much loss of life on the Philadelphians. Fadus, on being informed of this, was greatly incensed that the Peraeans, granted that they thought

Cassius Longinus is appointed governor of Syria. Fadus arrives as procurator of Judaea.

Dispute about boundaries between the Peraean Jews and the people of Philadelphia.

to which it was a trans-Jordanian region extending in length from Machacrus to Pella and in breadth from Philadelphia to the Jordan.

^a Biblical Rabbah of Ammon, modern *Amman*, capital of the kingdom of Jordan. It was called Philadelphia after Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

^f mss. "Mia," *i.e.* "one," the name of the village having dropped out, according to Niese. Reland, followed by Havercamp, Tuch, and Schürer (ii. 146 and n. 348), reads Zia, the name of a village fifteen Roman miles west of Philadelphia. On Zia see Eusebius, *Onom. Sac.*, ed. Larsow and Parthey, pp. 200-201.

^g Variant "their enemies."

λίποιν, εἶπερ ὑπὸ τῶν Φιλαδελφηνῶν ἐνόμιζον
 4 ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀλλ'¹ ἐφ' ὅπλα χωρήσειαν. λαβὼν οὖν
 τρεῖς τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τοὺς καὶ τῆς στάσεως
 αἰτίους δῆσαι προσέταξεν, εἴτα τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν
 ἀνείλεν, Ἀννίβας² δ' ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, Ἀμαράμω³
 δὲ καὶ Ἐλεαζάρῳ τοῖς δυσὶ φυγὴν ἐπέβαλεν.
 5 ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ Θολομαῖος⁴ ὁ ἀρχιληστής μετ' οὐ
 πολὺν χρόνον ἀχθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν δέσμιος⁵ διατεθεικῶς
 μέγιστα κακὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας,
 ἐκαθάρθη τε ληστηρίων ἅπανα τοῦντεῦθεν Ἰουδαία⁶
 6 προνοία καὶ φροντίδι τῇ Φάδου· ὃς δὴ καὶ τότε
 μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους
 τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν⁷ παρήνευσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποδήρη
 χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν, ἣν φορεῖν μόνος ὁ
 ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθος ἔχει, εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ
 φρούριον, καταθέσθαι κεισομένην ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων
 7 ἐξουσία, καθὰ δὴ καὶ πρότερον ἦν. οἱ δὲ ἀντιλέγειν
 μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, παρεκάλουν δ' ὁμως τὸν τε

¹ ἀλλ'] ἀλλ' ἀδεῶς E.

² AW: Ἀννίβα^σ M: antibam Lat.

³ Ἀμεράνω Busb. teste Hudsono.

⁴ Θοδομαῖος E teste Hudsono et i. marg. A: Θολεμαῖος codd.
 i. argumento: Ptolemaeus Lat.

⁵ ἀχθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν δέσμιος] A (ἐπ' αὐτὸν . . . μέγιστ i. ras.
 m. 2 angustius scriptae): ἀχθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν MW: ἀχθεὶς δέ-
 σμιος ὑπ' αὐτὸν E: captus et ad eum deductus Lat.

⁶ Ἰουδαία A: ἡ Ἰουδαία MW: ἡ τε Ἰουδαία καὶ Ἀραβία E
 teste Hudsono.

⁷ κατὰ τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ante παρήνευσεν add. E.

^a "In chains" is found in the Ambrosian ms. and in the Epitome only.

themselves wronged by the Philadelphians, had not waited for him to give judgement but had instead resorted to arms. He therefore seized three of their leaders, who were in fact responsible for the revolt and ordered them to be held prisoner. Next he put one of them, named Annibas, to death, and imposed exile on the other two, Amaramus and Eleazar. Not long afterwards Tholomaeus the arch-brigand, who had inflicted very severe mischief upon Idumaea and upon the Arabs, was brought before him in chains ^a and put to death. From then on the whole of Judaea was purged of robber-bands, thanks to the prudent concern displayed by Fadus. ^b He also at that time sent for the chief priests and the leaders of the people of Jerusalem and advised them to deposit the full-length tunic and the sacred robe, which it was the custom for the high priest alone to wear, in Antonia, ^c which is a fortress. There they were to be entrusted to the authority of the Romans, as in fact they had been in times past.^d They did not dare to gainsay him, but nevertheless they petitioned Fadus and

Fadus orders the high priest's vestments returned to Roman custody.

^b Cf. another account in Josephus of the following incident, *Ant.* xv. 406-407.

^c Restored by Herod the Great and called Antonia in honour of Mark Antony (*B.J.* i. 401 and *Ant.* xviii. 92), described at length in *B.J.* v. 238-247.

^d *Ant.* xv. 406. Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 93, which notes that after the reign of Archelaus, the successor of Herod the Great, when the Romans took over the government of Judaea, they assumed control of the high priest's vestments. According to *Ant.* xviii. 90, Vitellius, the Roman governor of Syria, had agreed, in A.D. 36-37, to allow the Jews to resume custody of these vestments. The passage parallel with ours, *B.J.* ii. 220, praises Cuspius Fadus for abstaining from any interference with the Jewish customs and for thus keeping the nation at peace; but the advice to deposit the high priest's sacred garments in Antonia did constitute such an interference.

- Φάδον καὶ τὸν Λογγῖνον,¹ ἀφίκετο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ τὰ προστάγματα Φάδου τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτερίζειν ἀναγκάσῃ, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι πρέσβεις ὡς Καίσαρα πέμψαι τοὺς αἰτησομένους παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, εἴτα δὲ περιμεῖναι μέχρις ἂν
8 γνῶσιν, τί πρὸς ταῦτα Κλαύδιος ἀποκρίναιτο. οἱ δὲ ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς πρέσβεις, εἰ λάβοιεν τοὺς παῖδας ὀμηρεύσοντας. ὑπακουσάντων δ' ἐτοίμως ἐκείνων καὶ δόντων ἐξεπέμ-
9 φθησαν οἱ πρέσβεις. παραγενομένων δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτῶν γνοὺς ὁ νεώτερος Ἀγρίππας ὁ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος παῖς, καθ' ἣν ἤκουσιν αἰτίαν, ἐτύγχανεν δὲ ὧν παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον εἵπομεν, παρακαλεῖ τὸν Καίσαρα συγχωρῆσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἅπερ ἡξίουں περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς καὶ Φάδῳ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστεῖλαι.
- 10 (2) Καλέσας δὲ Κλαύδιος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔφη ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἀγρίππα χάριν εἰδέναι, ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκείνου ποιεῖν ἀξιώσαντος, ἐπὶ τε ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν τοιαύτην ἐπιστολὴν ἔδωκεν·
- 11 “ Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Γερμανικὸς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον ὑπάτος ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τέταρτον αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δέκατον πατὴρ πατρίδος Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ Ἰουδαίων παντὶ
12 ἔθνει χαίρειν. Ἀγρίππα τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ὃν ἐγὼ ἔθρεψα καὶ ἔχω σὺν ἐμαυτῷ εὐσεβέστατον ὄντα, προσαγαγόντος μοι τοὺς ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις εὐχαριστοῦντας

¹ τὸν τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπίτροπον post Λογγῖνον add. E.

Longinus—for the latter, out of fear that Fadus' commands would force the Jewish people into rebellion, had himself come to Jerusalem with a large force—first to allow them to send a delegation to Caesar to ask him for permission to keep the sacred robe in their own hands, and secondly to wait until they knew what answer Claudius made to this petition. Fadus and Longinus replied that they would permit them to send a delegation if their children were delivered as hostages to them. To this they promptly agreed and delivered the hostages, whereupon the envoys were dispatched. On their arrival in Rome the younger Agrippa, son of the deceased king, who, as I said before,^a was, as a matter of fact, at the court of Claudius Caesar, took note of the purpose of their coming and entreated Caesar to grant the Jews their petition regarding the sacred robe and to send a letter to Fadus to that effect.

(2) Claudius, when he had summoned the envoys, informed them that he was granting their petition, adding that they must thank Agrippa for it, since he was acting at Agrippa's request. To confirm his answer, he gave them a letter, which I quote: "Claudius Caesar Germanicus, in the fifth year of tribunician power, designated consul for the fourth time, Imperator for the tenth time, Father of his country, to the rulers, council, and people of Jerusalem^b and to the whole nation of the Jews, greeting. My friend Agrippa, whom I have brought up and now have with me, a man of the greatest piety, brought your envoys before me. They gave thanks for the

Claudius allows the Jews to keep the high priest's vestments.

^a *Ant.* xix. 360.

^b On Jerusalem as the civil centre of the Jewish state *cf.* *Ant.* xiv. 74.

- ἐφ' ἣ πεποίημαι τοῦ ἔθνους ὑμῶν κηδεμονία, καὶ αἰτησαμένων¹ σπουδαίως καὶ φιλοτίμως τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν στέφανον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑμῶν εἶναι, συγχωρῶ καθὼς ὁ κράτιστος καὶ μοι τιμιώ-
 13 τatos Οὐιτέλλιος ἐποίησεν. συγκατεθέμην δὲ τῇ γνῶμῃ ταύτῃ πρῶτον διὰ τὸ ἑμαυτοῦ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θρησκεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰδῶς, ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ Ἑρώδῃ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, ὧν τὴν πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς² γινώσκω σπουδὴν πάννυ χαριοῦμαι³ ταῦτα ποιήσας, πρὸς οὓς ἔστι μοι πλεῖστα δίκαια φιλίας κρατίστους ὄντας καὶ μοι
 14 τιμίους.⁴ ἔγραψα δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ Κουσπίῳ Φάδῳ τῷ ἡμῶ ἐπιτρόπῳ. οἱ τὰ γράμματα κομίζοντες Κορνήλιος Κέρωνος⁵ Τρύφων Θευδίωνος Δωρόθεος Ναθαναήλου Ἰωάννης Ἰωάννου. ἐγράφη πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν Ἰουλίου⁶ ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Ῥούφου καὶ Πομπηίου Σιλουανοῦ.”
 15 (3) Ἡιτήσατο δὲ καὶ Ἑρώδης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, Χαλκίδος δὲ τὴν

¹ αἰτησαμένων] αἰτησαμένους conl.: αἰτησαμένων <αὐτῶν> Richards et Shutt. ² A: ἡμᾶς MW.

³ πάννυ χαριοῦμαι] ed. pr.: amplissimas amicitias collocabo Lat.: om. codd.: lacunam post σπουδὴν indicat Niese.

⁴ καὶ ἐκέλευεν (§ 10) . . . τιμίους] δι' Ἀγρίππαν E; πρὸς οὓς . . . τιμίους] potentium personarum Lat.

⁵ Κέρωνος] MW: καὶ Λέων A: Leo Lat.

⁶ Ἰουλίου] Hudson ex codd. Lat. dett.: om. codd.: lacunam indicat Niese.

^a *Ant.* xviii. 90. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 32, mentions his intimacy with Claudius. Suetonius, *Vit.* 2 and Dio lx. 21. 2, note that he shared two regular consulships with Claudius and was in charge of the empire while Claudius was away on his British expedition. His extreme flattery of Claudius, as well

tender care that I have shown your nation and earnestly and zealously requested that the holy vestments and the crown might be placed in your hands. I grant this request, in accordance with the precedent set by Vitellius,^a that excellent man for whom I have the greatest esteem. I have given my consent to this measure, first because I cherish religion myself and wish to see every nation maintain the religious practices that are traditional with it, and secondly because I know that in doing so I shall give great pleasure^b to King Herod^c himself and to Aristobulus the Younger^d—excellent men for whom I have high regard, men of whose devotion to me and zeal for your interest I am aware and with whom I have very many ties of friendship. I am also writing on these matters to my procurator Cuspius Fadus.^e The bearers of this letter are Cornelius son of Ceron, Tryphon son of Theudion, Dorotheus son of Nathanael, and John son of John. Written on the fourth day before the Kalends of July,^f in the consulship of Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus.”^g

(3) Herod, brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was at this time charged with the administration as of the latter's wives and freedmen, is also stressed by Suetonius.

Herod of Chalcis obtains further concessions.

^b “I shall give great pleasure” is from the *editio princeps*. The mss. apparently have a lacuna.

^c King of Chalcis, brother of Agrippa I.

^d Son of Herod king of Chalcis; cf. *Ant.* xviii. 134, 137; xx. 104.

^e In *Ant.* xv. 407, where the embassy to Claudius is also mentioned, the emperor is reported to have ordered Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to grant the Jews control of the vestments.

^f The Greek mss. lack “July,” which is supplied by some of the inferior mss. of the Latin version. ^g 28 June A.D. 45.

- ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον πεπιστευμένος,
Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τῶν
ιερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων χειροτονίαν,
16 πάντων τε ἐπέτυχεν. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπο-
γόνοις αὐτοῦ παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία μέχρι τῆς τοῦ
πολέμου τελευτῆς. καὶ δὴ ὁ Ἡρώδης μεθίστησιν
τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Κανθήραν¹
Ἰωσήφῳ τῷ Καμεῖ² ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς
τιμῆς παρασχόμενος.
- 17 (ii. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἀδιαβη-
νῶν βασιλὶς Ἑλένη³ καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης⁴ εἰς
τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔβη τὸν βίον μετέβαλον διὰ τοιαύτην
18 αἰτίαν. Μονόβαζος⁵ ὁ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλεὺς,
ὧ καὶ Βαζαῖος⁶ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἦν, τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἑλένης
ἄλous ἔρωτι τῇ πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίᾳ ἄγεται καὶ
κατέστησεν ἐγκύμονα. συγκαθεύδων δέ ποτε τῇ
γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν χεῖρα προσαναπαύσας
ἦνίκα καθύπνωσεν, φωνῆς τινος ἔδοξεν ὑπακούειν⁷

¹ Κανθηρᾶν E et ex corr. A.

² Καμεῖ] Niese: Καμεῖ i. marg. γρ A: Καμνὶ A: τοῦ Κανεῖ
MW: τοῦ Καμεῖ E: Cami Lat.: cf. § 103, ubi Καμοιδὶ vel
simile extat.

³ Ἑλένη hic et infra M et plerumque W.

⁴ Iazates Lat.

⁵ Μηνόβαζος E.

⁶ A: Βαζέως MW: Bazeus Lat.

⁷ A: ἀκούειν MWE: ut . . . subito . . . audiret Lat.

^a Or "from that time."

^b The last high priest mentioned by Josephus before the appointment of Joseph the son of Camei is not Cantheras but Elionaeus the son of Cantheras (or Cithaerus: *Ant.* xix. 342); and Schürer, ii. 271-272 n. 14, says that our Cantheras must be Elionaeus. Kirsopp Lake, "The Chronology of Acts," in Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, v, 1933, p. 455, presents two conjectures: (1)

of Chalcis, also asked Claudius Caesar to give him authority over the temple and the holy vessels and the selection of the high priests—all of which requests he obtained. This authority, derived from him,^a passed to his descendants alone until the end of the war. Herod accordingly removed the high priest surnamed Cantheras^b from his position and conferred the succession to this office upon Joseph the son of Camei.^c

(ii. 1) ^a At the same time Helena, queen of Adiabene,^e and her son Izates became converts to Judaism under the following circumstances. Monobazus, surnamed Bazaeus, king of Adiabene, seized with a passion for his sister Helena, took her as his partner in marriage and got her pregnant. On one occasion as he was sleeping beside her, he rested his hand on his wife's belly after she had gone to sleep, whereupon he thought he heard a voice bidding him remove his

Monobazus,
king of
Adiabene,
his wife
Helena, and
their son
Izates.

Cantheras was a surname of Elionaeus ; or (2) Josephus may have omitted the appointment of a high priest named Cantheras. He suggests, on the basis of *Ant.* iii. 320-321, which mentions that a famine occurred during the reign of Claudius while Ishmael was high priest, that Josephus has neglected to mention the high priesthood of this Ishmael, and that it was he who was surnamed Cantheras. The Talmud, *Pesahim* 57 a, probably refers to the family of Cantheras when one of the rabbis laments the evil decrees promulgated by the house of Kathros.

^c *Cf. Ant.* xx. 103. Niese conjectures that this is perhaps the same name as Camith (*Ant.* xviii. 34) ; so, more positively, Schürer, ii. 272 n. 16.

^a Thackeray, in his copy of Josephus, appropriately remarks that the story of Izates is written in an easy flowing style very different from that of *Ant.* xvii-xix. He also notes that there are certain obvious parallels with the story of Joseph in Genesis.

^e A district in northern Mesopotamia, its chief city being Arbela.

κελευούσης αἶρειν ἀπὸ τῆς νηδύος τὴν χεῖρα καὶ μὴ
 θλίβειν τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ βρέφος θεοῦ προνοία καὶ ἀρχῆς
 19 τυχόν καὶ τέλους εὐτυχοῦς τευξόμενον. ταραχθεὶς
 οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς εὐθὺς διεγερθεὶς ἔφραζε τῇ
 γυναικὶ ταῦτα, καὶ γε¹ τὸν υἱὸν Ἰζάτην ἐπεκάλεσεν.
 20 ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ Μονόβαζος τούτου πρεσβύτερος ἐκ τῆς
 Ἑλένης γενόμενος ἄλλοι τε παῖδες ἐξ ἐτέρων γυ-
 ναικῶν. τὴν μέντοι πᾶσαν εὐνοίαν ὡς εἰς μονογενῇ
 21 τὸν Ἰζάτην ἔχων φανερός ἦν. φθόνος δὲ τοῦντεῦθεν
 τῷ παιδὶ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοπατρίων ἀδελφῶν ἐφύετο
 καὶ τούτου μῖσος ἠϋξέτο λυπουμενῶν ἀπάντων, ὅτι
 22 τὸν Ἰζάτην αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ προτιμῶν. ταῦτα δὲ
 καίπερ σαφῶς αἰσθανόμενος ὁ πατὴρ ἐκείνοις μὲν
 συνεγίνωσκειν ὡς μὴ διὰ κακίαν αὐτὸ πάσχουσιν
 ἀλλ' ἥτοι² παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀξι-
 οῦντα³ εὐνοίας τυγχάνειν,⁴ τὸν δὲ νεανίαν,⁵ σφόδρα
 γὰρ ἐδεδοίκει περὶ αὐτοῦ, μὴ μισούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν πάθοι τι, πολλὰ δωρησάμενος πρὸς Ἀβεν-
 νήριγον⁶ ἐκπέμπει τὸν Σπασίνου χάρακος βασιλέα,
 παρακατατιθέμενος ἐκείνῳ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτη-
 23 ρίαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀβεννήριγος ἄσμενός τε δέχεται τὸν

¹ καὶ γε] γρ καὶ γεννώμενον i. marg. A : καὶ E : καὶ γενό-
 μενον ed. pr. : et natum Lat.

² ἥτοις Ernesti.

³ coni. : ἀξίων MW : ἀξιών, ὡ ex ὁ corr. A : ἀξιούν Cocceji :
 ἀξιοῦσιν Ernesti.

⁴ ἀλλ' ἥτοι . . . τυγχάνειν] sed quoniam singuli favorem
 patris habere desiderabant Lat. : ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἕκαστον ἀξιούν εὐνοίας τυγχάνειν Bekker : ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς
 παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἀξιοίῃ εὐνοίας τυγχάνειν coni.
 Niese.

⁵ A : Ἰζάτην MWE Lat.

⁶ MW : Σαβιννήριγον A.

^a Zoitos (*Midrash Rabbah on Genesis* xlvi. 10). According
 to F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, s.v. "Yazata," pp.
 145-146, the name Izates in Iranian means "genius," "godly

hand from her womb so as not to cramp the babe within it, which by the providence of God had had a happy start and would also attain a fortunate end. Disturbed by the voice, he at once awoke and told these things to his wife ; and he called the son who was born to him Izates.^a He had an elder son by Helena named Monobazus and other children by his other wives ; but it was clear that all his favour was concentrated on Izates as if he were an only child.^b In consequence of this, Izates' half-brothers by their common father grew envious of the child. Their envy grew into an ever-increasing hatred, for they were all vexed that their father preferred Izates to themselves. Although their father clearly perceived this, he pardoned them, for he attributed their feeling not to any bad motive but rather to the desire that each of them had to win his father's favour for himself. Yet, as he was greatly alarmed for the young Izates, lest the hatred of his brothers should bring him to some harm, he gave him an abundance of presents and sent him off to Abennerigus ^c the king of Charax Spasini,^d to whom he entrusted the safety of the boy. Abennerigus welcomed the lad and being " (especially used of Mithra), and later (in the plural) " God."

^b For the use of the term " only-begotten " (*μονογενής*) in the sense of " favourite," " best-beloved," or " one who has no equal," see P. Winter, " ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ," *Zeit. f. Religions- und Geistesgesch.* v, 1953, pp. 335-365.

^c Abinerglos according to one of his coins. He reigned from A.D. 5 to 21.

^d Lit. Spasinus' Camp. *Cf. Ant.* i. 145. It is Palmyrene *Karak Aspasinā* or *Karkā*, the capital city of the tiny kingdom of Charakene. *Cf.* Ptolemy vi. 3. 2 (*Χάραξ Πασινοῦ*) and Dio lxviii. 28. 4 (*ὁ Χάραξ ὁ τοῦ Σπασίνου καλούμενος*). It lies between the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

νεανίαν καὶ διὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας ἄγων γυναῖκα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα, Σαμαχῶ¹ δ' ἦν ὄνομα ταύτῃ, δίδωσι· δωρεῖται δὲ χώραν, ἐξ ἧς μεγάλας λήψοιτο προσόδους.

- 24 (2) Μονόβαζος δὲ ἤδη γηραιὸς ὢν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν ὁρῶν χρόνον ἠθέλησεν εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι τῷ παιδί πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι. μετα-
 25 πεμφάμενος οὖν αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται φιλοφρονέστατα, καὶ χώραν δίδωσιν Καρρῶν² λεγομένην. φέρειν δ' ἡ γῆ πλεῖστον τὸ ἄμωμον ἀγαθόν· ἔστι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ λεύψανα τῆς λάρνακος, ἧ³ Νῶχον⁴ ἐκ τῆς ἐπομβρίας διασεσῶσθαι λόγος ἔχει, καὶ μέχρι νῦν
 26 ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδεῖν βουλομένοις ἐπιδείκνυνται. διέτριβεν οὖν ὁ Ἰζάτης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ πατρός. ἧ δ' ἐξέλιπεν ἡμέρα τὸν βίον ὁ Μονόβαζος ἡ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη μεταπέμπεται πάντας τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας σατράπας καὶ
 27 τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις πεπιστευμένους. οἷς ἀφικομένοις, “ὅτι μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνὴρ,” εἶπε,⁵ “τῆς βασιλείας

¹ E: Σαμαχῶς Niese: Σαμαχῶ· A: Σάμαχος MW: Amachos Lat.: Συμαχῶ Dindorf.

² A: Καρρῶν MW: Καρεῶν (κ ex ν corr.) E: Carrorum Lat.

³ E: ἧν codd.

⁴ Νῶχος E: Νῶεον Dindorf.

⁵ τῆς βασιλείας (§ 26) . . . εἶπε] A (in ras.): om. MW Lat.

^a Various spellings: Samachōs, Samachōs, Amachos, Symacho. The name in Syriac means “recreation.”

^b The location of Carron presents considerable difficulties. It is not Carrhae, which is in northern Mesopotamia. The emendation to Gordyene (cf. *Ant.* i. 93), on the Armenian border east of the sources of the Tigris, is more acceptable geographically, since it is closer to Ararat, the Biblical site where Noah's ark rested. Hence, the reading proposed by J. Macquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 1903, p. 289 n. 4, is Καρδοῦ.

viewed him with such goodwill that he gave him his daughter, named Symmacho,^a as a wife and conferred on him a territory that would insure him a large income.

(2) Monobazus, being now old and seeing that he had not long to live, desired to lay eyes on his son before he died. He therefore sent for him, gave him the warmest of welcomes and presented him with a district called Carron.^b The land there has excellent soil for the production of amomum ^c in the greatest abundance ; it also possesses the remains of the ark ^d in which report has it that Noah was saved from the flood—remains which to this day are shown to those who are curious to see them. Izates, accordingly, resided in this district until his father's death. On the day when Monobazus departed this life, Queen Helena sent for all the high nobles and satraps of the realm and those who were charged with military commands. On their arrival she said to them : " I think that you are not unaware that my husband

Izates receives the district of Carron, containing remnants of Noah's ark.

^c An aromatic plant of the ginger family, though its exact identity is unknown. See Wagler, "Amomum," Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1894, pp. 1873-1874.

^d In *Ant.* i. 90 the ark is said to have landed on a mountain-top in Armenia. In *Ant.* i. 92 Josephus notes that the remains were shown by the Armenians even in his own day. Berosus the Chaldaean (third century B.C.), as quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 93, also notes that a portion of the ark was still said to be extant in Armenia on the mountain of the Cordyaeans (modern Kurdistan) and that people carried off pieces of the bitumen which they used as apotropaic charms. As Nicolas of Damascus tells the story (quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 95), during the time of the flood, a man, who, he thinks, might well have been Noah, landed with his ark upon a great mountain called Baris in the country of Minyas in Armenia close to the Ararat mentioned in the Biblical account.

- αὐτῷ διαδόχον Ἰζάτην ἠϋξάτο γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐδ' ὑμᾶς λεληθέναι δοκῶ, περιμένω δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν κρίσιν· μακάριος γὰρ οὐχ ὁ παρ' ἐνός, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων καὶ θελόντων τὴν
- 28 ἀρχὴν λαμβάνων.” ἡ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν ἐπὶ πείρα τοῦ τί φρονοῖεν οἱ συγκληθέντες¹. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες πρῶτον μὲν προσεκύνησαν τὴν βασιλίδα, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, εἶτ' ἔφασαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμην βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὑπακούσεσθαι χαίροντες Ἰζάτῃ δικαίως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προκριθέντι τῶν
- 29 ἀδελφῶν κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τὰς ἀπάντων. βούλεσθαί τ' ἔφασαν προαποκτεῖναι² πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰζάτην μετ' ἀσφαλείας κατασχεῖν· φθαρέντων γὰρ ἐκείνων καθαιρεθήσεσθαι πάντα τὸν φόβον τὸν ὑπὸ μίσους
- 30 τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ φθόνου γινόμενον. πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλένη χάριν μὲν αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγει τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Ἰζάτην εὐνοίας ἔχειν, παρεκάλει δ' ὅμως ἐπισχεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν γνώμην μέχρι ἂν Ἰζάτης παραγενόμενος συν-
- 31 δοκιμάσῃ. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀνελεῖν συμβουλευσάντες οὐκ ἔπεισαν,³ ἀλλὰ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς δεσμίους παρήνουν μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἑαυτῶν. συνεβούλευον δ' αὐτῇ μεταξὺ προστήσασθαι τινα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίτροπον, ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύει.
- 32 πείθεται τούτοις ἡ Ἑλένη, καὶ καθίστησι τὸν πρεσβύτατον παῖδα Μονόβαζον⁴ βασιλέα περιθεῖσα τὸ διάδημα καὶ δοῦσα τὸν σημαντῆρα τοῦ πατρὸς

¹ ἐπὶ πείρα . . . συγκληθέντες] om. E; μαθησομένη post συγκληθέντες add. A.

had set his heart on Izates succeeding to his kingdom and had deemed him worthy of this honour ; nevertheless, I await your decision. For he is blessed who receives his realm from the hands not of one but of many who willingly give their consent." She said this to test the disposition of those whom she had called together. They, on hearing her words, first of all, according to their custom, made obeisance to the queen, and thereupon replied that they gave their support to the king's decision, and would gladly obey Izates, who, as one and all had prayed in their hearts, had been justly preferred by his father to his brothers. They added that they first wished to put his brothers and kinsmen to death in order that Izates might be seated on the throne with full security ; for if they were destroyed, all fear arising from the hatred and envy that they bore towards Izates would be removed. In reply Helena expressed her gratitude for their goodwill to herself and to Izates ; but she nevertheless entreated them to defer their decision about putting the brothers to death until after Izates had arrived and given his approval. Failing to persuade her to put the brothers to death as they advised, they, for their own safety, admonished her at least to keep them in custody until his arrival. They also advised her meanwhile to appoint as trustee of the realm someone in whom she had most confidence. Helena agreed to this and set up Monobazus, her eldest son, as king. Putting the diadem upon his head and giving him his father's signet ring and what they call

Izates is
named to
succeed
Monobazus.

² κατὰ . . . προαποκτείνειν] et omnium pariter esse votum
ut . . . occiderent Lat.

³ ἐπεὶ . . . ἔπεισαν] om. E.

⁴ om. E.

JOSEPHUS

δακτύλιον τήν τε σαμψηράν¹ ὀνομαζομένην παρ'
 αὐτοῖς, διοικεῖν τε τήν βασιλείαν παρήνευσεν μέχρι
 33 τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παρουσίας. ἦκε δ' οὗτος ταχέως
 ἀκούσας τήν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν καὶ διαδέχεται
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μονόβαζον ὑπεκστάντα² τῆς ἀρχῆς
 αὐτῷ.³
 34 (3) Καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον⁴ ὁ Ἰζάτης ἐν τῷ Σπασίνου
 χάρακι⁵ διέτριβεν Ἰουδαῖός τις ἔμπορος Ἀνανίας
 ὄνομα πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας εἰσιὼν τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὰς τὸν θεὸν σέβειν, ὡς Ἰουδαίοις
 35 πάτριον ἦν, καὶ δὴ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφικόμενος
 τῷ Ἰζάτῃ κακέκρινον ὁμοίως συνανέπεισεν μετακλη-
 θέντι τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν συνεξ-
 ῆλθεν κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπακούσας δέησιν· συνεβεβήκει
 δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ὁμοίως ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς Ἰου-
 δαίου διδαχθεῖσαν⁶ εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνων μετακεκομίσθαι
 36 νόμους. ὁ δ' Ἰζάτης ὡς παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν,
 ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς
 τε ἀδελφούς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς δεδεμένους
 37 ἔδυσχέρανεν τῷ γεγονότι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἢ

¹ MW : συμψειράν, ei i. ras. A : sampseram Lat.

² E : ὑπερεκστάντος codd. : ὑπεκστάντος Niese.

³ καὶ διαδέχεται . . . αὐτῷ] et fratri denuo successit in regno, quod ille absenti perceperat conservandum Lat.

⁴ A : καιρὸν MWE.

⁵ ὁ Ἰζάτης . . . χάρακι] Gaius in vallo Spasini Lat.

⁶ A : διαλεχθεῖσαν MW : eruditam Lat.

^a Clementz, in a note in his translation of the *Antiquities* into German, explains that *sampsra* means the sun among the Arabs and that the *sampsra* was a golden shield in the form of the sun which was carried as a symbol of sovereignty.

^b G. Klein, *Der älteste christliche Katechismus*, 1909, pp. 137-138, holds that Jewish traders often acted as missionaries. They pretended, he says, to sell the balm of life, *sam*

the *sampsera*,^a she exhorted him to administer the kingdom until his brother's arrival. The latter, on hearing of his father's death, quickly arrived and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who made way for him.

(3) Now during the time when Izates resided at Charax Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant ^b named Ananias visited the king's wives and taught them to worship God after the manner of the Jewish tradition. It was through their agency that he was brought to the notice of Izates, whom he similarly won over with the co-operation of the women. When Izates was summoned by his father to Adiabene, Ananias accompanied him in obedience to his urgent request. It so happened, moreover, that Helena had likewise been instructed by another Jew and had been brought over to their laws. When Izates came to Adiabene to take over the kingdom and saw his brothers and his other kinsmen in chains, he was distressed at what had been done. Regarding it as impious either

Independent conversion to Judaism of Izates and Helena.

hayyim (*Tanḥuma Mezora* 5), but instead offered the prescription of the good life as described in Psalm xxxiv. 14, *sam* representing, according to Klein, the first letters of the words *sur mera*' (Ps. xxxiv. 14), "depart from evil." But this is simply a parable, of which the Midrashic works have many, that happens to use the merchant (a common symbol) as the instrument of conveying its moral; it does not necessarily indicate that such an incident was a frequent occurrence. It is interesting to note that the same point made in the *Tanḥuma* is also made in the Talmud, *Abodah Zarah* 19 b, by a rabbi named Alexander without using a merchant as the medium of a story. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1948, p. 133 n. 1, citing Klein, adds: "It is tempting to suggest that the use of *καπηλεύοντες*, from the verb meaning 'to be a retail-dealer,' by Paul in 2 Cor. ii. 17 may have, as its background, this trading missionary activity of which Klein speaks."

φυλάττειν δεδεμένους ἀσεβὲς ἡγούμενος, τὸ δὲ μνησικακοῦντας ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ μὴ¹ δεδεμένους² σφαλερὸν εἶναι νομίζων, τοὺς μὲν ὀμηρεύοντας μετὰ τέκνων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψε Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Ἀρταβάνην³ τὸν Πάρθον ἐφ' ὁμοίαις προφάσεσιν ἀπέστειλεν.

- 38 (4) Πυθόμενος⁴ δὲ πάνυ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔθουσιν χαίρειν τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ⁵ ἔσπευσε καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἐκεῖνα μεταθέσθαι, νομίζων τε μὴ ἂν εἶναι βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος, εἰ μὴ περιτέμοιτο,⁶ πράττειν
39 ἣν ἔτοιμος. μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ μήτηρ κωλύειν ἐπειράτο ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ κίνδυνον λέγουσα· βασιλέα γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ καταστήσειν εἰς πολλὴν δυσμένειαν τοὺς ὑπηκόους μαθόντας, ὅτι ξένων ἐπιθυμήσειεν καὶ ἀλλοτρίων αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαί τε βασιλεύον-
40 τος αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίου. καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν καὶ παντοίως⁷ ἐκώλυεν. ὁ δ' εἰς τὸν Ἀνανίαν τοὺς λόγους ἀνέφερεν. τοῦ δὲ τῇ μητρὶ συμφάσκοντος⁸ καὶ συναπειλήσαντος ὡς εἰ μὴ πείθοι⁹ καταλιπὼν¹⁰
41 ἄπεισιν· δεδοικέναι γὰρ ἔλεγεν,¹¹ μὴ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκδήλου πᾶσιν γενομένου κινδυνεύσειε τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς αἴτιος τούτων καὶ διδάσκαλος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπρεπῶν ἔργων¹² γενόμενος, δυνάμενον δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη καὶ χωρὶς τῆς περιτομῆς τὸ θεῖον

¹ om. Lat.

² ἐδυσχέρανεν . . . μὴ δεδεμένους] om. MW.

³ codd. Lat. E: Ἀρτάβανον Hudson.

⁴ E: πειθόμενος codd. Lat.

⁵ χαίρειν . . . ἑαυτοῦ] E: om. codd. Lat.

⁶ codd. E: περιτέμοιτο Hudson; τὴν σάρκα post περιτέμοιτο add. Λ (-ος εἰ μὴ περιτέμοιτο τὴν σάρκα i. ras., Ἰουδαῖ suppl. m. 2 Λ). ⁷ Λ: τέως MWE: omnino Lat.

⁸ E: συμπάσχοντος Λ: συγκατασχόντος M: συνκατασχόντος W: dixit Lat.

to kill them or to keep them in chains, and yet thinking it hazardous to keep them with him if they were not imprisoned—cherishing resentment as they must—he sent some of them with their children to Claudius Caesar in Rome as hostages, and others to Artabanus ^a the Parthian king with the same excuse.

(4) When Izates had learned that his mother was very much pleased with the Jewish religion, he was zealous to convert to it himself; and since he considered that he would not be genuinely a Jew unless he was circumcised, he was ready to act accordingly. When his mother learned of his intention, however, she tried to stop him by telling him that it was a dangerous move. For, she said, he was a king; and if his subjects should discover that he was devoted to rites that were strange and foreign to themselves, it would produce much disaffection and they would not tolerate the rule of a Jew over them. Besides this advice she tried by every other means ^b to hold him back. He, in turn, reported her arguments to Ananias. The latter expressed agreement with the king's mother and actually threatened that if he should be unable to persuade Izates, he would abandon him and leave the land. For he said that he was afraid that if the matter became universally known, he would be punished, in all likelihood, as personally responsible because he had instructed the king in unseemly practices. The king could, he said, worship

Helena
urges Izates
not to be
circum-
cised.

Conflicting
Jewish
views on the
necessity of
circum-
cision.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 48-52, 96-104, 250, 325-338, 353; xx. 54-69.

^b Variant "for a time."

⁹ MW : πείθοιτο E et ex corr. A.

¹⁰ καταλιπὼν] καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν ed. pr.

¹¹ ἔλεγεν] cui mater ait Lat.

¹² καὶ διδάσκαλος . . . ἔργων] om. E.

σέβειν, εἶγε πάντως κέκρικε ζηλοῦν τὰ πάτρια τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων· τοῦτ' εἶναι κυριώτερον τοῦ περιτέμνε-
 42 σθαι· συγγνώμην δ' ἔξειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν φήσαν-
 τος μὴ πράξαντι τὸ ἔργον δι' ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν ἐκ
 τῶν ὑπηκόων φόβον, ἐπείσθη μὲν τότε τοῖς λόγοις
 43 ὁ βασιλεὺς. μετὰ ταῦτα δέ, τὴν γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ
 ἐξεβεβλήκει παντάπασιν, Ἰουδαῖός τις ἕτερος ἐκ
 τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀφικόμενος Ἑλεάζαρος ὄνομα πάνυ
 περὶ τὰ πάτρια δοκῶν ἀκριβὴς¹ εἶναι προετρέψατο
 44 πρᾶξαι τοῦργον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰσῆλθεν ἀσπασόμενος

¹ AW : εὐσεβὴς M : eruditum Lat.

^a Many scholars, following J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, 1867, pp. 225-229 (see the literature cited by B. J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period*, 1939, pp. 48-49), who attempts to see in the dispute between Ananias and Eleazar a controversy between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, have suggested that the difference between Ananias and Eleazar as to the necessity of circumcision for conversion is also found in the Talmud, *Yebamot* 46 a, where Rabbi Joshua holds the view, akin to that expressed here by Ananias, that circumcision is not a *sine qua non* for conversion—he says that only baptism is necessary—, whereas Rabbi Eliezer, like Eleazar here (the similarity in spelling is not significant, since Rabbi Eliezer did not flourish until the end of the first century and the beginning of the second), says that circumcision is the *sine qua non* for conversion. J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul*, 1943, pp. 39-40, asserts that the controversy between Joshua and Eliezer is reflected also in the dispute between Paul and Barnabas, on the one hand, and James and Peter, on the other hand, as to whether circumcision is necessary in the case of pagans who accept Christianity or whether baptism alone is sufficient. But these proposed parallels to the controversy between Ananias and Eleazar, though tempting, are unlikely, since Ananias' motives seem to stem not from his religious beliefs on the question but from caution. Jose-
 410

God even without being circumcised if indeed he had fully decided to be a devoted adherent of Judaism, for it was this that counted more than circumcision. He told him, furthermore, that God Himself would pardon him if, constrained thus by necessity and by fear of his subjects, he failed to perform this rite. And so, for the time, the king was convinced by his arguments. Afterwards, however, since he had not completely given up his desire, another Jew, named Eleazar,^a who came from Galilee and who had a reputation for being extremely strict when it came to the ancestral laws, urged him to carry out the rite. For when he came to him to pay him his respects and

thus elsewhere, for example, in the case of Azizus king of Emesa (*Ant.* xx. 139) and Polemo king of Cilicia (*Ant.* xx. 145), cites circumcision as necessary for conversion. But circumcision, according to Ananias (so S. Bialoblocki, *Die Beziehungen des Judentums zu Proselyten und Proselytentum*, 1930, p. 16), is like other commandments in that it may be omitted when it involves physical danger, *i.e.* when a person has hemophilia; Ananias regards Izates' case as similar in that it too involves danger to life. Eliezer, on the other hand, insists—and such is the law as recognized in the Talmud, that only through circumcision may a non-Jew become a Jew. The controversy between Joshua and Eliezer is presented differently in the Palestinian Talmud, *Kiddushin* iii. 14, where Eliezer says that circumcision alone is sufficient, whereas Joshua asserts that baptism is also necessary. Cf. Bamberger, pp. 49-51, who ingeniously argues that Joshua cannot mean that the convert may omit circumcision, since even if a heathen became a convert after mere baptism, as indicated by Joshua, he would now be obligated to observe all the commandments of the Torah, one of which is circumcision. The controversy between Joshua and Eliezer, says Bamberger, is on the question—which is important for practical purposes—as to the exact moment when conversion takes place; Joshua believes that baptism is the determining act, whereas Eliezer says that circumcision is the determining act.

αὐτὸν¹ καὶ κατέλαβε² τὸν Μωυσέος νόμον ἀναγινώ-
 σκοντα, “λανθάνεις,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μέγιστα
 τοὺς νόμους³ καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν τὸν θεὸν ἀδικῶν· οὐ γὰρ
 ἀναγινώσκειν⁴ σε δεῖ μόνον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρό-
 45 τερον τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιεῖν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. μέχρι
 τίνος ἀπερίτμητος μένεις;⁵ ἀλλ’ εἰ μήπω τὸν περὶ
 τούτου νόμον ἀνέγνως, ἵν’ εἰδῇς τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀσέβεια,
 46 νῦν ἀνάγνωθι.” ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐχ
 ὑπερεβάλετο τὴν πρᾶξιν, μεταστὰς δ’ εἰς ἕτερον
 οἶκημα καὶ τὸν ἱατρὸν εἰσκαλεσάμενος τὸ προσ-
 ταχθὲν ἐτέλει καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὴν τε μητέρα
 καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον Ἀνανίαν ἐσήμαινεν⁶ αὐτὸν⁷
 47 πεπραχέναι τοῦργον. τοὺς δ’ ἐκπληξίς εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν
 καὶ φόβος οὔτι μέτριος,⁸ μὴ τῆς πράξεως εἰς ἔλεγ-
 χον ἐλθούσης κινδυνεύσειεν μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν ὑπηκόων
 ἄρχειν αὐτῶν ἄνδρα τῶν παρ’ ἐτέροις ζηλωτὴν
 ἐθῶν, κινδυνεύσειαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἐπ’
 48 αὐτοῖς ἐνεχθείσης. θεὸς δ’ ἦν ὁ κωλύσων ἄρα τοὺς
 ἐκείνων φόβους ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τέλος· πολλοῖς γὰρ αὐτόν
 τε τὸν Ἰζάτην περιπεσόντα κινδύνους καὶ παῖδας

¹ εἰσηλθεν . . . αὐτόν] intrasset ad eum Lat.

² ἐπεὶ . . . κατέλαβε] καταλαβὼν γὰρ αὐτόν E.

³ τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς νόμους] Moyseos iura Lat.

⁴ AM: γινώσκειν W.

⁵ codd. E: μενεῖς Dindorf; μέχρι . . . μένεις] quamdiu sine circumcissione permales legibus nequaquam nosceris oboedire Lat.

⁶ Niese: ἐσήμανεν codd. E: ἐσήμηνεν Dindorf.

⁷ MW: αὐτόν ex corr. A: αὐτοῖς E: αὐτὸς Bekker.

⁸ οὔτι μέτριος] om. E.

found him reading the law of Moses,^a he said : “ In your ignorance, O king, you are guilty of the greatest offence against the law and thereby against God. For you ought not merely to read the law but also, and even more, to do what is commanded in it. How long will you continue to be uncircumcised ? If you have not yet read the law concerning this matter, read it now, so that you may know what an impiety it is that you commit.” Upon hearing these words, the king postponed the deed no longer. ^{Izates is circum-} Withdrawing ^{cised.} into another room, he summoned his physician and had the prescribed act performed. Then he sent for both his mother and his teacher Ananias and notified them that he had performed the rite. They were immediately seized with consternation and fear beyond measure that, if it should be proved that he had performed the act, the king would risk losing his throne, since his subjects would not submit to government by a man who was a devotee of foreign practices, and that they themselves would be in jeopardy since the blame for his action would be attributed to them. It was God who was to prevent their fears from being realized. For although Izates himself and his children were often threatened with destruction, God pre-

which the circumcision of Izates occurred while his father was still alive, reports that Izates and his brother Monobazus were once reading the book of Genesis and came to the verse “And ye shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin” (Gen. xvii. 11). Both began to weep and independently decided on circumcision. Some time later, when they once again read from Genesis and reached this verse, each lamented that the other was uncircumcised. They then confided in each other and informed their mother, who, in turn, told their father that a sore had broken out on their sons’ flesh and that the physician had ordered circumcision. Thereupon the father gave his consent to what had already been done.

τοὺς ἐκείνου διέσωσεν ἐξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον εἰς σωτηρίαν παρασχών, ἐπιδεικνὺς ὅτι τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν καὶ μόνῳ πεπιστευκόσιν ὁ καρπὸς οὐκ ἀπόλλυται ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

- 49 (5) Ἐλένη δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτηρ ὁρῶσα τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰρηνευόμενα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτῆς μακάριον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι ζηλωτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἁλλοεθnéσι διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν,¹ ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχεν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικομένη τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις περιβόητον ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνῆσαι καὶ χαριστηρίους θυσίας προσενεγκεῖν,
- 50 ἔδεδίτό τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιτρέψαι. τοῦ δὲ πάνυ προθύμως τῇ μητρὶ παρακαλούσῃ κατανεύσαντος καὶ πολλὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἐτοιμασμένου καὶ χρήματα πλείιστα δόντος, καταβαίνει εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν προπέμποντος ἐπὶ
- 51 πολὺ τοῦ παιδός.² γίνεται δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ ἄφιξις πάνυ συμφέρουσα τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις³. λιμοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν

¹ καὶ παρὰ . . . πρόνοιαν] et ultra cunctas gentes providentia divina religiosum Lat.

² προπέμποντος . . . παιδός] om. E.

³ καὶ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα χρησίμη post Ἱεροσολυμίταις add. A.

^a Part of this promise is perhaps fulfilled in §§ 69-91 ; but we do not hear of the miraculous escape from the dangers that confronted Izates' children. Nor do we hear of God's aid to Izates during the period that elapsed between Izates' conversion, presumably shortly after the beginning of his reign in 31, and Helena's journey to Jerusalem in 46 or 47. The Mishnah *Nazir* iii. 6, however, does tell us of one incident that occurred during this period. Once, when Izates went to war, Helena vowed to become a Nazirite for seven years if he should return safely. Her son returned, and she fulfilled the vow. At the conclusion of the seven years she went

served them, opening a path to safety from desperate straits. God thus demonstrated that those who fix their eyes on Him and trust in Him alone do not lose the reward of their piety. But I shall report these events at a later time.^a

(5) Helena, the mother of the king, saw that peace prevailed in the kingdom and that her son was prosperous and the object of admiration in all men's eyes, even those of foreigners, thanks to the prudence that God gave him. Now she had conceived a desire to go to the city of Jerusalem and to worship at the temple of God, which was famous throughout the world, and to make thank-offerings there. She consequently asked her son to give her leave. Izates was most enthusiastic in granting his mother's request, made great preparations for her journey, and gave her a large sum of money. He even escorted her for a considerable distance, and she completed her journey to the city of Jerusalem. Her arrival ^b was very advantageous for the people of Jerusalem,

Helena's visit to Jerusalem and her gifts for relief of the famine.

to the land of Israel—presumably her journey in 46 or 47—, where she was told that she would have to become a Nazirite for an additional seven years, since residence outside the land of Israel renders one ritually unclean so far as Nazirite-ship is concerned. She faithfully served the additional seven years, only to become unclean herself at the conclusion of them, and so she started a third period as a Nazirite. It was during this period, in A.D. 55, that Izates died and Helena returned to Adiabene, where she died shortly thereafter.

^b H. Graetz, "Zeit der Anwesenheit der adiabenischen Königin in Jerusalem, unter der Apostel Paulus," *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissen. d. Jud.* xxvi, 1877, pp. 241-255 and 289-306, suggests, though it is only a guess, that Paul was converted to Christianity during Helena's stay in Jerusalem, and that her presence inspired in him a belief that the Messianic age was rapidly approaching and that it was necessary to find some means of converting the heathen.

τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον πιεζοῦντος καὶ πολλῶν ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἀναλωμάτων¹ φθειρομένων ἢ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη πέμπει τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτῆς, τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πολλῶν² σῖτον ὠνησομένους χρημάτων,³ τοὺς δ' εἰς Κύπρον ἰσχάδων φόρτον
 52 οἷσοντας.⁴ ὥς δ' ἐπανῆλθον ταχέως κομίζοντες τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις διένειμε τροφὴν καὶ μεγίστην αὐτῆς μνήμην⁵ τῆς εὐποιίας ταύτης εἰς τὸ πᾶν
 53 ἡμῶν ἔθνος καταλέλοιπε. πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης τὰ περὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔπεμψε πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἃ τοῖς

¹ ἀναλωμάτων] ἀναγκαίων Richards et Shutt: βρωμάτων coni. Petersen. ² E (cf. § 101): πολλὸν codd.

³ πολλῶν . . . χρημάτων] ut frumenta ex eius pecuniis compararent Lat.

⁴ ἰσχάδων φόρτον οἷσοντας] quatenus caricas ex abundanti deferrent Lat. ⁵ εἰς αἰὲ διαβωμένην post μνήμην add. A.

^a Cf. Josephus' account of the great famine in Judaea during the reign of Herod the Great and of the relief that Herod, as a kind of second Joseph, secured for his people by the purchase of grain from Egypt (*Ant.* xv. 299-316). According to Acts xi. 28, a certain prophet named Agabus came from Jerusalem to Antioch, where he predicted that there would be a great famine over all the world—a famine which, adds the author of Acts, occurred during the reign of Claudius, and hence appears to be the famine mentioned in our passage. The famine, to judge from Acts xi. 29-30, was not worldwide, since the disciples in Antioch sent relief to Judaea; and C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916, p. 21, suggests that Luke, the author of Acts, had an Aramaic source which spoke of the famine as extending throughout "the land," where "the land," as commonly, refers to Palestine, but that he mistakenly rendered it as ὅλη ἡ οἰκουμένη, "all the earth," just as Luke himself (ii. 1) speaks of Quirinius as taxing the whole world (πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην) instead of all the land (of Palestine). The famine occurred in A.D. 46 or 47, perhaps in the spring (so K. S. Gapp, "The Universal Famine under Claudius," *Harv. Theol. Rev.*

for at that time the city was hard pressed by famine ^a and many were perishing from want of money to purchase what they needed.^b Queen Helena sent some of her attendants to Alexandria ^c to buy grain for large sums and others to Cyprus ^d to bring back a cargo of dried figs. Her attendants speedily returned with these provisions, which she thereupon distributed among the needy. She has thus left a very great name that will be famous forever among our whole people for her benefaction. When her son Izates learned of the famine, he likewise sent a great sum of money to leaders of the Jerusalemmites.^e The dis-

xxviii, 1935, p. 261 n. 11), if the famine referred to in *Ant.* iii. 320-321 is to be identified with our famine (but see Thackeray's note *ad loc.*).

^b Lit. "from lack of expenses."

^c Egypt too had suffered from a famine in 45, according to papyrological evidence cited by Gapp, pp. 258 ff. If, as Gapp, p. 260, theorizes, the famine extended to the spring of 46 or 47, Helena's benefaction was all the greater, since the price of grain in 45, at least, was more than twice as high as had ever been recorded previously in the Roman period. Helena did not send to Syria for grain since, as Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 6. 12, states, the famine extended to all of Syria (but cf. Acts xi. 29-30).

^d See Palestinian Talmud, *Demai* ii. 1, which indicates that fruits from Cyprus were regularly imported into Palestine. Cf. A. Reifenberg, "Das antike zyprische Judentum und seine Beziehungen zu Palästina," *Jour. of the Pal. Or. Soc.* xii, 1932, pp. 209-213.

^e The Talmud, *Baba Bathra* 11 a, records that King Monobazus, Izates' successor, dissipated all his own hoards and the hoards of his fathers "in years of scarcity"—hence not necessarily referring to this famine and not necessarily referring to relief of a famine in Palestine. His brothers and his father's household—according to *Ant.* xx. 75, they had been converted to Judaism—came in a deputation to him and said: "Your father saved money and added to the treasures of his fathers, and you are squandering them." He replied:

ἐνδεέσι διανεμηθέντα πολλοὺς τοῦ λιμοῦ σφοδροτάτης ἀνάγκης ἀνεκτήσατο.¹ ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἂ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὰ πέπρακται² μετὰ ταῦτα δηλώσομεν.

- 54 (iii. 1) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς Ἀρταβάνης³ αἰσθόμενος τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν συντεθεικότας, μένειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς οὐχ ὀρῶν ἔγνω πρὸς Ἰζάτην ἀπαίρειν, πόρον παρ' αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος σωτηρίας εὑρέσθαι καὶ κάθοδον
55 εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ δυνηθείη. καὶ δὴ ἀφικνεῖται συγγενῶν τε καὶ οἰκετῶν περὶ χιλίους⁴ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπαγόμενος συντυγχάνει τε τῷ Ἰζάτῃ καθ' ὁδόν.
56 αὐτὸς τε σαφῶς ἐκείνον ἐπιστάμενος, ὑπ' Ἰζάτου δὲ οὐ γινωσκόμενος, πλησίον καταστὰς πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τὸ πάτριον προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν, εἶτα, “ βασιλεῦ,” φησὶν, “ μὴ περιίδης με τὸν σὸν ἰκέτην⁵ μὴδ' ὑπερηφανήσης δεομένου· ταπεινὸς γὰρ ἐκ μεταβολῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐκ βασιλέως ἰδιώτης τῆς σῆς

¹ ἂ τοῖς . . . ἀνεκτήσατο] A : om. MWE.

² καὶ ὅσοι τούτοις ἐκ ταύτης πόροι συνελέγησαν post πέπρακται add. codex Gallicus teste Hudsono.

³ γρ' Ἀρτάβανος i. marg. A : Artabanus Lat. : Ἀρτάβανος Ant. xviii. 48 sqq.

⁴ AW : δισχιλίους M : mille Lat.

⁵ A : οἰκέτην MW : servum Lat.

“ My fathers stored up below and I am storing above [*i.e.* in heaven] ” (trans. by M. Simon in Soncino edition).

^a This promise does not appear to have been fulfilled. H. Petersen, “ Real and Alleged Literary Projects of Josephus,” *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lxxix, 1958, p. 273, says that Josephus probably thought that he had fulfilled this project and refers to §§ 94-95, which mention the pyramids constructed by Helena. But though the building of these pyramids was a blessing to the Jews in that it supplied jobs to construction

tribution of this fund to the needy delivered many from the extremely severe pressure of famine. But I shall leave to a later time ^a the further tale of good deeds performed for our city by this royal pair.

(iii. 1) Artabanus,^b king of the Parthians, discovering that the satraps had concocted a plot against him and seeing that it was not safe to remain with them, decided to make his way to Izates. His object was to obtain from him some provision for his security as well as for his restoration to his rule if that should be possible. He did succeed in reaching him, followed by about a thousand of his kinsmen and attendants. He met Izates on the road, as it happened. Now Artabanus knew him well, but not being recognized by Izates, he halted beside him and first of all made obeisance to him according to the native custom. He then spoke: "O king, be not indifferent to me, your suppliant, nor scorn my request. For I have been brought low by a turn of fortune, having exchanged kingship for a private life, and am in need of

Artabanus,
king of
Parthia,
seeks help
from
Izates.

workers in Jerusalem, it seems more likely that the good deeds performed by Izates and Helena and referred to here involved more direct benefits to the Jews, such as the distribution of food in the famine mentioned in §§ 51-52. From the Mishnah, *Yoma* iii. 10, we learn of two of the gifts presented by Queen Helena to the temple, namely, a golden candlestick which was placed over the door of the sanctuary and a golden tablet on which was written the section from the Torah (Num. v. 12-31) discussing the suspected adulteress. According to *B.J.* v. 253 and vi. 355 she built a palace in Jerusalem. Another detail of Helena's sojourn in the Holy Land is supplied by the Talmud, *Sukkah* 2 b, which records that she had a *sukkah* built for the Feast of Tabernacles in Lydda which was higher than twenty cubits and that the elders frequented it.

^b Artabanus III; cf. *Ant.* xviii. 48-52, 96-104, 250, 325-338, 353; xx. 37.

57 ἐπικουρίας¹ χρήζω. βλέψον οὖν εἰς τὸ τῆς τύχης
 ἄστατον καὶ κοινὴν εἶναι² νόμισον καὶ ὑπὲρ σαντοῦ
 πρόνοιαν³. ἐμοῦ⁴ γὰρ ἀνεκδικήτου περιοφθέντος
 ἔσονται θρασύτεροι πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 58 βασιλέων.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν δακρύων καὶ τῇ
 κεφαλῇ κάτω νεύων, ὁ δὲ Ἰζάτης ὡς ἤκουσε τοῦ-
 νομα καὶ εἶδεν ἰκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα καὶ ποτνιώ-
 μενον⁵ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην, κατεπήδησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵπ-
 59 που ὀξέως⁶ καί, “ θάρσησον,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 μηδέ σε συγχείτω τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἀνήκεστον· ταχεῖα
 γὰρ ἔσται τῆς λύπης⁷ ἢ μεταβολή. φίλον δέ με καὶ
 σύμμαχον εὐρήσεις κρείττω τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἢ γὰρ εἰς
 τὴν Πάρθων σε καταστήσω βασιλείαν πάλιν ἢ τῆς
 ἐμῆς ἐκστήσομαι.”⁸

60 (2) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνεβίβαζεν τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐπὶ
 τὸν ἵππον, παρείπετο δ’ αὐτὸς πεζὸς τιμὴν ἀπονέ-
 μων ταυτηνὶ ὡς⁹ ἂν μείζονι βασιλεῖ. θεασάμενος
 δ’ Ἀρταβάνης βαρέως ἤνεγκεν καὶ τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν
 αὐτῷ τύχην καὶ τιμὴν¹⁰ ἐπωμόσατο¹¹ καταβήσεσθαι
 61 μὴ κείνου πάλιν ἀναβάντος καὶ προηγουμένου. ὁ
 δὲ πεισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἦλατο καὶ ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν
 εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πᾶσαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμεν ἔν τε
 συνεδρίαις καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις προκατα-
 κλίσεσιν, οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς τύχης ἀπο-
 βλέπων, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα, καί τι καὶ

¹ solatium Lat.

² τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν ἐμὴν post εἶναι add. A.

³ πρόνοιαν] MW : πρόνοιαν ἡγῆσαι A ; καὶ κοινὴν . . . πρό-
 νοιαν] et hanc scito esse communem et tui similiter habe curam
 Lat.

⁴ MW : λιμοῦ A.

⁵ καὶ ποτνιώμενον] A : om. MWE.

your help. Cast an eye, therefore, at the instability of fortune and consider that forethought for me is forethought for you also ; for if I am disregarded and left unavenged many will be bolder to attack other kings as well." This he said with tears in his eyes and with bowed head. When Izates heard his name and beheld Artabanus standing beside him as a suppliant and lamenting his fate, he leapt down quickly from his horse and said : " Take heart, O king, and be not confounded by your present condition as though it were past cure ; for there will be a sudden change to end your sadness. You will find me as friend and ally better than you expected. For either I will restore you to the throne of Parthia or I will abandon my own."

(2) So saying he aided Artabanus in mounting his horse and himself attended him on foot, according him this honour since he was the greater king. But when Artabanus beheld this, he was distressed and swore by the misfortune that had come upon him and by the honour accorded him that he would dismount unless Izates remounted and preceded him. The latter complied, leapt on his horse, and brought him to his kingdom, where he assigned him every honour at his ^a councils and gave him the chief seat at banquets ; for Izates had regard not for his present fortune but for his former dignity ; moreover, he took

^a Izates'.

⁶ A : mox Lat. : om. MWE.

⁷ λύπης] MW : παρούσης λύπης A.

⁸ A : στήσομαι MW : constituam Lat.

⁹ ταυτηνι ὥς] ταύτην μεγίστην ὥς i. ras. 8-9 litt. m. 2 A : ταύτην ὥς E.

¹⁰ καὶ τιμὴν] om. E.

¹¹ ἐπωμόσατο] ἐπωμόσατο ἡμὴν E.

λογισμῷ διδούς,¹ ὥς κοιναὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἱ
 62 μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης. γράφει τε πρὸς τοὺς Πάρ-
 θους πείθων αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ὑποδέξασθαι,
 πίστιν προτείνων τῆς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀμνηστίας
 63 δεξιὰν καὶ ὄρκους καὶ μεσιτείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ.² τῶν
 δὲ Πάρθων δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν θέλειν οὐκ ἄρνου-
 μένων, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ λεγόντων διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἐτέρῳ πεπιστευκέναι, Κίνναμος³ δ' ἦν ὄνομα τῷ
 παρειληφότι, καὶ δεδοικέναι, μὴ στάσις αὐτοὺς ἐκ
 64 τούτου καταλάβῃ,⁴ μαθὼν τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν⁵
 ὁ Κίνναμος ταύτην αὐτὸς γράφει τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ,
 τέθραπτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσει δ' ἦν καλὸς
 καὶ⁶ ἀγαθός, παρακαλῶν αὐτῷ πιστεύσαντα παρα-
 65 γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποληψόμενον⁷ τὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ
 ὁ Ἀρταβάνης πιστεύσας παρῆν. ὑπαντᾷ δ' αὐτῷ
 ὁ Κίνναμος καὶ προσκυνήσας βασιλέα τε προσαγο-
 ρεύσας περιτίθησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα
 ἀφελὼν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.

66 (3) Καὶ Ἀρταβάνης οὕτω διὰ Ἰζάτου⁸ πάλιν⁹
 εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθίσταται πρότερον αὐτῆς ἐκπεσῶν
 διὰ τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας.¹⁰ οὐκ ἐγένετο μὲν ἀμνημῶν
 τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀλλ' ἀντιδωρεῖται τὸν
 67 Ἰζάτην ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς· τὴν τε

¹ καὶ τι . . . διδούς] eumque ratione frequenter consolatus est Lat.

² δεξιὰν . . . αὐτοῦ] iuramenta Lat.

³ Α : Κιννάωμος MW : Cinnamum Lat.

⁴ Κίνναμος . . . καταλάβῃ] om. E.

into consideration the fact that changes of fortune are the lot of all men. He wrote to the Parthians urging them to welcome back Artabanus, offering his right hand and oaths and his mediation as security that Artabanus would not hold against them what they had done. The Parthians answered that they were not unwilling to receive him, but were unable to do so because they had already entrusted the government to another—Cinnamus^a was the name of the one who had acceded to it—and they were afraid that to do so would subject them to civil war. Cinnamus, on learning of their policy, himself wrote to Artabanus—for he had been brought up by him and was by disposition a thorough gentleman—inviting him to put faith in him and come back to receive his office. Artabanus trusted him and came. Cinnamus met him and after doing obeisance and addressing him as king removed the diadem from his own head and placed it on that of Artabanus.

Izates persuades the Parthians to reinstate Artabanus.

(3) Thus, through the aid of Izates,^b Artabanus was again established on his throne, after having been previously expelled from it by action of the great nobles. Nor was he unmindful of Izates' benefactions to him, but repaid him with the highest of honours that they recognize. For he permitted him

Izates is rewarded.

^a c. A.D. 37. On the name Κίνναμος cf. McCown-Albright, in *Bull. of the Am. Sch. of Or. Res.* lxvi, Apr. 1937, p. 20.

^b For "through the aid of Izates" two of the mss. and the Epitome have "after six years."

⁵ E Lat. et i. marg. A : αὐτοῦ codd.

⁶ φύσει δ' ἦν καλὸς καὶ ἦν γὰρ E.

⁷ πιστεύσαντα . . . ἀποληψόμενον] ληψόμενον W.

⁸ διὰ Ἰζάτου] A : δι' ἐξαετοῦς (ἐξ ex ἰζ corr. M) MWE : per Iazatem Lat.

⁹ πάλιν] A : πάλιν χρόνου MW : χρόνου πάλιν E.

¹⁰ πρότερον . . . μεγιστᾶνας] om. E.

- γὰρ τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ φορεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσῆς καθεύδειν, ἅπερ μόνων ἐστὶ γέρα καὶ
 68 σημεῖα τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέων. ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ χώραν πολλὴν αὐτῷ καγαθὴν τοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέως ἀποτεμόμενος, Νίσιβις δὲ ἐστὶν ὄνομα τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πρότερον Μακεδόνες ἐκτίσαντο πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣν Ἐπιμυγδονίαν¹ προσηγόρευσαν. ταύταις μὲν δὴ ταῖς τιμαῖς ὁ Ἰζάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἐτιμήθη.
- 69 (4) Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Ἀρταβάνης τελευτᾷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ Οὐαρδάνῃ² καταλιπών. οὗτος δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰζάτην ἀφικόμενος ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν μέλλων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν
 70 συστρατεύεσθαι καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐτοιμάζειν. οὐ μὲν ἔπειθεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἰζάτης τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν τε

¹ Ἐπιμυγδονίαν] AM : ἐπὶ Μυγδονίαν W : Μυγδονίαν E : In mygdoniam Lat.

² Partadani Lat.

^a Aristophanes, *Birds* 487, likewise mentions the upright tiara (κυρβάσια) of the Persian kings. Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. 5. 23, where Tissaphernes says: "The King alone may wear upright the tiara that is upon the head, but another, too, with your help, might easily so wear the one that is upon the heart." He thus indicates that with the aid of the Greeks he would possess an authority virtually or perhaps even actually royal; in the latter case this would be a hint of revolt.

^b Apparently to be distinguished from the Nisibis of *Ant.* xviii. 312 and 379. J. Sturm, "Nisibis," no. 3, Pauly-Wissowa, xvii¹, 1936, p. 757, asserts that this Nisibis is also to be distinguished from the more famous Nisibis in north-eastern Babylonia; but the surname (Epi)mygdonia seems to argue for identifying the two. A district named Nisibis is, however, otherwise unknown.

^c Cf. Polybius v. 51. 1 and Strabo xvi. 747, who refer to it as Antiocheia in Mygdonia. See J. Sturm, "Nisibis," Pauly-Wissowa, xvii¹, 1936, pp. 727-730.

^d About A.D. 38.

^e Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 8, says that Artabanus was succeeded

to wear his tiara upright ^a and to sleep on a bed of gold—privileges and symbols that belong only to the kings of the Parthians. He furthermore gave him an extensive and productive territory which he carved from that of the king of Armenia. The district is called Nisibis,^b and in it the Macedonians had in days of old founded the city of Antioch which they sur-named Epimygdonia.^c Such were the honours that Izates received from the king of the Parthians.

(4) Not long afterwards ^d Artabanus died, leaving his kingdom to his son Vardanes.^e The latter, contemplating war on the Romans, came to Izates and urged him to take part in the campaign and to prepare an auxiliary force. He failed, however, to convince him. For Izates, knowing well the might and

Vardanes, Artabanus' successor, fails to enlist Izates for war against the Romans.

by Gotarzes II, who was, in turn, succeeded by his brother Vardanes. Josephus has Gotarzes (Cotardes) succeed Vardanes. J. G. C. Anderson, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 754 n. 1, therefore, contends that Josephus' account is inaccurate. But actually there is no necessary contradiction between Tacitus and Josephus, since, upon the murder of Vardanes, Gotarzes once again assumed the throne (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 10). Hence, Josephus merely omits Gotarzes' first tenure—an omission which, in view of the greater brevity of Josephus' account, is quite understandable. Moreover, since the first tenure of Gotarzes was almost immediately disputed by Vardanes and since, after Vardanes' arrival, Gotarzes withdrew his claim to the throne and came to an agreement with him (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 9), Josephus may have thought it proper to omit Gotarzes' first tenure as not really a reign but as a pretension to the throne. The numismatic evidence for 44/45-45/46 indicates merely that Tacitus has the more complete account in describing the struggle for the Parthian throne for this period. Thus in Seleucia we find the coins of Gotarzes, then a month later those of Vardanes, then six months later those of Gotarzes, then three months later Vardanes again, then nine months later those of Gotarzes again (see R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, 1935, pp. 189-190).

- καὶ τύχην ἐπιστάμενος ἀδυνάτοις αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζεν
 71 ἐπιχειρεῖν. ἔτι γε πεπομφῶς πέντε μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν
 υἱοὺς τὴν ἡλικίαν νέους γλῶτταν τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν
 πάτριον καὶ παιδείαν ἀκριβῶς μαθησομένους, τὴν
 τε μητέρα προσκυνήσουσιν τὸ ἱερόν, ὡς προεῖπον,
 ὀκνηρότερος ἦν καὶ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην¹ ἐκώλυεν συν-
 εχῶς διηγούμενος τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις² τε καὶ
 πράξεις, διὰ τούτων οἰόμενος αὐτὸν φοβήσιν καὶ
 παύσειν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατείας.
 72 παροξυνθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πάρθος πόλεμον εὐθύς³
 πρὸς Ἰζάτην κατήγγειλεν. οὐ μὲν ἔλαβεν οὐδὲ τῆς
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ στρατείας ὄνησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας
 73 αὐτοῦ πάσας ὑποτεμόντος· μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι
 τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ Οὐαρδάνου καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους
 στρατεύειν ἔκρινεν, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναιροῦσιν, τὴν ἀρχὴν
 74 δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κοτάρδῃ⁴ παρέδωκαν. καὶ τοῦτον

¹ Bardanem hic et infra Lat.

² δυνάμεις] εὐτυχεῖς | δυνάμεις A.

³ om. E.

⁴ Spanheim : Ἰκοτάρδῃ (ῖ i. ras. o ex ω corr. A) AE : Κα-
 τάρδῃ MW : Cotardi Lat. : Γοτάρζῃ Hudson.

^a §§ 49 ff.

^b Izates' defiance of Vardanes is all the more remarkable in view of the terror that he had inspired in his enemies generally. Cf. Tacitus' tribute to his ability (*Ann.* xi. 10) : "He might have been one of the illustrious few among aged princes, had he sought to be loved by his subjects as much as to be feared by his foes."

^c Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 10, says that despite the many victories won by Vardanes and despite the erection of monuments by the Parthians in tribute to his triumphs, the Parthians rebelled against distant service and against his haughty and autocratic attitude towards them after his return homeward. A plot was arranged, and they slew him while hunting.

fortune of the Romans, thought that Vardanes was attempting the impossible. Moreover, he was the more reluctant because he had sent five sons of tender age to get a thorough knowledge of our native language and culture, besides his mother who had gone to worship in the temple, as I have said already.^a He therefore dissuaded Vardanes by constantly describing the resources and achievements of the Romans, supposing that such accounts would be enough to frighten him and curb his will to make war on them. The Parthian, however, exasperated at this, forthwith declared war on Izates.^b Nevertheless, he did not derive any advantage from his campaign against Izates, since God cut short all his expectations. For the Parthians, on hearing of Vardanes' intention and of his decision to march against the Romans, put him to death^c and delivered the government to his brother Cotardes.^d Not long afterwards he too was

Firdousi's tenth-century epic poem *Shāhnāma*, or "Book of Kings," containing a complete history of Persia, preserves a tradition that Farud (=Vardanes) was actually killed by Bizan and Rahan, both of whom were related to Gudarz (=Gotarzes). See J. C. Coyajee, "The House of Gotarzes," *Jour. and Proc. of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, N.S. xxviii, 1932, p. 211.

^a *i.e.* Gotarzes. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 10, depicts Gotarzes as ruthless in his dealings with both the nobility and the common people. "Already," he says, "brothers, relatives, and distant kin had been swept off by murder after murder; wives actually pregnant and tender children were added to Gotarzes' victims, while, slothful at home and unsuccessful in war, he made cruelty a screen for his feebleness." Josephus omits the rivalry for the throne between Gotarzes and Meherdates after the murder of Vardanes. In this rivalry, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 13, Izates allied himself with Meherdates, but secretly favoured Gotarzes, and deserted to the latter's side before the crucial battle between the two contenders for the throne.

δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τελευτήσαντα διαδέχεται Οὐολογέσης¹ ὁ ἀδελφός, ὃς δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοπατρίοις δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς δυναστείας ἐπίστευσεν, Πακόρῳ μὲν τῷ καὶ² πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν Μήδων, Τιριδάτῃ δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.

- 75 (iv. 1) Ὁ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφός Μονόβαζος καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς θεωροῦντες τὸν Ἰζάτην διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν³ ζηλωτὸν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γεγεννημένον ἔσχον ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πάτρια καταλιπόντες ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς Ἰου-
76 δαίων.⁴ γίνεται δ' ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτῶν κατάφωρος τοῖς ὑπηκόοις,⁵ καπὶ τούτῳ χαλεπήναντες οἱ μεγιστᾶνες⁶ οὐκ ἐφάνερον μὲν τὴν ὀργήν, κατὰ νοῦν δὲ ἔχοντες

¹ ed. pr. : Οὐολιγέσης A : Οὐολιγαίσης MW : Οὐλελέσης E : Vologenesis Lat. : Οὐλογάσης Hudson.

² καὶ] om. I. Levy (Mélanges Dussaud, 1939, p. 547).

³ καὶ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡθῶν χρηστότητα post εὐσέβειαν add. E.

⁴ καὶ τὴν ἔφεσιν εἰς πέρας ἐξήνεγκαν post Ἰουδαίων add. E.

⁵ γίνεται . . . ὑπηκόοις] horum nisus subiectis fuit valde gravissimus Lat.

⁶ καὶ ὀργίλως διατεθέντες post μεγιστᾶνες add. E.

^a Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 14, mentions no conspiracy, but says merely that Gotarzes fell ill and died.

^b Vologes, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 14, was the son of Vonones.

^c This is the common spelling, but the name appears as "Volagases" on his coins. Cf. *B.J.* vii. 105, where a delegation from him brings Vespasian a golden crown in recognition of his victory over the Jews. Cf. also *B.J.* vii. 237 and 242. Josephus' account omits the reign of Vonones, who, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 14, succeeded Gotarzes. But Tacitus himself remarks that Vonones' reign was short and inglorious, and since Josephus is giving an abbreviated account of the complicated dynastic struggles of the Parthians, it is not remarkable that he should have omitted Vonones, for

slain by a conspiracy ^a and was succeeded by his brother ^b Vologeses, ^c who thereupon assigned to his two brothers ^d by the same father positions of power. To the elder, Pacorus, ^e he gave Media and to the younger, Tiridates, ^f Armenia.

(iv. 1) Izates' brother Monobazus ^g and his kinsmen, seeing that the king because of his pious worship of God ^h had won the admiration of all men, became eager to abandon their ancestral religion and to adopt the practices of the Jews. ⁱ Their action, however, was detected and exposed to their subjects. The high nobles, though they were angry at this, did not reveal their anger but stored it in their hearts and

Monobazus, brother of Izates, and his kinsmen plan conversion to Judaism.

whose reign no coins have yet been found, as N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, 1938, p. 174, notes.

^d Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 44, also remarks that Vologeses obtained the throne with the consent of his brothers.

^e According to Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 2, Pacorus was already in possession of Media when Vologeses became king. Cf. *B.J.* vii. 247, where he flees from his country upon the advance of the Alani, a Scythian tribe.

^f Cf. the impressive scene in Dio lxii (lxiii). 4 ff., in which Nero proclaims him king of Armenia. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 50-51, tells of Vologeses' unsuccessful attempt to place Tiridates on the throne through an invasion of Armenia. Cf. *Ann.* xv. 2, where, after Tiridates has egged him on, Vologeses defends his irresolution in not pressing for Armenia, which, he admits, is only a third-rate kingdom (not, as stated here in Josephus, a position of power). In *B.J.* vii. 249, Tiridates, who has managed to win the rule of Armenia, is defeated by the Alani.

^g Cf. Mishnah, *Yoma* iii. 10, which records the lavish gift that he later gave for the temple in Jerusalem, namely, golden handles for the vessels used on the Day of Atonement.

^h The Epitome adds "and goodness of heart in all his ways." But the additions of the Epitome in this and in the following section are quite clearly interpolations, as indicated by Niese, in his preface to vol. iii, p. xxxvii.

ⁱ The Epitome adds "They carried out this project fully."

- καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐζήτουν δίκην εἰσπράξασθαι
 77 σπεύδοντες¹ παρ' αὐτῶν. καὶ δὴ γράφουσιν πρὸς
 'Αβίαν τὸν 'Αράβων βασιλέα χρήματα πολλὰ δώ-
 σειν ὑπισχνούμενοι στρατεύσασθαι θελήσαντι κατὰ
 τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλέως, ἐπηγγέλλοντο δὲ καὶ
 περὶ τὴν πρώτην συμβολὴν ἐγκαταλείψειν τὸν βα-
 σιλέα· θέλειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τιμωρήσασθαι μισήσαντα
 τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθνη· καὶ ὅρκους τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 78 ἐνδησάμενοι πίστιν σπεύδειν² παρεκάλουν. πεί-
 θεται δὲ ὁ 'Αραβ, καὶ πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν
 ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ιζάτην. μελλούσης δὲ τῆς πρώτης
 συμβολῆς πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν καταλείπουσιν τὸν
 'Ιζάτην ἐκ συνθήματος πάντες ὡς πανικῶ δείματι
 κατασχεθέντες,³ καὶ τὰ νῶτα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐντρέ-
 79 ψαντες ἔφευγον. οὐ μὲν ὁ 'Ιζάτης κατεπλάγη,
 νοήσας δὲ προδοσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν μεγιστάνων γεγενῆ-
 σθαι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον⁴ ὑπεχώρησεν,
 καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ζητήσας ὡς ἔμαθεν συντεταγμένους
 πρὸς τὸν 'Αραβα, τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἀναιρεῖ, τῇ δ'
 80 ἐπιούσῃ συμβαλὼν πλείστους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, πάντας
 δὲ φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα διώκων
 εἰς τι φρούριον συνήλασεν 'Αρσαμον καλούμενον,
 καὶ προσμαχεσάμενος καρτερῶς εἰλε⁵ τὸ φρούριον
 διαρπάσας τε τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ λείαν πᾶσαν, πολλήν δὲ
 ἦν, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν 'Αδιαβηνὴν τὸν 'Αβίαν οὐ
 καταλαβὼν ζῶντα· περικαταλαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἑαυ-
 τὸν ἀνείλεν πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας συγκλεισθῇ τοῦ 'Ιζάτου.⁶
 81 (2) 'Αποτυχόντες δὲ οἱ τῶν 'Αδιαβηνῶν μεγα-

¹ σπεύδοντες] om. E.² σπεύδειν] σπεύδων τομῶς E.³ ὡς πανικῶ δείματι κατασχεθέντες] om. E: velut uno vineti funiculo Lat.⁴ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον] cum exercitu Lat.⁵ καὶ προσμαχεσάμενος καρτερῶς εἰλε] ἐλὼν τε E.

eagerly sought a convenient opportunity to make them pay the penalty for their act. Consequently they wrote to Abias king of the Arabs, promising him large sums if he would consent to take the field against their king. They further offered to abandon the king at the first onset, for they wished to punish him because he had come to hate their way of life. Having bound themselves to mutual loyalty by oaths, they exhorted Abias to make haste. The Arab king consented and came marching with a great army against Izates. When the first engagement was just about to take place and before they came to blows, the high nobles, at a prearranged signal, deserted Izates, pretending to be possessed by panic, and, turning their backs to the enemy, took to flight. Izates, however, was not panic-stricken, but perceiving that there had been treachery on the part of the high nobles, personally withdrew to the camp. On inquiring into the cause of the flight and on learning that they had joined forces with the Arab, he put the guilty parties to death. On the morrow, joining battle, he slew a great number of the enemy and compelled the rest to flee. The king himself he pursued and hemmed into a certain fortress called Arsamus, which he captured by assault after a stubborn fight. When he had plundered it of all the booty that it contained—and it was much—he returned to Adiabene. He did not take Abias alive; for the latter, being surrounded on all sides, killed himself before he was quite trapped and in the hands of Izates.

Defeat of
Abias, king
of the
Arabs,
when he
attacks
Izates.

(2) Foiled in their first attempt, when God de- Vologeses,
king of

⁶ πρὶν . . . Ἰζάτου} A (litt. πρὶν . . . πάλιν Οὐο i. ras.
m. 2 A): om. MWE.

στᾶνες τῆς πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως παραδόντος αὐ-
 τούς τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐδ' ὥς ἡρέμουν, ἀλλὰ
 γράφουσιν πάλιν Οὐολογέση, βασιλεὺς δὲ Πάρθων
 οὗτος ἦν, παρακαλοῦντες ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν τὸν Ἰζά-
 την, καταστήσαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἕτερον δυνάστην καὶ
 τῷ γένει Πάρθον· μισεῖν γὰρ ἔλεγον τὸν ἑαυτῶν
 βασιλέα καταλύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια,¹ ξένων δ'
 82 ἐραστὴν ἐθῶν γενόμενον. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Πάρθος
 ἐπήρθη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ προφάσεως δικαίας
 μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἔχων τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ
 δοθείσας τιμὰς ἔπεμψεν ἀπαιτῶν, ἀπειθήσαντι δὲ
 83 πόλεμον κατήγγελλεν. ταρασσεται δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν
 οὐχὶ μετρίως ὁ Ἰζάτης, ὥς ἤκουσεν ταῦτα, κατά-
 γνωσιν μὲν φέρειν αὐτῷ νομίσας τὸ τῶν δωρεῶν
 84 ἐξίστασθαι δοκεῖν² διὰ φόβον τοῦτο πράξας. εἰδὼς
 δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ὁ Πάρθος τὰς τιμὰς οὐκ ἂν
 ἡρεμήσειεν, ἔκρινεν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ
 85 τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνον, καὶ τοῦτον μέγιστον
 ἡγησάμενος ἔχειν σύμμαχον κατατίθεται μὲν τὰ
 τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ τῶν φρουρίων ἀσφα-
 λέστατα, τὸν σῖτον δὲ πάντα μὲν³ εἰς τὰς βάρεις⁴
 καὶ⁵ ἐμπίπρησιν τὸν τε χόρτον καὶ τὰς νομάς,⁶
 ταῦτά τε προευτρεπισάμενος ἐξεδέχετο τοὺς πολε-
 86 μίους. παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Πάρθου μετὰ πολλῆς
 δυνάμεως πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων θᾶττον ἐλπίδος,
 ὤδευσε γὰρ συντόνως, βαλλομένου τε χάρακα πρὸς
 τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν
 ὀρίζοντι, τίθησι καὶ ὁ Ἰζάτης τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ
 ἄπωθεν ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑξα-

¹ καταλύσαντα . . . πάτρια] om. E.

² AW: om. ME: δοκοῦντι Ernesti.

livered them over to the king, the nobles of Adiabene did not even then keep quiet, but wrote another letter, this time to Vologeses king of the Parthians, urging him to put Izates to death and to appoint for them another overlord, of Parthian descent ; for, they said, they had come to loathe their own king, who had overthrown their traditions and had become enamoured of foreign practices. The Parthian king was swayed by their words to seek a war ; but having no honest pretext, he sent a message demanding the return of those awards of honour that his father had bestowed on Izates, and threatened to declare war on him if he refused. Izates was sorely perturbed in his mind when he received this message, for he thought that to surrender the gifts would bring him into contempt since it would appear that he had done so through fear. Besides, he knew that the Parthian would not refrain from action even if he recovered the awards, and so he decided, in his present danger, to commit himself to God the protector. Reflecting that he had in God the greatest of allies, he deposited his children and wives in the most secure of his fortresses, stored all the grain in towers, and burnt over the grass for pasturage. After these preliminary moves he awaited the enemy. The Parthian arrived with a large force of infantry and cavalry sooner than was expected, for he had recourse to forced marches, and threw up a palisaded camp at the river that is the boundary between Adiabene and Media. Izates also, who had with him six thousand horsemen,

Parthia, is also persuaded to attack Izates.

³ μέν] MW : μέν τὸν Α.

⁴ lacunam post βάρεις indicat Niese.

⁵ ed. pr. : om. codd. E.

⁶ εἰς τὰς . . . νομάς] in munitissimis locis cunctaque frumenta et foenum et pabula congregavit Lat.

- 87 κισχιλίουσ.¹ ἀφικνεῖται δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰζάτην ἄγγελος παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθου πεμφθείς, ὃς τὴν Πάρθων δύναμιν ὅση τίς ἐστὶν ἡγγελλεν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ μέχρι Βάκτρων τοὺς ὅρους αὐτῆς τιθέμενος καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους αὐτῆς βασιλέας καταλέγων.
- 88 ἡπεῖλει δὲ δώσειν αὐτὸν δίκας ἀχάριστον περὶ δεσπότης τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον, καὶ ῥύεσθαι τῶν βασιλέως αὐτὸν χειρῶν οὐδὲ τὸν θεὸν ὃν σέβει
- 89 δυνήσεσθαι. ταῦτα τοῦ ἀγγέλου φράσαντος ὁ Ἰζάτης εἰδέναι μὲν τὴν Πάρθων δύναμιν ἔφη πολὺ τῆς αὐτοῦ διαφέρουσαν, γινώσκειν δ' οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγεν κρείσσω τὸν θεόν. καὶ τοιαύτην δούς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰκετείαν ἐτρέπετο τοῦ θεοῦ, χαμαὶ τε ῥίψας αὐτὸν καὶ σποδῶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταισχύνας μετὰ γυναικὸς² καὶ τέκνων ἐνήστευεν ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγων,
- 90 “ εἰ μὴ μάτην, ὦ δέσποτα κύριε, τῆς σῆς ἐγενομῆν³ χρηστότητος, τῶν πάντων δὲ δικαίως μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἡγῆμαι κύριον,⁴ ἔλθὲ σύμμαχος οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἀμυνούμενος τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ’ ὅτι
- 91 καὶ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως κατατετολμήκασιν.”⁵ ὁ μὲν

¹ ἔχων . . . ἑξακισχιλίουσ] AM : om. W.

² γυναικῶν E Lat.

³ τῆς σῆς ἐγενομῆν] Warmington : τῆς σῆς ἐγενομῆν codd. : τῆς σῆς ἐγενομῆν <κοινωνός> Richards et Shutt : <προστάτης> τῆς σῆς ἐγενομῆν Petersen.

⁴ τῶν πάντων . . . κύριον] τὸν τῶν πάντων δὲ δικαίως μόνον δεσπότην καὶ πρῶτον ἡγῆμαι προνοητὴν καὶ κύριον i. marg. A.

⁵ ἀλλ’ ὅτι . . . κατατετολμήκασιν] sed quia etiam contra tuam virtutem cum nefanda praesumptione locuti sunt Lat. ; καὶ μεγαλορρήμονα γλῶσσαν ἐπαφιέναι οὐ πεφρίκασιν post κατατετολμήκασιν add. ed. pr.

^a In the northern part of modern Afghanistan and in Russian Turkestan.

pitched his camp not far off. A messenger sent by the Parthian made his way to Izates and reported to him the extent of the Parthian empire, declaring that it was bounded by the river Euphrates and went from there to Bactria.^a He also called the roll of kings subject to it. Then he threatened that Izates would pay the penalty for ingratitude to his masters, and that even the God whom he worshipped would be unable to deliver him from the king's hands. After the messenger had spoken these words, Izates replied that he was aware that the Parthian empire was far larger than his own, but for all that he was even more certain that God is mightier than all mankind. After giving this reply, he gave himself to supplicating God's favour. He flung himself on the ground and befouled his head with ashes ; he fasted, together with his wife and children, calling upon God with these words : " If it is not in vain, O sovereign Lord, that I have had a taste of Thy goodness,^b and that I have made it my belief that Thou art the first and only rightful Lord of all, come to my aid not only for my sake to defend me from my enemies, but also because it is Thy power that they have had the audacity to challenge."^c Thus he

Izates' prayer and his deliverance from the Parthians.

^b Richards and Shutt emend to " I have become a partner in Thy goodness." Prof. Petersen suggests " I have become the champion of Thy goodness."

^c The *editio princeps* adds " and have not shuddered to utter grandiloquent words." The prayer of Izates bears similarities to the prayer of Hezekiah (2 Kings xix. 15-19) when he was attacked by Sennacherib, particularly in its emphasis on imploring God to show the gentiles that they may not attack or taunt Him with impunity. Both Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 36) and Vologeses are later forced to depart without carrying out their attacks on the Jewish king.

ταῦτ' ἐποτνιατο δακρύων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος, ἐπήκοος δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην εὐθὺς τὴν νύκτα¹ δεξάμενος Οὐολογέσης ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἐγγράπτο Δαῶν² καὶ Σακῶν³ χεῖρα μεγάλην καταφρονήσασαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιστρατευσαμένην διαρπάζειν τὴν Παρθυνῶν, ἄπρακτος ἀνέζευξεν εἰς τοῦ-πίσω. καὶ Ἰζάτης οὕτω κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν τὰς ἀπειλὰς τοῦ Πάρθου διαφεύγει.

- 92 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον πεντηκοστὸν μὲν καὶ πέμπτον ἀπὸ γενεᾶς πληρώσας ἔτος τέταρτον δὲ πρὸς εἰκοστῷ δυναστεύσας, καταλιπὼν παῖδας ἄρ-
 93 ρενας εἰκοσιτέσσaras καὶ θυγατέρας εἰκοσιτέσ-
 93 ρaras⁴ καταστρέφει τὸν βίον.⁵ τὴν μέντοι διαδοχὴν
 τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μονόβαζον ἐκέλευεν παρα-
 λαβεῖν, ἀμειβόμενος αὐτὸν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν
 αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον πιστῶς φυλά-
 94 ξειεν αὐτῷ τὴν δυναστείαν. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Ἑλένη τὸν
 τοῦ παιδὸς θάνατον ἀκούσασα βαρέως μὲν ἤνεγκεν
 ὥς εἰκὸς μητέρα στερομένην εὐσεβεστάτου παιδός,
 παραμυθίαν δ' ὅμως εἶχεν τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀκούσασα
 εἰς τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτῆς υἱὸν ἤκουσαν, καὶ πρὸς

¹ ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα ἐκείνος ἐδεῖτο post νύκτα i. marg. add. A.

² Hudson : Δακῶν AME : Δοκῶν W : Dacus (h. e. Δακόν) Lat.

³ A'MWE : Ἰσακῶν ex corr. A : Isacus (h.e. Ἰσακον) Lat.

⁴ καὶ θυγατέρας εἰκοσι τέσσaras] A : om. MW : καὶ θυγα-
 τέρας τοσαύτας E.

⁵ καταστρέφει τὸν βίον] E et ut vid. Lat. : om. codd.

^a These nomadic Scythian tribes are also coupled in *Ant.* xviii. 100.

^b On twenty-four as a round number in the Biblical and
 436

cried aloud with tears and lamentation, and God hearkened to him. And on that very night Vologeses received letters in which it was written that a great force of Dahae and Sacae,^a presuming on his absence from home, had invaded and were ravaging the Parthian territory. He consequently retreated in frustration. Thus by the providence of God Izates escaped the threats of the Parthian.

(3) Not long afterwards Izates passed away, having completed fifty-five years of his life and having been monarch for twenty-four; he left twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters.^b His orders were that his brother Monobazus should succeed to the throne. Thus Monobazus was rewarded for faithfully keeping the throne for his brother during the latter's absence from home after his father's death. His mother Helena was sorely distressed by the news of her son's death, as was to be expected of a mother bereft of a son so very religious. She was, however, consoled on hearing that the succession had passed to her eldest

Death of
Izates and
Helena and
their burial
near Jeru-
salem.

Talmudic traditions see the index to L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vii, 1938, p. 484, who cites, among other examples, the twenty-four descendants of Korah who were destined to compose psalms and sing them in the temple. Other examples are the twenty-four (or twenty-two) blessings that God bestowed on Adam, the twenty-four days that Joseph stayed in prison, the twenty-four species of cedar, the twenty-four vines above the throne of Solomon, the twenty-four kinds of disease inflicted on the Egyptians, the twenty-four sects into which Israel was divided before it was exiled, and the twenty-four generations during which it is said that one cannot trust a proselyte. To this list should be added the twenty-four thousand myriad *denarii* spent by Rabbi Judah the Prince on a wedding feast for his son (Bab. *Nedarim* 50 b). On equal numbers of sons and daughters cf. the judge Ibzan of Bethlehem, who had thirty sons and thirty daughters (Judges xii. 9).

JOSEPHUS

αὐτὸν ἔσπευδεν. παραγενομένη δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀδια-
βηνὴν οὐ πολὺν Ἰζάτῃ τῷ παιδί χρόνον ἐπεβίωσεν,
ἀλλὰ τῷ γήρα καὶ τῷ τῆς λύπης ἀλγήματι πιεζο-
95 μένη ταχέως ἀπέψυξεν.¹ ὁ δὲ Μονόβαζος τὰ τε
ἐκείνης ὁστὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πέμψας εἰς Ἱερο-
σόλυμα θάψαι προσέταξεν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσιν, αἷς ἡ
μήτηρ κατεσκευάκει τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τρία στάδια
96 τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπεχούσας. ἀλλὰ
Μονόβαζος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅσα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς
χρόνον ἔπραξεν, ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

¹ ἀλλὰ . . . ἀπέψυξεν] A (in ras. m. 2 A) : om. MWE.

^a The clause "for . . . last" is found in only one ms., the Ambrosian, and there only over an erasure. Niese, in the preface to vol. iii of his edition, p. xxxiii, has no doubt that it is not genuine, but the Ambrosian is definitely our best ms. for Books XVIII-XX, and one should be slow to depart from it.

^b Presumably for Helena and her two sons, Izates and Monobazus. Helena's "monuments" are mentioned in *B.J.* v. 55 and 147 ; her tomb as such is noted as a landmark in *B.J.* v. 119. Most archaeologists place these pyramids at the Tombs of the Kings, where F. de Saulcy in 1865 found an unopened sarcophagus containing a body which crumbled when exposed to the air. The inscription on the sarcophagus is said to have contained letters of Aramaic or Palmyrene script, with two of the words meaning "Helena the Queen." N. P. Clarke, "Helena's Pyramids," *Pal. Explor. Quart.* lxx, 1938, pp. 88-89, objects to placing the pyramids at the Tombs of the Kings because this site is about four and a half furlongs from the Damascus Gate or from Herod's Gate (from which Josephus apparently measured), whereas Josephus in our passage says that the distance is three furlongs. Clarke argues that the distance must have been well known ; but why quibble over a furlong and a half when the inscription on the sarcophagus makes it clear that Helena was buried at the Tombs of the Kings? Clarke, p. 103, holds that before Titus attacked the third wall of Jerusalem he levelled the whole place in front of it, including Helena's pyramids, and that

son and hastened to join him. She arrived in Adiabene but did not long survive her son Izates, for, weighed down with age and with the pain of her sorrow, she quickly breathed out her last.^a Monobazus sent her bones and those of his brother to Jerusalem with instructions that they should be buried in the three pyramids^b that his mother had erected at a distance of three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem. As for the acts of King Monobazus during his lifetime, I shall narrate them later.^c

after the war, her relatives reinterred the queen in the Tombs of the Kings. Pausanias, then, who mentions (viii. 16. 5) Helena's tomb, did not see the pyramids but the Tombs of the Kings, according to Clarke.

^c Such an account is not to be found in Josephus' extant works, unless perhaps Josephus has in mind the brief mention of the participation of the family of Monobazus in the revolt in 66 (*B.J.* ii. 520, iv. 567, and vi. 356). Petersen, *op. cit.* pp. 273-274, theorizes that Josephus intended to fulfil this promise, together with the promises contained in §§ 144, 147, and perhaps 53, in his *Vita*, but that he modified his original plan through his desire to present an *apologia pro vita sua*. But the *Vita*, at least as we have it, seems to have been apologetic from the start, and contains no evidence of a plan to fulfil these projects. Josephus could, to be sure, have fulfilled these projects in the *Vita*, since he wrote it later, but only by digressing. We obtain one clue to the events of Monobazus' reign from Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 1 (*cf.* xv. 14), which records his appeal to Vologeses the Parthian king for aid against Tigranes, whom the Romans had appointed to rule Armenia and who was, in 62, ravaging the territory of Adiabene. The Talmud, *Menahot* 32 b, relates that the members of the house of Monobazus were so pious that they carried a mezuzah with them and set it up in the inns where they stayed, even though a mezuzah is not required for such temporary dwelling-places. Not long after the reign of Monobazus, Adiabene was conquered by Trajan and made part of the Roman province of Assyria. In the Talmudic literature (*e.g.* *Shabbath* 68 b) there is reference several times

97 (v. 1) Φάδου δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος
 γόης τις ἀνὴρ Θευδάς¹ ὀνόματι πείθει τὸν πλείστον
 ὄχλον ἀναλαβόντα τὰς κτήσεις ἔπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν
 Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῷ· προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν
 εἶναι, καὶ προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας δίοδον
 98 ἔχειν² ἔφη παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ῥαδίαν. καὶ ταῦτα

¹ Theodas Lat.

² A: om. MWE Eus. et fort. Lat.

to a second-century disciple of Rabbi Akiba who is named Monobaz and who is generally regarded (*cf.*, *e.g.*, B. J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period*, 1939, p. 228) as a descendant of King Monobazus.

^a *Cf. Ant.* xix. 363-xx. 8 and xx. 14.

^b The term γόης, which is here used, refers to a sorcerer or a wizard (later a juggler or a cheat) in classical Greek literature (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Herodotus iv. 105, who says that the Neuri, who were neighbours of the Scythians, may be wizards (γόητες), since all of them are said to turn into wolves once a year). The term is not found in the Septuagint, but in 2 Maccabees xii. 24 we read that Timotheus, who had fallen into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater, entreated them with much craft (μετὰ πολλῆς γοητείας) to release him, threatening to harm their parents and brothers, who were in his power, if they did not do so. The word γόης is used in our sense in the only occurrence of the term in the New Testament, 2 Timothy iii. 13, where we read that all believers will be persecuted, "while evil men and impostors (γόητες) will go on from bad to worse, deceivers and deceived." In Philo, *Spec. Leg.* i. 315, the term is used in the sense of false prophet and is the very antithesis of προφήτης: "If anyone cloaking himself under the name and guise of a prophet and claiming to be possessed by inspiration lead us on to the worship of the gods recognized in the different cities, we ought not to listen to him and be deceived by the name of a prophet. For such a one is no prophet, but an impostor [γόης], since his oracles and pronouncements are falsehoods invented by himself,"

(v. 1) During the period when Fadus ^a was procurator of Judaea, a certain impostor ^b named Theudas ^c persuaded the majority of the masses ^d to take up their possessions and to follow him to the Jordan River. He stated that he was a prophet and that at his command the river would be parted and would provide them an easy passage. With this talk he

The false prophet Theudas is executed by Fadus.

See Delling, *s.v.* γόης, in G. Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, i, 1933, pp. 237-238.

^c Cf. Acts v. 36.

^d About four hundred according to Acts v. 36. The view that Luke, the author of Acts, used Josephus is propounded at length by M. Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, 1894, and accepted by P. W. Schmiedel, "Theudas," *Ency. Bibl.* iv, 1903, pp. 5051-5056, and by F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, 1906, pp. 106-108. But Luke, as C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916, p. 71, and H. St. J. Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, 1919, p. 194, rightly remark, must have had access to a source other than Josephus, since he is precise in the number, whereas Josephus is not. Though the identity of names is striking, it is, of course, perfectly possible that two different people named Theudas are referred to. Moreover, as A. C. Headlam, "Theudas," *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, iv, 1903, p. 750, notes, there is a chronological discrepancy between Josephus and Acts, since the reference to Theudas in Acts is found in a speech which Gamaliel must have made before A.D. 37, whereas the revolt mentioned by Josephus occurred in A.D. 45 or 46. Moreover, whereas Josephus, in § 102, almost immediately after he recounts the incident of Theudas, mentions the crucifixion of the sons of Judas the Galilaean, Gamaliel says that after Theudas Judas the Galilaean arose in the days of the census. Because of these discrepancies, therefore, some have contended that the Theudas referred to in Acts is not the same as the Theudas mentioned by Josephus. But, as Schmiedel, p. 5051, points out, the name Theudas is relatively uncommon and the Theudas who is cited by Gamaliel in Acts must have created a major disturbance if the illustration is to have any effectiveness; hence Josephus is not likely to have passed it over.

- λέγων πολλοὺς ἠπάτησεν. οὐ μὴν εἴασεν αὐτοὺς
 τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὄνασθαι Φάδος, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμψεν ἱλὴν
 ἱππέων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἣτις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιπεσοῦσα
 πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνείλεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν,
 αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Θευδᾶν ζωγρήσαντες ἀποτέμνουσι τὴν
 99 κεφαλὴν καὶ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. τὰ μὲν
 οὖν συμβάντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοὺς Κουσπίου
 Φάδου τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χρόνους ταύτ' ἐγένετο.
- 100 (2) Ἦλθε δὲ Φάδω διάδοχος Τιβέριος Ἀλέξαν-
 δρος Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς τοῦ καὶ ἀλαβαρχήσαντος¹
 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γένει τε² καὶ πλούτῳ πρωτεύσαντος
 τῶν ἐκεῖ καθ' αὐτόν. διήνεγκε καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν
 θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου· τοῖς γὰρ
 101 πατρίοις οὐκ ἐνέμεινεν οὗτος ἔθελον. ἐπὶ τούτου
 δὲ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη
 γενέσθαι, καθ' ὃν καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Ἑλένη πολλῶν
 χρημάτων ὠνησαμένη σῖτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου
 102 διένειμεν τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις, ὡς προεῖπον. πρὸς
 τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου
 ἀνῆχθησαν³ τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστή-
 σαντος Κυρινίου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμητέοντος, ὡς ἐν

¹ ἀλαβαρχήσαντος] alabarchis id est princeps salis Lat.

² γένει τε] A: om. MWE.

³ A: ἀνηρέθησαν MWE et i. marg. A: om. Lat.

^a Either 500 or 1000 men. Cf. *Ant.* xix. 365.

^b According to Acts v. 36, Theudas himself was slain and his followers were scattered.

^c Nephew of the philosopher Philo. Procurator c. 46-48. In *B.J.* ii. 220 Josephus says that he, like Cuspius Fadus, kept the nation at peace by avoiding interference in Jewish customs. Alexander later (63) served under Corbulo in Armenia (*Tac. Ann.* xv. 28) and as prefect of Egypt (cf. *B.J.* ii. 309 and 492-498). When Vespasian was proclaimed emperor, Alexander required the legions and the people to

deceived many. Fadus, however, did not permit them to reap the fruit of their folly, but sent against them a squadron ^a of cavalry. These fell upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them and took many prisoners. Theudas himself was captured, whereupon they cut off his head and brought it to Jerusalem.^b These, then, are the events that befell the Jews during the time that Cuspius Fadus was procurator.

(2) The successor of Fadus was Tiberius Alexander,^c the son of that Alexander ^d who had been alabarch in Alexandria and who surpassed all his fellow citizens both in ancestry and in wealth. He was also superior to his son Alexander in his religious devotion, for the latter did not stand by the practices of his people. It was in the administration of Tiberius Alexander ^e that the great famine occurred in Judaea, during which Queen Helena bought grain from Egypt for large sums and distributed it to the needy, as I have stated above.^f Besides this James and Simon, the sons of Judas the Galilaean, were brought up for trial ^g and, at the order of Alexander, were crucified. This was the Judas ^h who, as I have explained above,ⁱ

Tiberius Alexander is appointed procurator.

Crucifixion of the sons of Judas the Galilaean.

take an oath of allegiance to him (*B.J.* iv. 616-617). Later he held a military command under Titus (*B.J.* v. 45-46, etc.).

^d Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 159-160, 259 ; and xix. 276-277.

^e This is based on the reading of the Epitome. The mss., however, read ἐπὶ τούτοις, which can mean, as remarked by Kirsopp Lake, in Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *op. cit.* v. 454, either "under these circumstances" or "in their [*i.e.* Fadus and Tiberius Alexander's] time." If the latter is the meaning, the famine might have begun in 45. ^f § 51.

^g Variant "were put to death."

^h As noted above, Luke, like Josephus, mentions Judas (*Acts* v. 37) after the incident of Theudas. But his source is probably not Josephus, since he says that it was Judas who perished, whereas Josephus says that it was Judas' sons who were put to death.

ⁱ *Ant.* xviii. 4 ff.

- τοῖς πρὸ τούτων δεδηλώκαμεν, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων, οὓς ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος.
- 103 ὁ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης μεταστήσας τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης Ἰώσηπον τὸν τοῦ Καμεῖ¹ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς Ἀνανία τῷ τοῦ Νεδεβαίου² δίδωσιν. Τιβερίῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Κουμανὸς ἀφ-
- 104 ἴκετο διάδοχος. καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον Ἡρώδης ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα ἀδελφὸς ὀγδόῳ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς ἔτει, καταλιπὼν τρεῖς υἱοὺς Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῷ τεχθέντα γυναικός, ἐκ Βερενίκης δὲ τῆς ἀδελφοῦ θυγατρὸς Βερενικιανὸν καὶ Ὑρκανόν. τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρ Κλαύδιος Ἀγρίππα τῷ νεωτέρῳ δίδωσιν.
- 105 (3) Στάσεως δ' ἐμπεσούσης τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει Κουμανοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πράγματα διοικοῦντος ἐφθάρησαν ὑπὸ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν

¹ conī. (cf. § 16) : Καμοιδί, οἱ ex ωι corr., i. marg. γρ ἐν ἄλλοις Κεμεδί γρ δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις Καμύδου A : Καμύδου MW : Κεμεδῆ E : Cami Lat.

² AE (δεβαίου i. ras. m. 1 A) : Νεβεδαίου MW : Nibedei Lat.

^a mss. Camoedi, Camudus, Camede. Cf. § 16. But the Latin version reads Cami, and in § 16 above the name is Camei.

^b Cf. §§ 131 and 205 ff. His murder by brigands in 66 is described in *B.J.* ii. 441. The Talmud, *Pesahim* 57 a, which calls him Johanan the son of Narbai (or Nadbai), praises him by noting that during his administration the law that sacrifices must not be left after the time prescribed for consuming them was always observed. On the other hand, it cites his huge appetite, remarking that he—a marginal note says his household—consumed three hundred calves, drank three hundred barrels of wine, and ate forty *se'ah* of young birds as a dessert for a single meal. He is perhaps to be

had aroused the people to revolt against the Romans while Quirinius was taking the census in Judaea. Herod, king of Chalcis, now removed Joseph, the son of Camei,^a from the high priesthood and assigned the office to Ananias,^b the son of Nedebaeus, as successor. Cumanus^c also came as successor to Tiberius Alexander. ^d Herod, the brother of the great king Agrippa, died in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar.^e He left three sons—Aristobulus, born to him by his first wife,^f and Berenicianus and Hyrcanus, born to him by Berenice, his brother's daughter. Claudius Caesar assigned Herod's kingdom to the younger Agrippa.

Cumanus is appointed procurator.

Agrippa II succeeds Herod of Chalcis.

(3) ^g While Cumanus was administering affairs in Judaea, an uprising occurred in the city of Jerusalem as a result of which many of the Jews lost their lives.

The Jewish calamity during Passover because of a Roman soldier's lewdness.

identified with the Hanin ben Matron whose assassination by Judah the brother of Menahem (perhaps the Menahem who, according to *B.J.* ii. 434, was in command of the rebels against Rome) is mentioned at the end of the Midrashic work *Shir Hashirim Zuta*. S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 1942, p. 181 n. 188, suggests that "ben Matron" may be Μέτριος, "the moderate," and thinks that this would be biting irony in allusion to his gluttony. Or, as he also suggests, the term may be taken literally in allusion to his opposition to the extremists who favoured war with the Romans (*cf.* *B.J.* ii. 455, which speaks of the moderates, οἱ μέτριοι). Ananias is mentioned in the New Testament as the high priest who orders that Paul be struck by those standing near him (Acts xxiii. 2-5) and as one of those who accuse Paul before the Roman governor (Acts xxiv. 1).

^c Ventidius Cumanus, procurator A.D. 49. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, who assails him for his wickedness, he was governor of Galilee alone.

^d *Cf.* the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 221.

^e A.D. 49.

^f Mariamme.

^g With §§ 105-137 *cf.* the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 223-247.

- Ἰουδαίων· καὶ πρότερον ἀφηγήσομαι τὴν αἰτίαν,
 106 δι' ἣν ταῦτα συνέβη· τῆς πάσχα προσαγορευομένης
 ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης, καθ' ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἄζυμα
 προσφέρεσθαι, πολλοῦ καὶ πανταχόθεν πλήθους
 συναχθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν δείσας ὁ Κουμανός, μὴ
 νεώτερόν τι παρὰ τούτων προσπέσῃ,¹ κελεύει τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν μίαν τάξιν ἀναλαβοῦσαν τὰ ὄπλα ἐπὶ
 τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοῶν ἐστάναι καταστελοῦντας τὸν
 107 νεωτερισμόν, εἰ ἄρα τις γένοιτο. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ
 πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύσαντες ἐν ταῖς
 108 ἑορταῖς ἔπραττον. τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς
 στρατιώτης τις ἀνακαλύψας ἐπεδείκνυε τῷ πλήθει
 τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο θεασαμένων ὀργὴ καὶ
 θυμὸς ἦν οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς ὑβρίσθαι λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ τὸν
 θεὸν ἡσεβῆσθαι· τινὲς δὲ τῶν θρασυτέρων τὸν
 Κουμανὸν ἐβλασφήμουν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατιώτην
 109 καθεῖσθαι² λέγοντες. Κουμανὸς δ' ἀκούσας καὶ
 αὐτὸς οὐ μετρίως ἐρεθίζεται πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας,
 παρῆναι μέντοι παύσασθαι νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας
 110 πραγμάτων μηδὲ στάσεις ἐξάπτειν ἐν ἑορτῇ.³ μὴ
 πείθων δέ, μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐπέκειντο βλασφημοῦντες,
 κελεύει τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν τὰς πανοπλίας ἀναλαβὼν
 ἥκειν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, φρούριον δ' ἦν τοῦτο,
 καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν, ἐπικείμενον τῷ
 111 ἱερῷ. παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας θεασά-

¹ μὴ . . . προσπέσῃ] ne quae per multitudinem turba aut resultatio nasceretur Lat.

² E: καθίστασθαι codd.

³ ἐν ἑορτῇ] καὶ ταραχάς E.

^a A τάξις is a contingent of 128 men.

^b On the tumult prevailing in Jerusalem during the festivals see Matt. xxvi. 5, cited by Whiston.

I shall first narrate the cause that brought about this uprising. When the festival called Passover was at hand, at which it is our custom to serve unleavened bread, a large multitude from all quarters assembled for it. Cumanus, fearing that their presence might afford occasion for an uprising, ordered one company ^a of soldiers to take up arms and stand guard on the porticoes of the temple so as to quell any uprising that might occur. This had been in fact the usual practice of previous procurators of Judaea at the festivals.^b On the fourth day of the festival, one of the soldiers uncovered his genitals and exhibited them to the multitude—an action which created anger and rage in the onlookers, who said that it was not they who had been insulted, but that it was a blasphemy against God. Some of the bolder ones also reviled Cumanus, asserting that the soldier had been prompted by him. Cumanus, when informed, was himself not a little provoked at the insulting remarks, but still merely admonished them to put an end to this lust for revolution and not to set disorders ablaze during the festival. Failing, however, to persuade them, for they only attacked him with more scurrilities,^c he ordered the whole army to take full armour and come to Antonia; this was, as I have said before,^d a fortress overlooking the temple. The crowd, seeing the arrival of the soldiers, was frightened

^c Josephus here omits a detail which is supplied by the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 225-226, namely, that some of the more hot-headed young revolutionaries in the crowd actually started a fight and, picking up stones, threw them at the soldiers. It was then that Cumanus sent for reinforcements, who, upon their arrival, created panic among the Jews.

^d *Ant.* xv. 403-409. Cf. also *Ant.* xiii. 307, xv. 292, xviii. 91, and xx. 6.

- μενον τὸ πλῆθος καὶ φοβηθὲν φεύγειν ὥρμησεν, τῶν δ' ἐξόδων στενῶν οὐσῶν διώκεσθαι νομίζοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ συνωθούμενοι κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς θλιβόμενοι δι-
 112 ἐφθειρον. δύο γοῦν μυριάδες¹ ἐξηριθμήθησαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν στάσιν ἐκείνην φθαρέντων. πένθος δ' ἦν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς, καὶ πάντες ἐκλαθόμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπὶ θρήνους καὶ κλαυθμοὺς ἐτράποντο. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐνὸς ἀσέλγεια στρατιώτου παθήματα γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν.
- 113 (4) Οὐπω δ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον πένθος ἐπέπαυτο καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο προσέπιπτεν· τῶν γὰρ ἀφεστῶτων ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ τινες² κατὰ τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως Στέφανον Καίσαρος δοῦλον ὁδοιποροῦντα ληστεύσαντες ἄπασαν
 114 αὐτοῦ τὴν κτήσιν διαρπάζουσιν. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν ὁ Κουμανὸς εὐθὺς πέμπει στρατιώτας, κελεύσας αὐτοῖς τὰς πλησίον κώμας³ διαρπάσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν δῆσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄγειν
 115 λόγον τῶν τετολμημένων εἰσπράξαντας.⁴ τῆς δὲ πορθήσεως γενομένης⁵ τῶν κωμῶν⁶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις⁷ τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους ἐν τινι κώμῃ λαβὼν κειμένους⁸ προκομίσας εἰς τὴν πάντων ὄψιν διέσχισεν⁹ ἐπι-

¹ δύο . . . μυριάδες] ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους (vel ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους) B.J. ii. 227 : τρεῖς μυριάδας Eus.

² τῶν γὰρ . . . τινες] quidam enim qui ex illa turba fugientes evaserant Lat.

³ MW : χώρας AE : vicos Lat.

⁴ λόγον . . . εἰσπράξαντας] A : om. MWE.

⁵ πορθήσεως γενομένης] πορθήσεως τῶν χωρίων ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων στρατιωτῶν γενομένης E.

⁶ τῶν κωμῶν] A : om. MWE.

⁷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις] ἀτάσθαλός τις ἐξ αὐτῶν νεανίας E.

and started to flee. But since the exits were narrow, they, supposing that they were being pursued by the enemy, pushed together in their flight and crushed to death many of their number who were caught in the narrow passages. Indeed, the number of those who perished in that disturbance was computed at twenty thousand.^a So there was mourning henceforth instead of feasting; and all, utterly oblivious of prayers and sacrifices, turned to lamentation and weeping. Such were the calamities produced by the indecent behaviour of a single soldier.

(4) Their first mourning had not yet ceased when another calamity befell them. For some of the seditious revolutionaries robbed Stephen, a slave of Caesar, as he was travelling on the public highway^b at a distance of about one hundred furlongs^c from the city, and despoiled him of all his belongings. When Cumanus heard of this, he at once dispatched soldiers with orders to plunder the neighbouring villages and to bring before him their most eminent men^d in chains so that he might exact vengeance for their effrontery. After the sacking of the villages, one of the soldiers,^e who had found a copy of the laws of Moses that was kept in one of the villages, fetched it out where all could see and tore it in two while he

Cumanus
executes a
soldier for
destroying
a copy of
the law.

^a In the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 227, the number is given as more than thirty thousand according to some mss., and as more than ten thousand according to others.

^b *B.J.* ii. 228 supplies the detail that this was the public road leading up to Bethhoron. ^c About twelve miles.

^d *B.J.* ii. 229: "with orders to bring up the inhabitants to him in chains."

^e The Epitome has "one of them, a rash young man."

⁸ κειμένους] σεβασμῶς κειμένους E.

⁹ διέσχισεν] ἀναιδῶς διέσχισεν E.

- 116 βλασφηημῶν καὶ πολλὰ κατακερτομῶν.¹ Ἰουδαῖοι
 δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες καὶ πολλοὶ συνδραμόντες
 καταβαίνουνσιν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐτύγγανεν
 ὁ Κουμανὸς ὢν, ἰκετεύοντες μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν
 οὐπερ οἱ νόμοι καθυβρίσθησαν ἐκδικῆσαι· ζῆν γὰρ
 οὐχ ὑπομένειν τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς² οὕτως περι-
 117 υβρισμένων. καὶ Κουμανὸς δέϊσας, μὴ πάλιν νεω-
 τερίσειεν τὸ πλῆθος, συμβουλευσάντων καὶ τῶν
 φίλων τὸν ἐνυβρίσαντα τοῖς νόμοις στρατιώτην πελε-
 κίσας ἔπαυσεν τὴν στάσιν ἐκ δευτέρου μέλλουσιν
 ἐξάπτεσθαι.
- 118 (vi. 1) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμαρείταις πρὸς Ἰου-
 δαίους ἔχθρα δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην· ἔθος ἦν τοῖς
 Γαλιλαίοις ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν παρα-
 γινομένοις ὁδεύειν διὰ τῆς Σαμαρέων χώρας. καὶ
 τότε καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς κώμης Γιναῆς³ λεγομένης
 τῆς ἐν μεθορίῳ κειμένης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ τοῦ
 μεγάλου πεδίου τινὲς συνάψαντες μάχην πολλοὺς

¹ καὶ ἀκρατῶς καθυλακτῶν post κατακερτομῶν add. E.

² τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς] τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς νόμων i. ras. m. 2, i. marg. νόμων suppl. A : τῶν πατρίων καὶ νομίμων αὐτοῖς E : leges patrias Lat.

³ E : Navaῆς, va i. ras. maiore, η ex ι corr. A : τῆς Ναῆς MW : Ginais Lat. : Γήμαν B.J. ii. 232.

^a The Epitome adds "and indulged in uncontrolled clamour like a dog's barking." B.J. ii. 229 adds that he threw the copy into a fire.

^b Without referring to this incident in particular, Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, mentions the long-standing feud between the Jews and the Samaritans which, he says, because of the contempt of both peoples for the procurators Cumanus and Felix, now erupted in plunder and occasional battles.

^c Gema in the parallel passage, B.J. ii. 232; modern *Jenin*. This village is called Ginaea in B.J. iii. 48, where it is said to be on the northern boundary of Samaria. Thackeray,

uttered blasphemies and railed violently.^a The Jews, on learning of this, collected in large numbers, went down to Caesarea, where Cumanus happened to be, and besought him to avenge not them but God, whose laws had been subjected to outrage. For, they said, they could not endure to live, since their ancestral code was thus wantonly insulted. Cumanus, alarmed at the thought of a fresh revolution of the masses, after taking counsel with his friends, beheaded the soldier who had outraged the laws and thus prevented the uprising when it was on the verge of breaking out a second time.

(vi. 1) Hatred also arose between the Samaritans and the Jews for the following reason.^b It was the custom of the Galilaeans at the time of a festival to pass through the Samaritan territory on their way to the Holy City. On one occasion, while they were passing through, certain of the inhabitants of a village called Ginaë,^c which was situated on the border between Samaria and the Great Plain,^d joined battle with the Galilaeans and slew a great number^e of them.

Cumanus' failure to act in the quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans.

in his note on *B.J.* ii. 232, refers to Luke ix. 52-56, which illustrates the hostility shown by the Samaritans towards the Jews on their way to Jerusalem.

^a The Plain of Esdraelon between Samaria and Galilee.

^e The parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 232, in some of the mss., says that one Galilaean was slain, while in other mss., perhaps to make the passage agree with ours, the statement reads that many were slain. But the slaying of a single person, even by the hated Samaritans, would not, in all probability, have aroused so much indignation. M. Aberbach, "The Conflicting Accounts of Josephus and Tacitus concerning Cumanus' and Felix' Terms of Office," *Jewish Quart. Rev.* xl, 1949-1950, p. 1 n. 1, suggests the possibility that Josephus' dependence in the *Bellum* on official Roman sources, which were often anti-Jewish, explains the reduction of the slain to only one.

- 119 αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσιν. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα τῶν
 Γαλιλαίων¹ οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς Κουμανὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ
 παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν μετιέναι² τῶν ἀνηρημένων τὸν
 φόνον. ὁ δὲ χρήμασι πεισθεὶς³ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων
 120 τὴν ἐκδίκησιν⁴ ὠλιγόρησεν. ἀγανακτήσαντες δὲ
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ Γαλιλαῖοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔπει-
 θον ἐφ' ὅπλα⁵ χωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχε-
 σθαι· δουλείαν γὰρ καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν μὲν πικρὰν
 ἔλεγον εἶναι, τὴν ἐφ' ὕβρει δὲ παντάπασιν ἀφόρητον.
 121 τῶν δ' ἐν τέλει καταπραῦνειν αὐτοὺς καὶ συστέλ-
 λειν τὴν ταραχὴν⁶ πειρωμένων καὶ πείσειν τὸν Κου-
 μανὸν ἐπαγγελλομένων δίκας εἰσπράξασθαι παρὰ
 τῶν ἀνηρηκότων, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ προσέσχον, ἀναλα-
 βόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ βοηθεῖν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν τοῦ
 Δειναίου παρακαλέσαντες, ληστής δ' οὗτος ἦν ἔτη
 πολλὰ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν ὄρει πεποιημένος, κώμας
 τινὰς τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐμπρήσαντες διαρπάζουσι.
 122 Κουμανὸς δὲ τῆς πράξεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένης
 ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἵλην καὶ πεζῶν

¹ τινὲς καὶ μᾶλλον post Γαλιλαίων add. M.

² Cocceji: μετεῖναι codd. E: ut . . . inquireret Lat.

³ πεισθεὶς] πολλοῖς ἀποτυφλωθεὶς E.

⁴ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν] AE: om. MW.

⁵ ὅπλα] ὅπλα καὶ φόνους E.

⁶ καὶ συστέλλειν τὴν ταραχὴν] AE: om. MW.

^a B.J. ii. 233 gives, as the reason for the dismissal of the petition, Cumanus' concern with other affairs that he deemed more important.

^b B.J. ii. 234 supplies the detail that the masses in Jerusalem abandoned the celebration of the festival and dashed off to Samaria, even though they were without generals.

^c The Epitome adds "and slaughter." The parallel pas-

The leaders of the Galilaeans, hearing of the occurrence, came to Cumanus and besought him to seek out the murderers of those who had been slain. He, however, having been bribed by the Samaritans, neglected to avenge them.^a The Galilaeans, indignant at this, urged the Jewish masses to resort to arms and to assert their liberty; for, they said, slavery was in itself bitter, but when it involved insolent treatment, it was quite intolerable. Those in authority tried to mollify them and reduce the disorder, and offered to induce Cumanus to punish the murderers. The masses,^b however, paid no heed to them, but taking up arms^c and inviting the assistance of Eleazar^d son of Deinaeus—he was a brigand who for many years had had his home in the mountains—they fired and sacked certain villages^e of the Samaritans.^f When the affair came to Cumanus' ears, he took over the squadron of the Sebastenians^g and four units^h of sage, *B.J.* ii. 233, says that the Jews took up arms even before their leaders went to Cumanus.

^a *B.J.* ii. 235 adds another leader, Alexander. Eleazar is to be identified with the Ben Dinai who, according to the *Midrash Rabbah on Song of Songs* ii. 18, prematurely tried to free the Jews. According to the Mishnah, *Soṭah* ix. 9, he inspired so many murders that the sacrifice of atonement for an unknown murderer was discontinued, and he began to be called Ben Harazhan ("the murderer"). Cf. below, § 161.

^e These villages bordered on the toparchy of Acrabatene, southeast of Shechem (*B.J.* ii. 235).

^f *B.J.* ii. 235 adds that the Jews massacred the Samaritan inhabitants without distinction of age.

^g Cf. *Ant.* xix. 365, which indicates that they were a cavalry unit composed of either 500 or 1000 men.

^h Since Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 365, speaks of the cavalry unit and the five cohorts (σπεῖραι) of Sebastenians, the term here used, τάγματα, which is a general term for army units of various sizes, probably refers to cohorts, each of which had a strength of 500 to 600 men.

- τέσσαρα τάγματα τούς τε Σαμαρεῖς καθοπλίσας
 ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καὶ συμβαλὼν¹ πολ-
 λούς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν πλείους δὲ ζῶντας
 123 ἔλαβεν. οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι κατὰ τιμὴν καὶ γένος τῶν
 Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἶον κακῶν μέγεθος
 ἤκουσιν, μετενδυσάμενοι σάκκους καὶ σποδοῦ τὰς
 κεφαλὰς ἀναπλήσαντες παντοῖοι τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας
 παρακαλοῦντες ἦσαν καὶ πείθοντες πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν
 θεμένους κατασκαφήσομένην μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν πα-
 τρίδα, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν πυρποληθησόμενον, αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ
 γυναικῶν σὺν τέκνοις ἀνδραποδισμοὺς ἐσομένους,
 μεταθέσθαι τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ῥύψαντας
 ἡρεμεῖν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποχωρήσαντας εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν.
 124 ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες ἔπεισαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν διελύθησαν,
 οἱ λησταὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχυροὺς τόπους πάλιν ἀπῆλ-
 θον. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε ἡ σύμπασα Ἰουδαία ληστηρίων
 ἐπληρώθη.
 125 (2) Σαμαρέων δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς Οὐμμίδιον²
 Κοδρᾶτον³ τῆς Συρίας προεστηκότα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν
 ἐκείνον ἐν Τύρῳ τυγχάνοντα παραγενόμενοι κατη-
 γόρουν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐμ-
 126 πρήσειαν καὶ διαρπάσειαν, καὶ περὶ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ
 πεπόνθασιν οὐχ οὕτως ἀγανακτεῖν ἔφασκον, ὡς ὅτι
 Ῥωμαίων καταφρονήσειαν, ἐφ' οὓς κριτὰς ἐχρῆν
 αὐτοὺς εἶπερ ἡδίκουν⁴ παραγενέσθαι, ἣ νῦν ὡς οὐκ
 ἐχόντων ἡγεμόνας Ῥωμαίους καταδραμεῖν ἤκειν

¹ E: συλλαβὼν codd.: facta . . . congressione Lat.

² Hudson ex B.J. ii. 239: Νομίδιον (Νουμήδιον W) codd.
 E Lat.

³ Κουαδράτον E: Quadratum Lat.

infantry and armed the Samaritans. He then marched out against the Jews and, in an encounter, slew many, but took more alive. Thereupon those who were by rank and birth the leaders of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, when they saw to what depth of calamity they had come, changed their robes for sackcloth and defiled their heads with ashes and went to all lengths entreating the rebels. They urged them to picture to themselves that their country would be rased to the ground, their temple consigned to the flames, and they themselves with their wives and children reduced to slavery. They therefore besought them to think again, to throw down their arms, to return to their homes, and to lead a quiet life in the future. With these words they prevailed. The people dispersed and the brigands returned to their strongholds. From that time the whole of Judaea was infested with bands of brigands.

(2) The leaders of the Samaritans met with Ummidius Quadratus,^a the governor of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of firing and sacking their villages. They professed to be indignant not so much because of the treatment that they themselves had received as because of the contempt that the Jews had shown for the Romans. For the Jews, they said, should have appealed to the Romans to decide the matter, if indeed the Samaritans had done them an injustice, and not, as they had now done, have overrun the Samaritan country, as though they did not have the Romans as their governors.

The Samaritans appeal to the governor of Syria, who refers the case to the emperor.

^a Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, says that but for Quadratus the armed conflict between the Samaritans and the Jews would have spread throughout Galilee and Samaria.

⁴ ἡδικοῦντο E.

- 127 οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκδικίας τευξόμενοι.¹ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ Σαμαρεῖς κατηγοροῦν. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ καὶ τῆς στάσεως καὶ τῆς μάχης αἰτίους γεγενέσθαι Σαμαρεῖς² ἔφασαν, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Κουμανὸν δώροις ὑπ' αὐτῶν φθαρέντα καὶ παρασιωπήσαντα τὸν τῶν ἀνη-
 128 ρημένων φόνον. καὶ Κουαδρᾶτος ἀκούσας ὑπερτίθεται τὴν κρίσιν, εἰπὼν ἀποφανεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγενόμενος ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιγνῶ
 129 τὴν ἀλήθειαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπήεσαν ἄπρακτοι. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ὁ Κουαδρᾶτος ἦκεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν, ἔνθα διακούσας αἰτίους τῆςαραχῆς ὑπέλαβε γεγενέσθαι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς.³ Σαμαρέων⁴ δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων οὐστinas⁵ νεωτερίσαντας ἔμαθεν⁶ ἀνεσταύρωσεν οὓς Κουμανὸς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους⁷
 130 καὶ ἐκείθεν εἰς κώμην τινὰ παραγενόμενος Λύδδαν. πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσιν καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ δευτέρου τῶν Σαμαρέων διακούσας διδάσκεται παρὰ τινος Σαμαρέως, ὅτι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τις πρῶτος ὄνομα Δότης⁸ καὶ τινες σὺν αὐτῷ

¹ ἐφ' οὓς . . . τευξόμενοι] ad quorum iudicium debuerant pro sua vel si qua fuisset laesione concurrere, nunc autem quasi Romanos iudices non haberent haec ab eis acta dicebant et propterea vindictam fieri postulabant Lat.

² κατηγοροῦν . . . Σαμαρεῖς] A : om. MW.

³ αἰτίους . . . Σαμαρεῖς] i. ras. m. 2 A.

⁴ τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς. Σαμαρέων] A : Σαμαρέων MW : Σαμαρεῖς ὡς E.

⁵ Ἰουδαίων οὐστinas] Ἰουδαίους τινὰς E.

⁶ ἔνθα . . . ἔμαθεν] ubi auctores seditionis audiens et quosdam Samaritanorum ac Iudaeorum indisciplinatos inveniens Lat.

⁷ Λύδδαν] Λύδδαν λεγομένην E : nomine Liddam Lat.

⁸ A : Δόρτος MW : Δόϊτος E : Doitus Lat.

^a Included in the Jewish delegation (so *B.J.* ii. 240) was the high priest Jonathan son of Ananus, who was later put to
 456

Therefore, said the Samaritans, they had come to Quadratus to obtain redress. Such were the accusations of the Samaritans. The Jews,^a on the other hand, said that the Samaritans were responsible for the factional strife and the fighting, but in the highest degree Cumanus, who had been bribed by them to pass over in silence the murder of the Jewish victims. After the hearing, Quadratus deferred judgement, saying that he would announce his decision when he had reached Judaea and had gained a more accurate understanding of the case. Thus the Samaritans departed without attaining their object. Not long afterwards Quadratus reached Samaria,^b where, after a full hearing, he came to the conclusion that the Samaritans had been responsible for the disorder. He then crucified those of the Samaritans ^c and of the Jews who, he had learned, had taken part in the rebellion and whom Cumanus had taken prisoner. From there he came to Lydda,^d a village that was in size not inferior to a city, and sat on the judgement seat, where he gave a second thorough hearing to the case of the Samaritans. Here he was informed by a certain Samaritan that a leader of the Jews named Doëtus,^e together with

death by brigands at the instigation of the procurator Felix (*Ant.* xx. 162-164). ^b Caesarea, according to *B.J.* ii. 241.

^c The Epitome speaks of his crucifying the Jews only. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, also, after mentioning the constant quarrels between the Samaritans and the Jews, says that Quadratus put to death those of the Jews who had been daring enough to slay Roman soldiers. But the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 241, says that Quadratus crucified all the prisoners—presumably both Jews and Samaritans—taken by Cumanus.

^d Modern *Lud*, between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

^e Variants "Dortus," "Doïtus."

- νεωτερισταὶ τέσσαρες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πείσειαν τὸν
 131 ὄχλον ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει. καὶ κείνους μὲν
 ὁ Κουαδρᾶτος ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ
 Ἀνανίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀνανον
 δῆσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέπεμψεν περὶ τῶν πεπραγ-
 132 μένων λόγον ὑφέξοντας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. κελεύει
 δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Σαμαρέων πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰου-
 δαίοις² Κουμανῶ τε τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ Κέλερι,
 χιλίαρχος δ' ἦν οὗτος, ἐπ' Ἰταλίας³ ἀπιέναι⁴ πρὸς
 τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κριθησομένους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν
 133 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζητήσεων. αὐτὸς δὲ δείσας, μὴ τὸ
 πλῆθος πάλιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτερίσειεν, εἰς τὴν
 τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται· καταλαμ-
 βάνει δ' αὐτὴν εἰρηνευομένην καὶ πάτριον ἑορτὴν
 τῷ θεῷ τελοῦσαν. πιστεύσας οὖν μηδένα νεωτερισ-
 μὸν παρ' αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι⁵ καταλιπὼν ἑορτάζοντας
 ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.
 134 (3) Οἱ περὶ Κουμανὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν
 Σαμαρέων ἀναπεμφθέντες εἰς Ῥώμην λαμβάνουσι
 παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν περὶ τῶν
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφισβητήσεων λέγειν ἔμελλον.
 135 σπουδῇ δὲ μεγίστῃ τῷ Κουμανῶ καὶ τοῖς Σα-

¹ τοῖς τῶν Σαμαρέων πρώτοις καὶ] om. E.

² καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις] A : om. MW : τοῖς Ἰουδαίων E Lat.

³ ἐπ' Ἰταλίας] Lowthius : ἐπὶ τῆς βίας codd. E ; χιλίαρχος
 . . . Ἰταλίας] millenario et violentiarum inhibitori Lat.

⁴ Hudson : ἀπεῖναι codd. E : ut . . . pergerent Lat.

⁵ MW : γεγενῆσθαι AE ; generari Lat.

^a According to *B.J.* ii. 242, Cumanus beheaded eighteen Jews who, according to information given him, had participated in the fighting.

^b Cf. § 103.

^c Or perhaps better "superintendent." Presumably the reference is to the captain who had custody of the temple, a

four other revolutionaries, had instigated the mob to revolt against the Romans. These ^a also Quadratus ordered to be put to death. As for the high priest Ananias ^b and the captain ^c Ananus ^d and their followers, he put them in chains and sent them up to Rome to render an account of their actions to Claudius Caesar. He further ordered the leaders of the Samaritans, those of the Jews, Cumanus the procurator, and Celer, ^e a military tribune, to set off to Italy to get a decision in the imperial court concerning the matters in dispute between them. He himself, fearing a fresh revolution on the part of the Jewish people, visited the city of Jerusalem, which he found at peace and observing one of the traditional religious festivals.^f Having satisfied himself, therefore, that there would be no revolt on their part, he left them celebrating the festival and returned to Antioch.

(3) Cumanus and the leaders of the Samaritans with their companions who had been sent to Rome were assigned a day by the emperor on which they were to state their case in the matters at issue involving them. Caesar's freedmen and friends dis-

Claudius, thanks to Agrippa's influence, decides in favour of the Jews.

position mentioned in *B.J.* vi. 294, as well as in Luke xxii. 4, 52; Acts iv. 1, v. 24, 26. He is the *sagan*, second in rank to the high priest. Cf. Mishnah, *Yoma* iii. 1.

^d The son of Ananias the high priest, according to *B.J.* ii. 243, which also adds that the delegation included the high priest Jonathan.

^e In view of the drastic punishment inflicted on Celer, whose crime is nowhere indicated, Aberbach, *op. cit.* p. 12, suggests that he may have been the soldier (§§ 108-112) whose lewdness had prompted such calamity for the Jews. But Josephus normally, though not always, gives cross-references and certainly would be expected to do so in so notorious a case as this; moreover, Josephus never calls a military tribune a mere soldier.

^f Passover, according to *B.J.* ii. 244.

- μαρεῦσιν ἦν παρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων καὶ φίλων, καὶ περιεγένοντο τῶν Ἰουδαίων, εἰ μὴ περ Ἀγρίππας ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τυγχάνων κατασπευδομένους ἰδὼν τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους ἐδεήθη πολλὰ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γυναικὸς Ἀγριππίνης πείσαι τὸν ἄνδρα διακούσαντα¹ πρεπόντως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δικαιοσύνῃ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ Κλαύδιος τῇ δεήσει ταύτῃ προευτρεπισθεὶς καὶ διακούσας, ὥς εὔρε τῶν κακῶν ἀρχηγοὺς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας γενομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἀναβάνας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τῷ Κουμανῷ δὲ φυγὴν ἐπέβαλεν, Κέλερα δὲ τὸν χιλιάρχον ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγόντας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πάντων ὁρώντων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν σύραντας οὕτως ἀποκτείνει.
- 137 (vii. 1) Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιος² Φήλिका Πάλ-

¹ A : δικάσαντα MWE : causam audiens Lat.

² E : Κλαύδιον codd.

^a The granddaughter of Antonia, whose friendship for Agrippa I (*Ant.* xviii. 143) may well have been recalled by Agrippa II's entreaties to her.

^b Suetonius, *Claud.* 15, to be sure, asserts that he rendered judgements after having heard only one party to a suit; and Seneca, *Apoc.* 12. 3, goes so far as to say that he did so without hearing either party. But V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 1940, pp. 46-47, rightly defends Claudius against these charges by suggesting that since the courts were cluttered with trivial cases Claudius decided to follow the court procedure later recognized in the Code of Justinian, awarding the decision to the party present at a trial if the other party did not appear.

^c Aberbach, *op. cit.* pp. 11-12, plausibly suggests that the Jewish cause may have had another strong ally in Pallas, whose influence over Claudius was particularly strong at this time, and who acted in secret. There may well be a con-

460

played the greatest partiality for Cumanus and the Samaritans, and they would have got the better of the Jews, had not Agrippa the Younger, who was in Rome and saw that the Jewish leaders were losing the race for influence, urgently entreated Agrippina,^a the wife of the emperor, to persuade her husband to give the case a thorough hearing in a manner befitting his respect for law ^b and to punish the instigators of the revolt.^c Claudius was favourably impressed by this petition. He then heard the case through, and, on discovering that the Samaritans were the first to move in stirring up trouble, he ordered those of them who had come before him to be put to death,^d condemned Cumanus to exile, and ordered Celer the tribune to be taken to Jerusalem, where he was to be dragged around the whole city in a public spectacle and then put to death.

(vii. 1) Claudius now sent Felix,^e the brother of Felix is
appointed
procurator.
nexion, as indicated by Aberbach, between Pallas' assistance in this case and the championing by the high priest Jonathan of the candidacy of Felix, Pallas' brother, for the procuratorship of Judaea shortly thereafter.

^d Three Samaritans were executed (*B.J.* ii. 245).

^e This is the reading of the Epitome. The mss. read "He now sent Claudius Felix." But Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, calls him Antonius Felix, and he is so called also in an inscription (*C.I.L.* v. 34). See Schürer, i. 571-572 n. 18, who, therefore, defends the emendation Κλαύδιος. Like his brother Pallas, he probably, as P. von Rohden, "Antonius" no. 54, Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1894, p. 2617, suggests, was freed by Claudius' mother Antonia. Suetonius, *Claud.* 28, mentions Claudius' high regard for him. He was named procurator c. A.D. 52, and it is he before whom Paul is accused in Acts xxiv. 1 ff. Josephus' account of Felix appears to contradict that of Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54, who states that while Cumanus was in charge of Galilee, Felix was already governing Samaria. Acts xxiv. 10, as noted by Kirsopp Lake, *op. cit.* p. 465, perhaps offers some support for Tacitus' account, for Paul

λαντος ἀδελφὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστησό-
 138 μενον πραγμάτων. τῆς δ' ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον¹ ἔτος
 ἤδη πεπληρωκὼς δωρεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίπ-
 που τετραρχία καὶ Βαταναία προσθεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν
 Τραχωνίτιν σὺν Ἀβέλα². Λυσανία δ' αὕτη γεγόνει
 τετραρχία· τὴν Χαλκίδα δ' αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται δυνα-
 139 στεύσαντα ταύτης ἔτη τέσσαρα. λαβὼν δὲ τὴν
 δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἐκδίδωσι
 πρὸς γάμον Ἀζίζῳ τῷ Ἑμεσῶν βασιλεῖ περιτέμνε-
 σθαι θελήσαντι Δρούσιλλαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν· Ἐπιφανὴς
 γὰρ ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς παρητήσατο

¹ decimum Lat.

² A : συνέβαλε M : συνέβαλλε W : σὺν Ἀβέλα E : una cum Abela Lat.

remarks that Felix had been "a judge of this nation" for many years. Cumanus and Felix, according to Tacitus, shared in the spoils collected by the brigands and were unsuccessful in quelling disturbances. Thereupon Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, brought them to account, sentencing Cumanus, while actually exhibiting Felix as one of the judges. Aberbach, pp. 4-6, in an ingenious attempt to reconcile the accounts of Josephus and Tacitus, suggests that Cumanus was actually procurator of Judaea and Samaria when the disturbance described in §§ 118-124 occurred, while Felix was in charge of Galilee, in which Josephus, until the events of 66, was less interested. But Josephus describes the dispatch of Felix by Claudius to become procurator in the same terms in which he describes the dispatch of other procurators (*e.g.* Porcius Festus, § 182), and it seems hard to believe that, if Felix was already serving in Palestine, Josephus should not have mentioned that fact but should say that Claudius "sent" ("sent forth," *B.J.* ii. 247) him to take charge of Judaea. On the other hand, Josephus, who normally speaks of a person as being sent to be procurator of *Judaea*, says (*B.J.* ii. 247) that Felix was sent to be procurator

Pallas,^a to take charge of matters in Judaea. When he had completed the twelfth year of his reign,^b he granted to Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip^c together with Batanaea, adding thereto Trachonitis^d and Lysanias' former tetrarchy of Abila^e; but he deprived him of Chalcis, after he had ruled it for four years. After receiving this gift from the emperor, Agrippa gave his sister Drusilla^f in marriage to Azizus king of Emesa, who had consented to be circumcised. Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus, had of Judaea, Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea; this would not necessarily be inconsistent with his having served as procurator of one of these districts previously.

^a A freedman of Antonia (*cf. Ant.* xviii. 182, where he is mentioned as the most trustworthy of Antonia's slaves) and a favourite of the emperor Claudius. He championed the cause of Agrippina, whose lover he supposedly was. In January 52, shortly before the appointment of Felix, Pallas had reached the pinnacle of his power when he was awarded the *ornamenta praetoria* and a large sum of money by the senate. *Cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat.* vii. 29. 2 and viii. 16. 3; and *Suet. Claud.* 28. Nero ordained his death in 62 allegedly because of his wealth.

^b A.D. 53.

^c *Cf. Ant.* xviii. 27-28, 106, etc. According to *B.J.* ii. 247, Agrippa was also presented with the tetrarchy of Varus.

^d Luke iii. 1 speaks of Trachonitis as part of Philip's tetrarchy, and hence J. W. Hunkin, "St. Luke and Josephus," *Church Quart. Rev.* lxxxviii, 1919, p. 100, seems justified in concluding that Luke did not have this passage of the *Antiquities* before him.

^e Or Abela, north-west of Damascus. *Cf. Ant.* xix. 275. It is the Abilene of which Lysanias was tetrarch under Tiberius, according to Luke iii. 1. *Cf. Schürer*, i. 716-720.

^f *Cf. Ant.* xviii. 132 for her place in the genealogy of the house of Herod. In *Ant.* xix. 354 she is mentioned as being six years old at the death of her father, Agrippa I. She is identified in Acts xxiv. 24 as Felix's Jewish wife. She is presumably one of the three queens whom Felix married, according to Suetonius, *Claud.* 28.

τὸν γάμον μὴ βουλευθεὶς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθῃ μεταλα-
 βεῖν καίπερ τοῦτο ποιήσῃ προὔπεςχημένος αὐτῆς
 140 τῷ πατρί. καὶ Μαριάμμην δ' ἐξέδωκεν Ἀρχελάῳ
 τῷ Ἑλκίου παιδὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα τοῦ
 πατρὸς¹ ἄρμοσθεῖσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ γίνεται θυγάτηρ
 αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Βερενίκη.

141 (2) Διαλύονται δὲ τῇ Δρουσίλλῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀζίζον
 οἱ γάμοι μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοιαύτης ἐμπεσούσης
 142 αἰτίας· καθ' ὃν χρόνον τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευε
 Φῆλιξ θεασάμενος ταύτην, καὶ γὰρ ἦν κάλλει πασῶν
 διαφέρουσα, λαμβάνει τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ
 Ἄτομον² ὀνόματι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων Ἰουδαῖον,
 Κύπριον δὲ τὸ γένος, μάγον εἶναι σκηπτόμενον
 πέμπων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔπειθεν τὸν ἄνδρα καταλιποῦ-
 σαν αὐτῷ γήμασθαι, μακαρίαν ποιήσῃν ἐπαγγελ-

¹ MWE Lat. Phot.: παιδὸς A.

² AE: Σίμωνα MW Lat. et i. marg. A.

^a Or "had excused himself from marrying her."

^b See *Ant.* xix. 355.

^c See *Ant.* xix. 355.

^d According to Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, Felix was now married to Drusilla (not the Drusilla whom he married in § 143; cf. Stein, "Drusilla" no. 2, Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1905, p. 1741, who suggests that there is some confusion), the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, and hence he was the grandson-in-law, as Claudius was the grandson, of Antony. Tacitus also mentions that Felix indulged in "every kind of barbarity and lust."

^e This is the reading of the best ms. and of the Epitome. The other two major mss., a marginal notation in the best ms., and the Latin version have the name as Simon. Who is this Atomus or Simon? M. Krenkel, *Josephus und Lukas*, 1894, pp. 178 ff., identifies him with the apostle Paul, who was regarded as the false Simon as opposed to Simon Peter and who was called a Samaritan because he declared that the

rejected the marriage ^a since he was not willing to convert to the Jewish religion, although he had previously ^b contracted with her father to do so. Agrippa also gave his daughter Mariamme in marriage to Archelaus, ^c the son of Helcias, to whom he had previously betrothed her. Of this marriage there was born a daughter named Berenice.

(2) Not long afterwards Drusilla's marriage to Azizus was dissolved under the impact of the following circumstances. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judaea, he beheld her; and, inasmuch as she surpassed all other women in beauty, he conceived a passion for the lady. ^d He sent to her one of his friends, ^e a Cyprian Jew named Atomus, who pretended to be a magician, ^f in an effort to persuade her to leave her husband and to marry Felix. Felix promised to make her supremely happy ^g if she did

Felix,
through a
Cyprian
magician,
induces
Agrippa's
sister
Drusilla to
marry him

Mosaic law had been abrogated; but, as P. W. Schmiedel, "Simon Magus," *Ency. Bibl.* iv, 1903, p. 4556, and H. Waitz, "Simon Magus in der altchristlichen Literatur," *Zeitsch. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.* v, 1904, p. 127, note, there is no evidence that Paul was so called, nor was Paul a Cyprian, as the magician here is said to be. Waitz, in turn, suggests (p. 128) an identification with Simon the Church Father, but the latter was a Samaritan and not a Cyprian. The name Simon is extremely common during this period, and magicians were plentiful.

^f On Jewish magicians, S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, ii², 1952, p. 21, cites Lucian, *Tragopodagra*, verse 173, who satirically refers to a sufferer from podagra who, having tried every remedy, resorts to the incantations of a Jew. Cf. Baron ii. 336 n. 25, who notes the belief, found in Jub. x. 10-15, that Noah had acquired the art of magic healing from the angels and had transmitted it to his son Shem.

^g In all probability, as noted by Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, p. 95 n. 2, there is here a play on the name Felix, meaning "happy."

- 143 λόμενος μὴ ὑπερηφανήσασαν αὐτόν.¹ ἡ δὲ κακῶς
 πράττουσα καὶ φυγεῖν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερε-
 νίκης βουλομένη φθόνον διὰ γὰρ τὸ κάλλος παρ'
 ἐκείνης ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐβλάπτετο,² παραβῆναί τε τὰ
 πάτρια νόμιμα πείθεται καὶ τῷ Φήλικι γήμασθαι.³
 τεκοῦσα δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα προσηγόρευσεν Ἀγρίπ-
 144 παν. ἀλλ' ὃν μὲν τρόπον ὁ νεανίας οὗτος σὺν τῇ
 γυναικὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν τοῦ Βεσβίου ὄρους ἐπὶ
 τῶν Τίτου Καίσαρος χρόνων ἠφανίσθη, μετὰ ταῦτα
 δηλώσω.
- 145 (3) Βερενίκη δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτήν, ὅς
 αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ θεῖος ἐγεγόνει, πολὺν χρόνον ἐπι-
 χηρεύσασα, φήμης ἐπισχούσης, ὅτι τὰδελφῷ συνείη,⁴
 πείθει Πολέμωνα, Κιλικίας⁵ δὲ ἦν οὗτος βασιλεὺς,
 περιτεμόμενον ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτήν· οὕτως
 146 γὰρ ἐλέγξειν ὤετο ψευδεῖς τὰς διαβολάς. καὶ ὁ

¹ μὴ ὑπερηφανήσασαν αὐτόν] om. E.

² διὰ γὰρ . . . ἐβλάπτετο] ed. pr.: αὐτῇ (αὐτῇ MW) διὰ τὸ
 κάλλος παρεκάλει παρ' ἐκείνης οἰόμενος (γρ ὑποπτευόμενος i. marg.
 A), οὐκ ἐν (ἐν οὐκ MW) ὀλίγοις ἐβλαπτεν (βλάπτεσθαι Mathieu-
 Herrmann) codd.

³ ἡ δὲ . . . γήμασθαι] illa vero non bene faciens declinare
 volens invidiam Berenicae sororis propter pulchritudinem
 suam transcendere paternas sollemnitates flexa est et Felicis
 nuptias est secuta Lat.

⁴ A: γρ συνοικεῖ i. marg. A: συνήει MWE: coiret Lat.

⁵ Lyciae Lat.

^a The clause "for Drusilla . . . beauty" is corrupt in
 the mss.; the text here adopted follows the *editio princeps*.
 Mathieu-Herrmann, emending the text of the mss. slightly,
 translate: "Felix invited her by reason of her beauty,
 which he believed exposed her to much torment by Berenice."

^b A.D. 79.

^c There is no further mention of this in the extant works
 of Josephus.

not disdain him. She, being unhappy and wishing to escape the malice of her sister Berenice—for Drusilla was exceedingly abused by her because of her beauty ^a—, was persuaded to transgress the ancestral laws and to marry Felix. By him she gave birth to a son whom she named Agrippa. How this youth and his wife disappeared at the time of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the times of Titus Caesar, ^b I shall describe later. ^c

(3) After the death of Herod, who had been her uncle and husband, Berenice lived for a long time as a widow. But when a report gained currency that she had a liaison with her brother, ^d she induced Polemo, ^e king of Cilicia, to be circumcised and to take her in marriage; for she thought that she would demonstrate in this way that the reports were false.

Berenice,
after
Herod's
death,
marries
Polemo,
king of
Cilicia.

^a Juvenal vi. 156-160 likewise alludes to this report when he speaks of the famous diamond that the "barbarian" Agrippa gave to his "unchaste" sister. G. H. Macurdy, "Julia Berenice," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lvi, 1935, p. 251, plausibly suggests that the rumour may have originated because Berenice presided over the court of Agrippa, who was never married. Suetonius (*Tit.* 7), Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 2), and Dio (lxvi. 15 and 18), all of whom speak of Titus' love for her, do not mention the alleged incest with Agrippa. Cf. R. M. Haywood, "A Note on the Dialogus of Tacitus," *Class. Weekly* xxxvi, 1942-1943, p. 255, who suggests that Maternus' Medea (*Tac. Dial.* 3) is Berenice, whom Titus wished to marry. The idea of such a marriage with a foreigner was regarded with repugnance by the Romans. The rumour of the incest between Agrippa and Berenice is perhaps an indication that Agrippa, with whom Josephus had kept up a long correspondence while in Rome (*Vita* 364-367), was dead by 93/94, when these words were written (*Ant.* xx. 267): so Macurdy, p. 250, and J. A. Crook, "Titus and Berenice," *Am. Jour. of Philol.* lxxii, 1951, p. 163 n. 9.

^e Not the Polemo of *Ant.* xix. 338. See D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, ii, 1950, p. 1407.

JOSEPHUS

- Πολέμων ἐπέισθη μάλιστα διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῆς· οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος, ἀλλ' ἡ Βερενίκη δι' ἀκολασίαν, ὡς ἔφασαν, καταλείπει τὸν Πολέμωνα. ὁ δ' ἅμα τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τοῦ τοῖς
 147 ἔθεσι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐμμένειν ἀπήλλακτο. τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ Μαριάμμη παραιτησαμένη τὸν Ἀρχέλαον συνώκησε Δημητρίῳ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίων πρωτεύοντι γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ· τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀλαβαρχίαν αὐτὸς εἶχεν. γενόμενον δ' αὐτῇ παιδίον ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀγριππῖνον¹ προσηγόρευ-
 σεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ἐκάστου τούτων μετὰ ἀκριβείας ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.
- 148 (viii. 1) Τελευτᾷ δὲ Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ βασιλεύ-
 σας ἔτη δεκατρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ πρὸς ἡμέραις
 εἴκοσι, καὶ λόγος ἦν παρά τινων, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς γυ-

¹ Ἀγριππῖνον] Agrippae vocabulo Lat.

^a Such a conversion is invalid according to Jewish law. See the Babylonian Talmud, *Gerim* i. 7: "Whoever converts for the sake of marriage, fear, or love is not a proselyte . . . , and whoever does not convert for the sake of Heaven is not a proselyte."

^b On the office of alabarch see note on *Ant.* xviii. 159.

^c There is no such account extant.

^d For §§ 148-178 *cf.* the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 248-270.

^e A.D. 54.

^f This is exact, since Suetonius, *Calig.* 58, gives the date of Gaius' death as 24 January, A.D. 41; and Suetonius (*Claud.* 45), Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 69), Seneca (*Apoc.* 2), and Dio (lx. 34. 3) give the date of Claudius' death as 13 October, A.D. 54.

^g Tacitus, who has a detailed account (*Ann.* xii. 66-67) of Claudius' death, says definitely that Agrippina attempted to kill him with a slowly acting poison which was inserted by a certain Halotus, Claudius' official taster, in mushrooms, one of the emperor's favourite foods. After administering this poison, she availed herself of the aid of a physician named

Polemo was prevailed upon chiefly on account of her wealth.^a The marriage did not, however, last long, for Berenice, out of licentiousness, according to report, deserted Polemo. And he was relieved simultaneously of his marriage and of further adherence to the Jewish way of life. At the same time Mariamme took leave of Archelaus and married Demetrius, an Alexandrian Jew who stood among the first in birth and wealth. He also held at that time the office of alabarch.^b By him she had a son whom she called Agrippinus. But I shall report fully on each of these persons hereafter.^c

(viii. 1) ^d Claudius Caesar now died ^e after a reign of thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days.^f It was reported by some ^g that he had been poisoned Xenophon who put into Claudius' throat a feather smeared with a rapid poison. Suetonius, *Claud.* 44, says that most people think that Claudius was poisoned, but that there is a difference of opinion as to when and by whom. Some, he says, assert that Halotus administered the drug, others that Agrippina herself did so at a banquet by poisoning a dish of mushrooms. Dio lxi. 34. 2-3 says definitely that Claudius died during the night after he had eaten the mushroom in which Agrippina had arranged to have poison placed. But V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 1940, pp. 92-93, concludes that while the report that Agrippina poisoned Claudius can be neither proved nor disproved, there was a uniform tradition insinuating that every Julio-Claudian emperor had died by foul means. As Scramuzza remarks, we are even asked to believe, to judge from Tacitus' innuendoes, that Augustus, who had been married happily to Livia for fifty years, was put to death by her. On the various versions of Claudius' death see W. Kroll, "De Claudii morte," *Raccolta Ramorino*, 1925, pp. 197-198; A. Momigliano, "Osservazioni sulle fonti per la storia di Caligola, Claudio, Nerone," *Rend. d. Accad. d. Lincei* viii, 1932, pp. 293 ff.; and R. A. Pack, "Seneca's Evidence on the Deaths of Claudius and Narcissus," *Class. Weekly* xxxvi, 1942-1943, pp. 150-151.

Death of
Claudius.

ναϊκὸς Ἀγριππίνης φαρμάκοις ἀνήρητο. ταύτης
 πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Γερμανικὸς ὁ Καίσαρος ἀδελφός, ἀνὴρ
 δὲ γενόμενος¹ Δομέτιος Ἡνόβαρβος² ὁ τῶν ἐπισή-
 149 μων κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. οὗ τελευτήσαντος
 χηρεύουσιν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον Κλαύδιος
 ἄγεται πρὸς γάμον ἐπαγομένην καὶ παῖδα Δομέτιον
 ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρί. προανηγήκει δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα
 Μεσσαλῖναν διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ καὶ παῖ-
 150 δεσ ἐγεγόνεσαν Βρεττανικὸς τε καὶ Ὀκταουία.³ ἦν
 γὰρ Ἀντωνία ἥδη καὶ⁴ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν ἀδελφῶν,
 ἦν ἐκ Πετίνης τῆς πρώτης γυναικὸς εἶχεν. καὶ δὴ
 τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἤρμοσεν τῷ Νέρωνι· τοῦτο γὰρ
 ὕστερον αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν εἰσποιησάμενος υἱὸν ὁ
 Καῖσαρ.

151 (2) Δεδοικυῖα δ' ἡ Ἀγριππίνα, μὴ ὁ Βρεττανικὸς

¹ Γερμανικὸς . . . γενόμενος] WE (ὁ om. W): Γερμανικὸς
 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀδελφὸς ἀνὴρ γενόμενος, litt. σ Τιβερίου . . .
 γενόμενος i. ras. m. 2 paulo spatiosius scriptae A: Γερμανικὸς
 Καίσαρος ἀδελφὸς M: Germanicus Caesaris frater vir autem
 eius Lat.

² Δομέτιος Ἡνόβαρβος] ed. pr.: Δομέτιος ἦν ὁ βάρβαρος A:
 Καίσαρος ἀδελφὸς Δομέτιος ἦν ὁ βάρβαρος W: Δομέτιος βάρβαρος
 M: ἦν Δομέτιος ὁ βάρβαρος E: Dometius Barbarus Lat.

³ Ὀκταουία] Hudson ex Lat.: Ὀκταουῖος καὶ Ὀκταουῖα
 codd. E.

⁴ ἦν γὰρ Ἀντωνία ἥδη καὶ] Post: ἦν γὰρ Ἀντωνιανὴ καὶ A:
 ἡ καὶ MW: om. E: ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ Ἀντωνία Hudson: ἦν γὰρ
 καὶ Ἀντωνία ἡ coni. Niese.

^a On his universal popularity see *Ant.* xviii. 206-209.

^b Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Lucius Domitius
 Ahenobarbus, who was consul in 16 B.C., and of Antonia, the
 daughter of Marcus Antonius and Octavia (the sister of
 Augustus). His grandfather and great-grandfather had
 also been consuls. He married Agrippina in 28, and in 32
 he served as consul. He died in 40.

by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus,^a the brother of the emperor, and her previous husband had been Domitius Ahenobarbus,^b who was one of the prominent men in the city of Rome. On Domitius' death she remained a widow for a long time until Claudius married her. She brought with her a boy Domitius, who had the same name as his father. Claudius, smitten by jealousy,^c had previously put to death his wife Messalina,^d by whom he had had two children, Britannicus and Octavia. He already had had another child, actually his eldest, Antonia, born to him by his first wife Petina.^e Moreover, he betrothed Octavia to Nero; for so the emperor called Domitius later, when he had adopted^f him as a son.^g

(2) Agrippina, fearing that Britannicus on coming

How Nero
became
emperor.
His
barbarities.

^c Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 26, reports that Messalina, "now grown weary of the very facility of her adulteries, was rushing into strange excesses," when Gaius Silius proposed marriage to her. Messalina agreed, and the marriage contract was actually signed before witnesses (*Tac. Ann.* xi. 27; so also *Suet. Claud.* 26). Messalina, according to A. Momigliano, *Claudius*, 1934, pp. 76 and 120, would not have risked a second marriage unless, as is implied by Tacitus, she meant to start a revolution against Claudius; hence it is significant that her second husband, Silius, was a notable aristocrat who probably favoured the establishment of a true senatorial principate.

^d Valeria Messalina. A.D. 48.

^e Aelia Paetina, according to Suetonius, *Claud.* 26, was actually Claudius' second wife, his first wife having been Plautia Urgulanilla.

^f Cf. *Tac. Ann.* xii. 25-26. Scramuzza, *op. cit.* p. 91, makes the sound suggestion that this adoption was dictated partly by Claudius' desire to heal the rift with the party of Germanicus, who was Nero's grandfather.

^g A.D. 50, when Nero was twelve years old (*Tac. Ann.* xii. 25). R. M. Geer, "Notes on the Early Life of Nero," *Trans. of the Am. Philol. Assoc.* lxii, 1931, p. 63, after examining the possible forms of adoption, suggests that it was irregular.

JOSEPHUS

- ἀνδρωθεὶς αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρα-
 λάβοι, τῷ δὲ αὐτῆς παιδὶ προαρπάσαι βουλομένη
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τά τε περὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κλαυδίου,
 152 καθάπερ ἦν λόγος, διεπράξατο, καὶ παραχρῆμα
 πέμπει τὸν τῶν στρατευμάτων ἑπαρχον Βοῦρρον
 καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν τε ἀπελευθέρων
 τοὺς πλείστον δυναμένους ἀπάξοντας εἰς τὴν παρ-
 εμβολὴν τὸν Νέρωνα καὶ προσαγορεύσοντας αὐτὸν
 153 αὐτοκράτορα. Νέρων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως παρα-
 λαβὼν Βρεττανικὸν μὲν ἀδῆλως τοῖς πολλοῖς
 ἀναιρεῖ διὰ φαρμάκων, φανερώς δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν¹
 τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φονεύει, ταύτην ἀμοιβὴν
 ἀποτίσας αὐτῇ οὐ μόνον τῆς γενέσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ
 ταῖς ἐκείνης μηχαναῖς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν
 παραλαβεῖν. κτείνει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν, ἣ
 συνώκει, πολλοὺς τε ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ὥς ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 ἐπιβουλὰς συντιθέντας.
- 154 (3) Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐὼς πλείω γράφειν·
 πολλοὶ γὰρ τὴν περὶ Νέρωνα συντετάχασιν ἱστο-
 ρίαν, ὧν οἱ μὲν διὰ χάριν εὖ πεπονθότες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 τῆς ἀληθείας ἡμέλησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μῖσος καὶ τὴν
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέχθειαν οὕτως ἀναιδῶς ἐνεπαρώνησαν
 τοῖς ψεύσμασιν, ὥς ἀξίους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καταγνώ-

¹ φανερώς δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν] om. Lat.

^a Britannicus was now fourteen years old.

^b So also Dio Cassius lxi. 1. 1. But Scramuzza, *op. cit.* p. 91, says that Josephus and Dio, who thought in terms of Hellenistic kingship, where the succession was from father to son,

to manhood^a might fall heir^b to his father's office, and wishing to forestall this by snatching the empire for her own child, contrived, according to report, the death of Claudius. She also immediately sent Burrus,^c the prefect of the praetorian guard, and with him the military tribunes and the most influential of the freedmen to conduct Nero to the camp and to proclaim him emperor.^d Nero, having thus succeeded to the throne, brought about the death of Britannicus by poison,^e keeping it hidden from the public. Not long afterwards he openly murdered his own mother.^f This was the compensation that he paid her not only for giving birth to him but also for having obtained for him, through her devices, the Roman imperial throne. He also put to death Octavia,^g to whom he was married, as well as many illustrious men, on the charge that they had conspired against him.

(3) On these matters, however, I forbear to write more. For many historians have written the story of Nero, of whom some,^h because they were well treated by him, have out of gratitude been careless of truth, while others from hatred and enmity towards him have so shamelessly and recklessly revelled in are mistaken in their view that the succession would belong to Claudius' son Britannicus, since "there was no such thing as hereditary right to the throne in the constitution of the Roman Empire, least of all a right by natural heredity."

Various
attitudes of
historians
towards
Nero.

^c Sextus Afranius Burrus. Tacitus speaks of him at length in *Ann.* xiii. 2 ff.

^d So also Tac. *Ann.* xii. 69.

^e A.D. 55. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 16.

^f Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 1-13.

^g Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 60-64.

^h As A. Momigliano, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 702, notes, we do not know the name of even one of those historians who looked favourably upon Nero. Hence, our accounts of his reign are one-sided.

- 155 σεως. καὶ θαυμάζειν οὐκ ἔπεισί μοι τοὺς περὶ
 Νέρωνος ψευσαμένους, ὅπου μηδὲ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
 γενομένων γράφοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς ἱστορίας
 τετηρήκασιν, καίτοι πρὸς ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν
 μῖσος ἦν ἅτε μετ' αὐτοὺς πολλῶ χρόνῳ γενομένοις.
 156 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν οὐ προνοουμένοις τῆς ἀληθείας
 ἐξέστω γράφειν ὡς θέλουσιν, τούτῳ γὰρ χαίρειν
 157 εἰκόσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ σκοπὸν προθέμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν
 τὰ μὲν ἀπηρτημένα τῆς προκειμένης ἡμῖν πραγ-
 ματείας ἐπ' ὀλίγον μνήμης ἀξιούμεν, τὰ δ' ἡμῖν¹
 τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμπεσόντα δηλοῦμεν οὐ παρέργως
 μήτε τὰς συμφορὰς² μήτε τὰς ἀμαρτίας διασαφεῖν
 ὀκνοῦντες. ἐπανάξω³ τοίνυν τὸν λόγον⁴ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν
 οἰκείων πραγμάτων διήγησιν.
 158 (4) Τῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ἔτει τε-
 λευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἑμέσων δυνάστου⁵ Ἀζίζου Σόε-
 μος⁶ ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τὴν δὲ τῆς
 μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας προστασίαν Ἀριστόβουλος Ἡρώ-
 δου τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλέως παῖς ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐγ-
 159 χειρίζεται. καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν δὲ δωρεῖται μοῖρα
 τινὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁ Καῖσαρ Τιβεριάδα καὶ Ταρι-
 χέας⁷ ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ κελεύσας,⁸ δίδωσι δὲ καὶ

¹ AM: ὑμῖν W.

² μήτε τὰς συμφορὰς] AM: om. W.

³ AE (sed in Busb. utrum ἐπανήξω an ἐπανάξω scriptum sit certo distinguere non potest): ἐπανεξέω E (cod. I.aur.): ἐπανήξω MW: revertar Lat. ⁴ τὸν λόγον] AE: om. MW.

⁵ A: βασιλέως MW: rege Lat.

⁶ E: ὁ ἐμὸς A: ἐμὸς MW: meus Lat.

⁷ MW: Ταριχαίας, ai i. ras. A: Taricae Lat.

⁸ ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ κελεύσας] om. E.

^a A.D. 54.

^b Cf. § 139.

^c C. Julius Sohaemus. This Sohaemus, according to Anderson, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 758 n. 3, and Magie, 474

falsehoods as to merit censure. Nor can I be surprised at those who have lied about Nero, since even when writing about his predecessors they have not kept to the facts of history. Surely they had no hatred for those emperors, since they lived long after them. Nevertheless, we must let those who have no regard for the truth write as they choose, for that is what they seem to delight in. But I, who have set as my target the truth, see no reason to give more than brief mention to matters unconnected with my proposed theme. On the other hand, my exposition of the fate of my own people, the Jews, is not merely incidental; and in my treatment I do not hesitate to give a full account either of our misfortunes or of our mistakes. I shall accordingly return to the narrative of our own affairs.

(4) In the first year ^a of Nero's reign, Azizus,^b the overlord of Emesa, died and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Sohaemus.^c The government of Armenia Minor was placed by Nero in the hands of Aristobulus,^d son of Herod, king of Chalcis. The emperor also bestowed on Agrippa a certain portion of Galilee, giving orders to the cities of Tiberias and Tarichaeae ^e to submit to him. He also gave him

Tiberias, Tarichaeae, and Julias are given to Agrippa by Nero.

op. cit. ii. 1412 n. 41, is hardly to be identified with the Sohaemus, a prince of Emesa to whom as a client-king Sophene, a district adjoining Armenia, was given by Nero (*Tac. Ann.* xiii. 7). The two districts, Sophene and Emesa, are too far apart to make the identity of the two men likely. So also Stein, "Sohaemus" no. 4, Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, iii, 1929, p. 797.

^a On Aristobulus *cf.* *Ant.* xviii. 134, 137; xx. 13, 104; and *B.J.* ii. 221, 252. Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 7, also reports that Nero entrusted Armenia Minor to Aristobulus.

^e A city in Galilee frequently mentioned by Josephus, particularly in his *Vita*, 96, 127, etc.

Ἰουλιάδα πόλιν τῆς Περαιίας καὶ κώμας τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν δεκατέσσαρας.¹

- 160 (5) Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πράγματα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον αἰετὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάβανεν· ληστηρίων γὰρ ἡ χώρα πάλιν ἀνεπλήσθη καὶ γοήτων ἀνθρώπων, οἵ
 161 τὸν ὄχλον ἡπάτων. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ὁ Φῆλιξ πολλοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν σὺν τοῖς λησταῖς λαμβάνων ἀνῆρει, καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον δὲ τὸν Διναίου παῖδα τὸν συστησάμενον τῶν ληστῶν τὸ σύνταγμα δι' ἐνέδρας εἶλεν ζῶντα· πίστιν γὰρ αὐτῷ προτείνας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακὸν πείθει πρὸς αὐτὸν
 162 ἀφικέσθαι καὶ δῆσας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην. ἔχων δὲ καὶ ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰωνάθην ὁ Φῆλιξ διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νουθετεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ κρειττόνως προῖστασθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πραγμάτων, μὴ καὶ μέμψιν αὐτὸς ὀφλοίη παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν αἰτησάμενος ἐκείνους παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεμφθῆναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπον, πρόφασιν ἐπενόει δι' ἧς μεταστήσεται τὸν συνεχῶς ὄχληρόν αὐτῷ γινόμενον· βαρὺ γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικεῖν
 163 θέλουσιν τὸ συνεχῶς νουθετοῦν. καὶ δὴ διὰ τούτης αἰτίας ὁ Φῆλιξ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν Ἰωνάθου φίλων Ἱεροσολυμίτην τὸ γένος Δωρᾶν ὀνόματι πείθει πολλὰ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος ἐπ-

¹ δεκατέσσαρας] A : τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα MW : δέκα Phot.

^a Betharamphtha, east of the Jordan. Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 27, where it is said to have been named after Julia (Livia), the wife of the emperor Augustus.

^b In the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 252, Nero is reported to have given Agrippa four cities with their districts, namely, Abila (not mentioned in our passage) and Julias in Peraea and Tarichaeae and Tiberias in Galilee.

Julias,^a a city in Peraea, and the fourteen villages that go with it.^b

(5) In Judaea matters were constantly going from bad to worse. For the country was again infested with bands of brigands and impostors who deceived the mob. Not a day passed, however, but that Felix captured and put to death many of these impostors and brigands. He also, by a ruse, took alive Eleazar ^c the son of Dinaeus, who had organized the company of brigands ; for by offering a pledge that he would suffer no harm, Felix induced him to appear before him. Felix then imprisoned him and dispatched him to Rome. Felix also bore a grudge against Jonathan ^d the high priest because of his frequent admonition to improve the administration of the affairs of Judaea. For Jonathan feared that he himself might incur the censure of the multitude in that he had requested Caesar to dispatch Felix as procurator of Judaea. Felix accordingly devised a pretext that would remove from his presence one who was a constant nuisance to him ; for incessant rebukes are annoying to those who choose to do wrong. It was such reasons that moved Felix to bribe Jonathan's most trusted friend, a native of Jerusalem named Doras, with a promise to pay a great sum, to bring in brigands ^e to

Felix puts down the brigands and impostors

Felix has the high priest Jonathan murdered by *sicarii*.

^c Cf. § 121. According to *B.J.* ii. 253, Eleazar had ravaged the country for twenty years.

^d His appointment as high priest is reported in *Ant.* xviii. 95 and his removal in *Ant.* xviii. 123. In *Ant.* xix. 313-316, where Agrippa I offers to restore the high priesthood to him, he declines and recommends his brother Matthias.

^e In *B.J.* ii. 254 Josephus distinguishes between the old brigands, of whom Felix successfully cleared the country, and a new species, the so-called *sicarii*, " who committed murders in broad daylight in the heart of the city." Jonathan, he says (*B.J.* ii. 256), was the first victim of the *sicarii*.

- αγαγεῖν τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ τοὺς ληστὰς¹ ἀναιρήσοντας,
 κακείνος ὑπακούσας ἐμηχανήσατο διὰ τῶν ληστῶν
 164 πραχθῆναι τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τὸν φόνον· ἀνέβησάν
 τινες αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς προσκυνήσοντας τὸν
 θεὸν ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἔχοντες ξιφίδια καὶ συνανα-
 165 μιγέντες τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ κτείνουσιν αὐτόν. ἀνεκδική-
 του δὲ τούτου τοῦ φόνου μεμενηκότος μετὰ πάσης
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδείας ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς² οἱ
 λησταὶ καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ὁμοίως κεκρυμμένον ἔχοντες
 συναναμιγνύμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀνῆρουν μὲν τινας
 ἑαυτῶν ἐχθροὺς, οὓς δ' ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄλλοις ὑπηρε-
 τοῦντες, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνίοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ σφάττειν ἐτόλ-
 166 μων, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ δοκοῦντες ἀσεβεῖν. διὰ τοῦτ'
 οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν μισήσαντα τὴν ἀσέβειαν³ αὐτῶν
 ἀποστραφῆναι μὲν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν
 οὐκέτι καθαρὸν οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ κρίναντα Ῥω-
 μαίους ἐπαγαγεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει καθάρσιον πῦρ
 καὶ δουλείαν ἐπιβαλεῖν σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις
 σωφρονίσαι ταῖς συμφοραῖς βουλόμενον ἡμᾶς.
 167 (6) Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ληστῶν ἔργα τοιαύτης ἀνοσιό-
 τητος ἐπλήρου τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ γόητες καὶ ἀπα-
 τεῶνες ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὄχλον ἔπειθον αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν
 168 ἐρημίαν ἔπεσθαι· δείξειν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐναργῆ τέρατα
 καὶ σημεῖα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν γινόμενα.
 καὶ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες τῆς ἀφροσύνης τιμωρίας

¹ susp. Niese.² ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς] om. E.³ μισήσαντα τὴν ἀσέβειαν] om. Lat.

^a The panic created by these brigands, says Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 256-257, was even more alarming than the actual murders that they committed; and people "would not even trust their friends when they approached."

attack Jonathan and kill him. Doras agreed and contrived to get him murdered by the brigands in the following way. Certain of these brigands went up to the city as if they intended to worship God. With daggers concealed under their clothes, they mingled with the people about Jonathan and assassinated him. As the murder remained unpunished, from that time forth the brigands with perfect impunity used to go to the city during the festivals and, with their weapons similarly concealed, mingle with the crowds.^a In this way they slew some because they were private enemies, and others because they were paid to do so by someone else. They committed these murders not only in other parts of the city but even in some cases in the temple ; for there too they made bold to slaughter their victims, for they did not regard even this as a desecration. This is the reason why, in my opinion,^b even God Himself, for loathing of their impiety, turned away from our city and, because He deemed the temple to be no longer a clean dwelling place for Him, brought the Romans upon us and purification by fire upon the city, while He inflicted slavery upon us together with our wives and children ; for He wished to chasten us by these calamities.

(6) With such pollution did the deeds of the brigands infect the city. Moreover, impostors and deceivers called upon the mob to follow them into the desert. For they said that they would show them unmistakable marvels and signs that would be wrought in harmony with God's design. Many were, in fact, persuaded and paid the penalty of their folly ; for

Impostors
lead Jews
into the
desert. The
false
prophet
from Egypt.

^b Similar sentiments are expressed by Josephus, *B.J.* iv. 323, v. 19, and elsewhere.

JOSEPHUS

- ὑπέσχον· ἀναχθέντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς Φῆλιξ ἐκόλασεν.
 169 ἀφικνεῖται δέ τις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν
 καιρὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα προφῆτης εἶναι λέγων καὶ
 συμβουλευὼν τῷ δημοτικῷ πλήθει σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς
 ὄρος τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἐλαιῶν, ὃ τῆς πόλεως
 170 ἄντικρυς κείμενον ἀπέχει στάδια πέντε· θέλειν γὰρ
 ἔφασκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὡς κελεύσαν-
 τος αὐτοῦ πίπτει τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τείχη, δι'
 ὧν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο.
 171 Φῆλιξ δ' ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώ-
 τας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἱππέων τε
 καὶ πεζῶν¹ ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων² προσ-
 βάλλει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τετρακοσίους
 μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνείλεν, διακοσίους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν.
 172 ὃ δ' Αἰγύπτιος αὐτὸς διαδράς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀφανὴς
 ἐγένετο. πάλιν δ' οἱ ληστὰι τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸν πρὸς
 Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἠρέθιζον μηδὲν ὑπακούειν αὐτοῖς
 λέγοντες,³ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀπειθούντων κώμας ἐμπι-
 πράντες διήρπαζον.

¹ μετὰ πολλῶν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν] μετ' αὐτῶν E; τε καὶ πεζῶν] om. Lat.

² ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων] om. E.

³ θέλοντες E.

^a For the pattern of the story of the Egyptian prophet see R. Grant, "The Coming of the Kingdom," *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.* lxxvii, 1948, p. 300. R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 1903, p. 345 n. 1, suggests the possibility that the Egyptian false prophet is the Ben Stada described in the Talmud (*Shabbat* 104 b) as having brought sorcery from Egypt "in a cut upon his flesh," i.e. with the magic formulas tattooed or inserted into his flesh, which had been cut open. Two witnesses, according to Bab. *Sanhedrin* 67 a, heard him at Lydda and brought him to the Jewish tribunal; and as a result, he was stoned. On the later confusion resulting in the identification of Ben Stada with Jesus of Nazareth see J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Pales-*

they were brought before Felix and he punished them. At this time there came to Jerusalem from Egypt a man who declared that he was a prophet ^a and advised the masses ^b of the common people to go out with him to the mountain called the Mount of Olives, which lies opposite the city at a distance of five furlongs. For he asserted that he wished to demonstrate from there that at his command Jerusalem's walls would fall down, through which he promised to provide them an entrance into the city.^c When Felix heard of this he ordered his soldiers to take up their arms. Setting out from Jerusalem with a large force of cavalry and infantry, he fell upon the Egyptian and his followers, slaying four hundred of them and taking two hundred prisoners.^d The Egyptian himself escaped from the battle and disappeared. And now the brigands ^e once more incited the populace to war with Rome, telling them not to obey them. They also fired and pillaged the villages of those who refused to comply.

time, i, 1867, pp. 468-471; J. Gutmann, "Ben Stada," *Ency. Jud.* iv, 1929, p. 73; and M. Goldstein, *Jesus in the Jewish Tradition*, 1950, pp. 57-62.

^b This false prophet gained a following of 30,000, according to *B.J.* ii. 261. He is probably the Egyptian for whom Paul was mistaken and who, according to Acts xxi. 38, "recently stirred up a revolt and led the 4000 men of the *sicarii* out into the wilderness."

^c *B.J.* ii. 262 adds that the impostor intended to establish himself as a tyrant, with those who had joined him acting as his bodyguard.

^d *B.J.* ii. 263, without giving actual numbers, says that most of the Egyptian's followers were slain or captured.

^e According to *B.J.* ii. 264-265 the brigands and impostors banded together in inciting the people to throw off the Roman yoke. In particular they pillaged the houses of the wealthy and murdered the owners.

- 173 (7) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Καισάρειαν οἰκούντων Ἰουδαίων στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρους περὶ ἰσοπολιτείας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πρωτεύειν ἡξίουν διὰ τὸ τὸν κτίστην τῆς Καισαρείας Ἡρώδην αὐτῶν βασιλέα γεγονέναι τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον, Σύροι δὲ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὠμολόγουν, ἔφασκον δὲ τὴν Καισάρειαν Στράτωνος πύργον τὸ πρότερον καλεῖσθαι καὶ τότε μηδένα γεγονέναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν
- 174 Ἰουδαῖον οἰκήτορα. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῆς χώρας ἑπαρχοὶ λαβόντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως πληγαῖς ἠκίσαντο καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν
- 175 οὕτω κατέστειλαν πρὸς ὀλίγον. πάλιν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ πλούτῳ θαρροῦντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταφρονοῦντες τῶν Σύρων ἐβλασφήμουν εἰς
- 176 αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσειν προσδοκῶντες. οἱ δὲ χρήμασιν μὲν ἡττώμενοι, μέγα δὲ φρονοῦντες¹ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκεῖ στρατευομένων Καισαρεῖς εἶναι καὶ Σεβαστηνοὺς μέχρι μὲν τινος καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους λόγῳ ὑβρίζον, εἶτα λίθοις ἀλλήλους ἔβαλλον, ἕως πολλοὺς παρ' ἀμφοτέρα τρωθῆναί τε καὶ πεσεῖν συνέβη· νικῶσί γε μὴν
- 177 Ἰουδαῖοι. Φῆλιξ δ' ὥς ἐθεάσατο φιλονεικίαν ἐν πολέμῳ τρόπῳ γενομένην προπηδήσας παύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρεκάλει, μὴ πειθομένοις δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀπλίσας ἐπαφίησι καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐ-

¹ μέγα δὲ φρονοῦντες] sed sapientia fortiores Lat.

^a The story of Herod's rebuilding of Strato's Tower is told in *Ant.* xv. 331-341. It is probably to be identified with the tower of Shir (var. Shed, i.e. "demon") mentioned in *Bab. Megillah* 6 a as having been captured by the house of the Hasmonaeans (so I. Epstein, in the Soncino edition of the Talmud, p. 28 n. 7).

(7) There arose also a quarrel between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of Caesarea on the subject of equal civic rights. The Jews claimed that they had the precedence because the founder of Caesarea, their king Herod, had been of Jewish descent; the Syrians admitted what they said about Herod, but asserted that Caesarea had before that been called Strato's Tower,^a and that before Herod's time there had not been a single Jewish inhabitant in the city.^b When the magistrates of the district heard of this quarrel they arrested those on both sides who were responsible for it and gave them a sound beating. Thus they calmed the disturbance for a time but not for long. For the Jews in the city, drawing confidence from their wealth^c and consequently despising the Syrians, again started reviling them, expecting thereby to provoke the Syrians against the Jews. The Syrians, though inferior in wealth, yet taking great pride in the fact that most of those in military service there under the Romans were from Caesarea and Sebaste,^d for a while retaliated by using insulting language to the Jews. Next the Jews and Syrians took to casting stones at each other, until it came about that many on both sides were wounded and fell. Nevertheless, it was the Jews who carried the day. When Felix saw that their rivalry had taken on the shape of war, he rushed ahead and summoned the Jews to desist. When they did not obey, he armed his soldiers, let them loose upon them, and

The quarrel between Jews and Syrians at Caesarea over civic rights.

^b The Syrians offer a different argument in *B.J.* ii. 266, namely, that the city was built for the Greeks, since, if it were meant for the Jews, Herod would not have erected statues and temples there.

^c "And physical strength" (*B.J.* ii. 268).

^d Cf. *Ant.* xix. 365 and xx. 122.

τῶν ἀνείλεν, πλείους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οἰκίας δέ
 τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλῶν πάνυ χρημάτων γε-
 178 μούσας διαρπάζειν ἐφῆκεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 ἐπιεικέστεροι καὶ προὔχοντες κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν
 δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν παρεκάλουν τὸν Φήλικο
 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνακαλέσασθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι¹ καὶ
 φείσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῶν δοῦναί τε μετάνοιαν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ Φῆλιξ ἐπείσθη.²

179 (8) Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίπ-
 πας δίδωσιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰσμαήλῳ· Φαβεῖ³
 180 παῖς οὗτος ἦν. ἐξάπτεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι
 ἔχθρα τις εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ στάσις καὶ⁴ πρὸς τοὺς
 ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς⁵ πρώτους τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἱερο-
 σολυμιτῶν,⁶ ἕκαστός τε αὐτῶν στίφος ἀνθρώπων
 τῶν θραυστάτων καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἑαυτῷ ποιήσας
 καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν συναγείρας⁷ ἡγεμῶν⁸ ἦν, καὶ συρ-
 ράσσοντες ἐκακολόγουν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ λίθοις

¹ τῇ σάλπιγγι] turba missa Lat.

² δοῦναί . . . ἐπείσθη] quod Felix facere eorum precibus adqueievit Lat.

³ MW : Φιαβὶ A Lat. : Φαβίου Jos. Hypom. ap. Fabricium.

⁴ ἀρχιερεῖσι . . . στάσις καὶ] A (litt. ερεῖσι . . . πλήθους i. ras. m. 2) : ἀρχιερεῖσι στάσις MW Lat. Eus.

⁵ ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς] E : om. codd.

⁶ ἀρχιερεῖσι . . . Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν] ἀρχιερεῖσι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἔχθρα τίς πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διάστασις E.

⁷ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν συναγείρας] A : om. MWE.

⁸ ἡγεμῶν] ἡγεμῶν καὶ ἑξαρχος στάσεως E.

thus slew many of the Jews and took more alive. He also allowed his men to plunder certain houses of the inhabitants that were laden with very large sums of money. The more moderate ^a Jews and those who were of eminent rank, alarmed for themselves, besought Felix to sound the trumpet so as to recall the soldiers, and to show mercy from then on, thus giving them a chance to repent for what they had done. And Felix was prevailed upon to do so.^b

(8) At this time King Agrippa conferred the high priesthood upon Ishmael,^c the son of Phabi. There now was enkindled mutual enmity and class warfare between the high priests, on the one hand, and the priests and the leaders of the populace of Jerusalem, on the other. Each of the factions formed and collected for itself a band of the most reckless revolutionaries and acted as their leader.^d And when they clashed, they used abusive language and pelted each

The high priests quarrel with ordinary priests and with popular leaders.

^a Or "respectable," "decent."

^b In *B.J.* ii. 270 Josephus records that the quarrel between the Syrians and Jews continued and that Felix selected leaders from both groups to argue their cases before Nero. Josephus does say in the *Antiquities* (xx. 182-184) that the leaders of the Jews and of the Syrians of Caesarea went to Rome to accuse Felix; but this, we are told, occurred after the removal of Felix and his replacement by Porcius Festus.

^c Appointed in A.D. 59. He served for ten years, according to the Talmud, *Yoma* 9 a. Since Josephus does not give a cross-reference, as he generally does in the case of someone whom he has cited previously, this Ishmael is probably not to be identified with the Ishmael ben Phabi who was high priest in A.D. 15-16 (*Ant.* xviii. 34). The rabbis recognized his zeal for God by calling him Phineas' disciple (*Bab. Pesahim* 57 a). We also learn that his mother made him a tunic worth one hundred minas which he used at a private service and then donated to the community.

^d The Epitome adds "and prime mover of strife."

- ἔβαλλον. ὁ δ' ἐπιπλήξων¹ ἦν οὐδὲ εἷς,² ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀπροστατήτῳ πόλει ταύτ' ἐπράσσετο μετ' ἐξουσίας.
- 181 τοσαύτη δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς κατέλαβεν ἀναίδεια καὶ τόλμα, ὥστε καὶ πέμπειν δούλους ἐτόλμων ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλωνας τοὺς ληψομένους τὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὀφειλόμενας δεκάτας, καὶ συνέβαινεν τοὺς ἀπορουμένους τῶν ἱερέων ὑπ' ἐνδεΐας τελευτᾶν. οὕτως ἐκράτει τοῦ δικαίου παντὸς ἢ τῶν στασιαζόντων βία.
- 182 (9) Πορκίου δὲ Φήστου διαδόχου Φήλικι πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν τὴν Καισάρειαν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβαίνουνσιν Φήλικος κατηγοροῦντες, καὶ πάντως ἂν ἐδεδώκει τιμωρίαν τῶν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἀδικημάτων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων τὰδελφῷ Πάλλαντι παρακάλέσαντι συνεχώρησεν μάλιστα δὴ
- 183 τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων ἐκείνιν. καὶ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι Σύρων³ Βήρυλλον,⁴ παιδαγωγὸς

¹ ἐπιπλήξων] ἐπιπλήξων καὶ τὴν στάσιν κωλύσων E.

² οὐδὲ εἷς] A: οὐδεῖς MW: non Lat.

³ οἱ πρῶτοι Σύρων] A: οἱ πρῶτοι δύο Σύροι MW: Σύρων οἱ πρῶτοι E.

⁴ Βοῦρρον Hudson.

^a The Talmud, *Pesahim* 57 a, also refers to the violence used by the adherents of Ishmael. "Woe is me," laments one of the rabbis, "because of the house of Ishmael the son of Phabi, woe is me because of their fists!"

^b The Epitome adds "and put an end to the strife."

^c Cf. Bab. *Pesahim* 57 a, which records that the servants of the high priests Hanin (= Ananus), Kathros (= Cantheras), and Ishmael "beat the people with staves." It was forbidden for a priest even to assist in the threshing floors, since such assistance might have been thought to induce the Israelite to give him the tithe (Bab. *Kiddushin* 6 b).

^d See S. Belkin, *Philo and the Oral Law*, 1940, pp. 72-78, for a brief account of the history of the practice with respect to the collection of the tithes. Because, as he notes, pp. 73-74, the priests could secure the tithe before it was brought to the

other with stones.^a And there was not even one person to rebuke them.^b No, it was as if there was no one in charge of the city, so that they acted as they did with full licence. Such was the shamelessness and effrontery which possessed the high priests that they actually were so brazen as to send slaves ^c to the threshing floors to receive the tithes ^d that were due to the priests, with the result that the poorer priests starved to death. Thus did the violence of the contending factions suppress all justice.

(9) When Porcius Festus ^e was sent by Nero as successor to Felix, the leaders of the Jewish community of Caesarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix. He would undoubtedly have paid the penalty for his misdeeds ^f against the Jews had not Nero yielded to the urgent entreaty of Felix's brother Pallas,^g whom

Festus succeeds Felix as procurator. The Jews accuse Felix before Nero.

at that time he held in the highest honour. Moreover, the leaders of the Syrians in Caesarea, by offering a large bribe, prevailed on Beryllus,^h who was

The Syrians in Caesarea obtain a re-script from Nero cancelling Jewish rights.

temple and thus deprive the Levites of their share, John Hyrcanus instituted centralized collection of the tithes. But, as indicated in our passage, the high priests took unfair advantage; and thus the rabbis of the Mishnah once again allowed individual collection of the tithes by priests and Levites.

^e Procurator A.D. 60-62. It was Festus who sent Paul to Rome after Felix had left him with the case (Acts xxiv. 27 ff.).

^f Even Tacitus, in a passage hardly marked by friendliness towards the Jews, admits (*Hist.* v. 9) that Felix, during his term of office, indulged in every kind of barbarity and "exercised the power of a king in the spirit of a slave." Cf. *Ann.* xii. 54: "Felix . . ., by ill-timed remedies, stimulated disloyal acts."

^g Cf. § 137.

^h Naber, following Hudson, reads Βοῦρρον and thus identifies him with Afranius Burrus (§ 152), Nero's commander of the praetorian guard; and those who make this identification equate *rector imperatoriae iuventae* (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 2)

- δ' ἦν οὗτος τοῦ Νέρωνος τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος, πείθουσι πολλοῖς χρήμασιν αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιστολὴν ἀκυροῦσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 184 ἰσοπολιτείαν. καὶ Βήρυλλος¹ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρακαλέσας ἐπέτυχε γραφῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. αὕτη τῷ ἔθνει ἡμῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κακῶν τὰς αἰτίας παρέσχεν· πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ γραφέντα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους στάσεως μᾶλλον εἶχοντο μέχρι δὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆψαν.
 185 (10) Ἀφικομένου δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήστου συνέβαινεν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν² ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν κακοῦσθαι τῶν κωμῶν ἀπασῶν ἐμπιπραμένων τε καὶ
 186 διαρπαζομένων. καὶ οἱ σικάριοι δὲ καλούμενοι, λησταὶ δὲ εἰσιν οὗτοι, τότε μάλιστα ἐπλήθυνον χρώμενοι ξιφιδίοις παραπλησίοις μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν ἀκινάκαις, ἐπικαμπέσι δὲ καὶ ὁμοίαις ταῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων σίκαις³ καλουμέναις, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν οἱ ληστεύοντες ἔλαβον πολλοὺς

¹ Βοῦρρος Hudson.² Φήστου . . . Ἰουδαίαν] om. E.³ ἐπικαμπέσι . . . σίκαις] A : om. MW.

with the term *παιδαγωγός* here used by Josephus. But if Beryllus were the same as Burrus the name would not, in all probability, have been spelled differently in § 152 and in our section so shortly afterwards; and we would be likely to get a cross-reference, of which Josephus is so fond. See Heinze, "Beryllus," Pauly-Wissowa, iii, 1897, p. 319; and E. Katterfeld, "Beryllus-Burrus," *Berl. Philol. Woch.* xxxiii, 1913, p. 59.

^a The position of *ab epistulis Graecis*.^b Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 271.^c Cf. *B.J.* ii. 254-255. This term (*sikarin*) is found in Talmudic literature in reference to the terrorists during the

Nero's tutor and who had been appointed secretary of Greek correspondence,^a to apply for a rescript from Nero annulling the grant of equal civic rights to the Jews. Beryllus exhorted the emperor and succeeded in getting his authorization for the rescript. This rescript provided the basis that led to the subsequent misfortunes that befell our nation. For the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea, when they learned of Nero's rescript, carried their quarrel with the Syrians further and further until at last they kindled the flames of war.

(10) ^b When Festus arrived in Judaea, it happened that Judaea was being devastated by the brigands, for the villages one and all were being set on fire and plundered. The so-called *sicarii* ^c—these are brigands—were particularly numerous at that time. They employed daggers, in size resembling the scimitars ^d of the Persians, but curved and more like the weapons called by the Romans *sicae*,^e from which these brigands took their name because they slew so many in this

Festus and
the *sicarii*.

siege of Jerusalem (see M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., 1903, p. 986).

^a Greek ἀκινάκης, Latin *acinaces*. Cf. the story in Herodotus iii. 118 of the Persian Intaphernes, who, upon being refused admission to the king by a gate-warden and a messenger, drew his scimitar (ἀκινάκης) and cut off their noses and ears. Again, a golden ἀκινάκης is enumerated among the gifts given by the Persian king Cyrus to Syennesis (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 27). Evidently the *acinaces* was sometimes employed in quarrels that arose while drinking, especially at nocturnal banquets, for Horace, *Odes* i. 27. 5-6, urging an end of such strife, exclaims: "How utterly at variance with wine and lamps is the Median *acinaces*!"

^e The term *sicarii* is found in the sense of bandits in the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis* and in Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 8, 39, 103, cited by Hug, "Sica," Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, ii, 1923, p. 2184.

- 187 ἀναιρουῦντες. ἀναμιγνύμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς,
καθὼς καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν, τῷ πλήθει τῶν παν-
ταχόθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν συρρεόντων
οὓς βουλευθεῖεν ῥαδίως ἀπέσφαττον, πολλάκις δὲ
καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀφ-
188 ικόμενοι διήρπαζον καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. πέμπει δὲ
Φῆστος δύναμιν¹ ἱππικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἀπατηθέντας ὑπὸ τινος ἀνθρώπου γόητος σωτη-
ρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ παῦλαν κακῶν, εἰ
βουλευθεῖεν ἔπεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐρημίας αὐτῷ, καὶ
αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀπατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀκο-
λουθήσαντας διέφθειραν οἱ πεμφθέντες.
- 189 (11) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς
Ἀγρίππας ὠκοδομήσατο μεγέθει διαφέρον οἶκημα
ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πλησίον τοῦ
190 ξυστοῦ. τὸ δὲ βασίλειον ἐγεγόνει πάλαι² ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἀσσυμωναίου³ παίδων, ἐφ' ὕψηλου δὲ τόπου κεί-
μενον τοῖς κατοπτεῦειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βουλομένοις τὴν
πόλιν ἐπιτερπεστάτην παρέιχεν τὴν θεάν, ἥς ἐφ-
ιέμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἀφεώρα κατακείμενος τὰ
191 κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν πρᾶσσόμενα.⁴ ταῦτα δὲ θεασάμενοι
τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν οἱ προὔχοντες δεινῶς ἐχαλέ-
παινον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πάτριον⁵ τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν δρώ-
μενα κατοπτεῦεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἱερουργίας.
τοίχον οὖν ἐγείρουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας ὑψηλόν, ἥτις

¹ πέμπει . . . δύναμιν] interea diversis rebus turbata provincia Festus multitudinem destinavit Lat.

² A : om. MW.

³ A : Ἀσσυμωναίου M : Ἀσσυμωναίου W.

⁴ κατακείμενος . . . πρᾶσσόμενα] AW : om. M : τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν πρᾶττόμενα πάντα κατακείμενος E.

⁵ πάτριον] MW : πάτριον οὐδὲν νόμιμον A : πάτριον οὐδὲ νόμιμον E : πάτριον οὐδὲ νόμιμον ἡμῶν ed. pr.

way. For, as we said previously,^a they would mingle at the festivals with the crowd of those who streamed into the city from all directions to worship, and thus easily assassinated any that they pleased. They would also frequently appear with arms in the villages of their foes and would plunder and set them on fire. Festus also sent a force of cavalry and infantry against the dupes of a certain impostor who had promised them salvation and rest from troubles, if they chose to follow him into the wilderness. The force which Festus dispatched destroyed both the deceiver himself and those who had followed him.

(11) About this time King Agrippa built a chamber of unusual size in his palace at Jerusalem adjoining the colonnade. The palace had been erected long before by the sons of Asamoniaios^b and, being situated on a lofty site, afforded a most delightful view to any who chose to survey the city from it. The king was enamoured of this view and used to gaze, as he reclined at meals there, on everything that went on in the temple. The eminent men of Jerusalem, seeing this, were extremely angry; for it was contrary to tradition^c for proceedings in the temple—and in particular the sacrifices—to be spied on. They therefore erected a high wall upon the arcade that was

Agrippa's
addition to
his palace.

^a § 165.

^b The Hasmonaeans; cf. *Ant.* xii. 265.

^c The Ambrosian ms. and the Epitome add "and to the law"; but there does not appear to be anything contrary to Jewish law in what Agrippa did, however distasteful the Jews might have found it. The Mishnah, *Yoma* iii. 8, notes that on the Day of Atonement the people stood in the court of the temple and presumably saw the sacrifices. The only prohibition was on being in the temple itself when the priestly functions were performed.

- 192 ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔσωθεν ἱερῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς δύσιν. οὐ
μόνον δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τρικλίνου τὴν ἀποψιν οὗτος
οἰκοδομηθεὶς ἀπετέμνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυτικῆς
στοᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν οὔσης, ἔνθα τὰς
φυλακὰς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ
193 ἱερὸν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡγανάκτησεν ὁ τε βασιλεὺς
Ἀγρίππας, μάλιστα δὲ Φῆστος ὁ ἑπαρχος, καὶ
προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς καθελεῖν. οἱ δὲ παρεκάλεσαν
ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς δοῦναι πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ τούτου
πρὸς Νέρωνα· ζῆν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένειν καθαιρεθέντος
194 τινὸς μέρους τοῦ ἱεροῦ. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ
Φῆστου πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς Νέρωνα τοὺς
πρώτους δέκα καὶ Ἰσμάηλον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ
195 Ἑλκίαν τὸν γαζοφύλακα. Νέρων δὲ διακούσας
αὐτῶν οὐ μόνον συνέγνω περὶ τοῦ πραχθέντος, ἀλλὰ
καὶ συνεχώρησεν ἑὰν οὕτως τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τῇ
γυναικὶ Ποππαίᾳ,¹ θεοσεβῆς γὰρ ἦν, ὑπὲρ τῶν
Ἰουδαίων δεηθείση χαριζόμενος, ἣ τοῖς μὲν δέκα
προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι,² τὸν δ' Ἑλκίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσ-
196 μάηλον ὁμηρεύσοντας παρ' ἑαυτῇ κατέσχευεν. ὁ δὲ
βασιλεὺς ταῦθ' ὥς ἐπύθετο δίδωσιν τὴν ἀρχιερω-

¹ Niese: Πομπηία codd.: Πομπαία E: Pompeiae Lat.: cf. Vita 16.

² ed. pr.: ἀπεῖναι codd. E: redire Lat.

^a Or perhaps "because the temple itself was sacred," i.e. no non-Jew could be admitted to the inner temple.

^b See § 179.

^c Mistress (A.D. 58) and later (62) wife of Nero. When Josephus (Vita 16) came to Rome in 64 seeking the release from captivity of certain priests, he accomplished his mission through her intercession. Poppaea died in 65.

^d Poppaea is usually identified (e.g. by R. H. Pfeiffer,

in the inner temple facing west. This when built blocked not only the view from the royal dining room but also that from the western portico of the outer temple, where the Romans used to post their guards at the festivals for the sake of supervising the temple.^a

At this King Agrippa was indignant, and still more Festus the procurator; the latter ordered them to pull it down. But they entreated him for permission to send an embassy on this matter to Nero; for, they said, they could not endure to live any longer if any portion of the temple was demolished. When Festus granted their request, they sent to Nero the ten foremost of their number with Ishmael^b the high priest and Helcias the keeper of the treasury. Nero, after a full hearing, not only condoned what they had done, but also consented to leave the building as it was. In this he showed favour to his wife Poppaea,^c who was a worshipper of God^d and who pleaded on behalf of the Jews. She then bade the ten depart but detained Helcias and Ishmael in her house as hostages. The king, on hearing this, gave the high

The Jewish embassy to Nero about the wall built in the temple; Poppaea's intervention.

History of New Testament Times, 1949, p. 195) as a "sympathizer" with Judaism, *i.e.* one who observed certain Jewish practices and held certain Jewish beliefs without actually becoming a proselyte to Judaism. But the term *θεοσεβής* ("worshipper of God") which is here used does not necessarily identify Poppaea as a sympathizer in the technical sense. J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul*, 1943, p. 43, compares Poppaea with the Roman senator who was a "God-fearing man" and who, according to the *Midrash Rabbah on Deut. ii. 24*, committed suicide so as to nullify a decree against the Jews. But the senator is called a God-fearing man even before it is learned that he actually had been circumcised shortly before his death; and the term there used is a technical term for "sympathizer." Cf. my "Jewish 'Sympathizers' in Classical Literature and Inscriptions," *Trans. of the Am. Philol. Assoc.* lxxxi, 1950, pp. 200-208.

σύνην Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ Σίμωνος παιδὶ ἀρχιερέως ἐπι-
καλουμένῳ δὲ Καβί.¹

- 197 (ix. 1) Πέμπει δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀλβῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἰου-
δαίαν ἔπαρχον Φήστου τὴν τελευταίαν πυθόμενος. ὁ
δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὸν Ἰώσηπον τὴν ἱερω-
σύνην, τῷ δὲ Ἀνάου παιδὶ καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀνάῳ
198 λεγομένῳ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔδωκεν. τοῦτον
δέ φασι τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἀνανὸν εὐτυχέστατον
γενέσθαι· πέντε² γὰρ ἔσχε παῖδας καὶ τούτους πάν-
τας συνέβη ἀρχιερατεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, αὐτὸς πρότερος
τῆς τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπολαύσας, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ
199 συνέβη τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων. ὁ δὲ νεώτερος
Ἀνανός, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔφαμεν εἰληφέναι,
θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητῆς διαφερόντως,
αἵρεσιν δὲ μετῇει τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ
περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους,
200 καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. ἅτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὢν
ὁ Ἀνανός, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ
τεθνάναι μὲν Φήστον, Ἀλβῖνον δ' ἔτι κατὰ τὴν
ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παρ-

¹ A : Καβεῖ MW : Κάμης Jos. Hypom. ap. Fabricium :
Cadis Lat. : Καμὶ supra § 16, cf. § 103. ² πέντε] om. Lat.

^a Perhaps to be identified with the Joseph son of Simon who was sent to take command at Jericho at the beginning of the war against the Romans in A.D. 66 (*B.J.* ii. 567).

^b Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 272.

^c Lucceius Albinus, appointed procurator c. A.D. 62. He arrived from Alexandria (§ 202), where he had perhaps held (see Stein, "Lucceius" no. 11, Pauly-Wissowa, xiii, 1913, p. 1559) the position of prefect of the camp or prefect of the army. He later served as procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis, where he met his death (see Tac. *Hist.* ii. 58-59).

^d In contrast with the very unfavourable picture of Ananus which is here given, compare the encomium in *B.J.* iv. 319-494

priesthood to Joseph,^a who was surnamed Kabi, son of the high priest Simon.

(ix. 1) ^b Upon learning of the death of Festus, Caesar sent Albinus ^c to Judaea as procurator. The king removed Joseph from the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to this office upon the son of Ananus, who was likewise called Ananus.^d It is said that the elder Ananus ^e was extremely fortunate. For he had five sons, all of whom, after he himself had previously enjoyed the office for a very long period, became high priests of God—a thing that had never happened to any other of our high priests. The younger Ananus, who, as we have said, had been appointed to the high priesthood, was rash in his temper and unusually daring. He followed the school of the Sadducees, who are indeed more heartless ^f than any of the other Jews, as I have already explained,^g when they sit in judgement. Possessed of such a character, Ananus thought that he had a favourable opportunity because Festus was dead and Albinus was still on the way. And so he convened the judges of the Sanhedrin and brought before

Albinus is appointed procurator.

Ananus the high priest has James, the brother of Jesus, stoned.

321, which, as Thackeray says in his note *ad loc.*, makes him the veritable counterpart of Pericles. He is particularly praised for putting the public welfare above his private interests and for his skill both as a general and as an orator. His bravery in opposing the Zealots is described at length with obvious sympathy by Josephus in *B.J.* iv. 160 ff.

^a Cf. note on *Ant.* xviii. 26.

^f Or "savage."

^g Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 294, where King Hyrcanus, who had forsaken the Pharisees for the Sadducees, asks the Pharisees what penalty they thought Eleazar deserved for saying that Hyrcanus was unfit to be high priest because his mother had been a captive. They reply that he deserves merely stripes and chains; "for they do not think it right to sentence a man to death for calumny, and anyway the Pharisees are naturally lenient in the matter of punishments."

αγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου
 Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἑτέρους,
 ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρ-
 201 ἔδωκε λευσθησομένους. ὅσοι δὲ ἐδόκουν ἐπιει-
 κέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοὺς
 νόμους ἀκριβεῖς βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ
 πέμπουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κρύφα παρακαλοῦν-
 τες αὐτὸν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Ἀνάνῳ μηκέτι τοιαῦτα
 πράσσειν· μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν πε-
 202 ποιηκέναι. τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὑπαντι-
 ἄζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδοιποροῦντα καὶ
 διδάσκουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἔξδὸν ἦν Ἀνάνῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἐκεί-
 203 νου γνώμης καθίσαι συνέδριον. Ἀλβῖνος δὲ πεισθεὶς
 τοῖς λεγομένοις γράφει μετ' ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάνῳ
 λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκας ἀπειλῶν. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς
 Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος
 αὐτὸν ἄρξαντα μῆνας τρεῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δα-
 μναίου¹ κατέστησεν.

204 (2) Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν ὁ Ἀλβῖνος εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱερο-
 σολυμιτῶν πόλιν, πᾶσαν εἰσηγέγκατο σπουδὴν καὶ
 πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν εἰρηνεύεσθαι τοὺς

¹ A: Δαμνέου MW: Δαμναίου Eus.: Μνασέα Zonaras: Damnaei Lat.

^a Unlike the passage on Jesus (*Ant.* xviii. 63-64), few have doubted the genuineness of this passage on James (on which see Schürer, i. 546). If it had been a Christian interpolation it would, in all probability, have been more laudatory of James. Hegesippus (quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23. 11-18) says that James was thrown down from the "pinnacle" of the temple, stoned, and finally killed by a fuller's club (cited by Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, p. 95).

^b Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 63, where the mss. omit "called."

^c i.e., as explained in § 202, in convening the Sanhedrin without Albinus' consent. Another possible translation is:

them a man named James,^a the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ,^b and certain others. He accused them of having transgressed the law and delivered them up to be stoned. Those of the inhabitants of the city who were considered the most fair-minded and who were strict in observance of the law were offended at this. They therefore secretly sent to King Agrippa urging him, for Ananus had not even been correct in his first step,^c to order him to desist from any further such actions. Certain of them even went to meet Albinus, who was on his way from Alexandria, and informed him that Ananus had no authority to convene the Sanhedrin without his consent.^d Convinced by these words, Albinus angrily wrote to Ananus threatening to take vengeance upon him. King Agrippa, because of Ananus' action, deposed him from the high priesthood which he had held for three months and replaced him with Jesus the son of Damnaeus.^e

(2) When Albinus reached the city of Jerusalem, he bent every effort and made every provision to ensure peace in the land by exterminating most of

"for this was not the first time that Ananus had acted unjustly."

^a F. Büchel, "Noch einmal: Zur Blutgerichtsbarkeit des Synedrions," *Zeitschr. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.* xxxiii, 1934, p. 86, conjectures from Albinus' anger that the high priests did not have the power to impose the death penalty during the period of the procurators.

^e The sufferings that the Jews endured during the war against the Romans are said by Origen (*Cels.* i. 47) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23) to have been ascribed by Josephus to God's vengeance for the death of James, but there is no such passage extant in Josephus. Origen and Eusebius may be thinking of Josephus' statement about the divine vengeance for the murder of John the Baptist by Herod (*Ant.* xviii. 116).

- 205 πολλοὺς¹ τῶν σικαρίων διαφθείρας. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς
 Ἀνανίας καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ μέγα προὔκοπτε
 δόξης καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοίας τε καὶ
 τιμῆς ἡξιοῦτο λαμπρῶς· ἦν γὰρ χρημάτων πορι-
 στικός· καθ' ἡμέραν γοῦν τὸν Ἀλβῖνον καὶ τὸν
 206 ἀρχιερέα δώροις ἐθεράπευεν. εἶχεν δ' οἰκέτας πάνυ
 μοχθηρούς, οἱ συναναστρεφόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτάτοις
 ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλωνας πορευόμενοι τὰς τῶν ἱερέων δεκά-
 τας ἐλάμβανον βιαζόμενοι καὶ τοὺς μὴ διδόντας
 207 οὐκ ἀπείχοντο τύπτειν, οἳ τε ἀρχιερεῖς² ὅμοια τοῖς
 ἐκείνου δούλοις ἔπρασσον μηδενὸς κωλύειν δυνα-
 μένου. καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοὺς πάλαι ταῖς δεκάταις
 τρεφομένους τότε συνέβαινε θνήσκειν τροφῆς ἀπο-
 ρία.
- 208 (3) Πάλιν δ' οἱ σικάριοι κατὰ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐνει-
 στήκει γὰρ αὕτη, διὰ νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρελ-
 θόντες συλλαμβάνουσι ζῶντα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ
 στρατηγοῦντος Ἐλεαζάρου, παῖς δ' ἦν οὗτος
 Ἀνανίου³ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ δήσαντες ἐξήγαγον.

¹ τοὺς πολλοὺς] A : πολλοὺς MWE : plurimos Lat.

² οἳ τε ἀρχιερεῖς] sed etiam alii pontifices Lat.

³ A Lat. : Ἀνάου MWE.

^a The estimates that Josephus gives of Albinus' work in *B.J.* ii. 272-276 and in the present passage disagree, chiefly in the omission from the former of Albinus' zeal in putting down the *sicarii*; but A. Momigliano, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* x, 1934, p. 855, concludes that Albinus initiated, in his brief term of office, a policy of mildness that caused him to be accused of corruption.

^b Cf. §§ 103, 131.

^c Or perhaps "had a flair for making money," a translation which leads S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 1942, p. 182 n. 195, to suggest that he was perhaps nicknamed "Ben Nadbai," *i.e.* "the generous one," in ironic allusion to his avarice. But our passage indicates that Ananias had

the *sicarii*.^a Now the high priest Ananias ^b daily advanced greatly in reputation and was splendidly rewarded by the goodwill and esteem of the citizens ; for he was able to supply them with money ^c : at any rate he daily paid court with gifts to Albinus and the high priest.^d But Ananias had servants who were utter rascals and who, combining operations with the most reckless men, would go to the threshing floors and take by force the tithes of the priests ; nor did they refrain from beating those who refused to give. The high priests were guilty of the same practices as his slaves, and no one could stop them. So it happened at that time that those of the priests who in olden days were maintained by the tithes now starved to death.^e

The influence of the high priest Ananias.

(3) Once more the *sicarii* at the festival, for it was now going on, entered the city by night and kidnapped the secretary ^f of the captain ^g Eleazar ^h—he was the son of Ananias ⁱ the high priest—and led won popularity among the people, and it is hardly likely that greed would have done so. There is nothing, however, to prevent our taking the nickname literally and as a compliment.

Sicarii kidnap the secretary of the captain Eleazar.

^a Jesus the son of Damnaeus.

^c Cf. § 181.

^f Or "officer," in which sense the term is found in Egyptian Greek, including the Septuagint (cf. G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 1901, p. 110, cited by H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, ii, 1947, p. 345).

^g Lit. "general," but presumably the reference is to the office of captain of the temple (see note on § 131).

^h In *B. J.* ii. 409 he is described as a very daring youth who laid the foundation of the war against the Romans by persuading the priests to refuse the sacrifices that were offered on behalf of the emperor and of the Roman nation. Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 248 n. 1, identifies him with the Eleazar who was the high priest under the procurator Gratus (*Ant.* xviii. 34), but this identification is doubtful.

ⁱ Variant Ananus. Cf. Schürer, i. 584 n. 50.

- 209 εἶτα πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀνανίαν ἀπολύσειν ἔφασαν τὸν γραμματέα πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πείσειεν τὸν Ἀλβῖνον δέκα δεσμώτας τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ληφθέντας ἀπολύσαι. καὶ ὁ Ἀνανίας διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην πεί-
 210 σας τὸν Ἀλβῖνον τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐπέτυχεν. τοῦτο μειζόνων κακῶν ἦρξεν· οἱ γὰρ λησταὶ παντοίως ἐπεμηχανῶντο τῶν Ἀνανίου τινὰς συλλαμβάνειν οἰκείων καὶ συνεχῶς ζωγροῦντες οὐκ ἀπέλυον πρὶν ἢ τινὰς τῶν σικαρίων ἀπολάβοιεν γενόμενοί τε πάλιν ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος ἀναθαρρήσαντες τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ἐκάκουν.
- 211 (4) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας μείζονα τὴν Φιλίππου καλουμένην Καισάρειαν κατασκευάσας εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Νέρωνος Νερωνιάδα προσηγόρευσεν, καὶ Βηρυτίοις δὲ θέατρον ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων κατεσκευασμένον ταῖς κατ' ἔτος θεαῖς ἐδωρεῖτο πολλὰς εἰς τοῦτο μυριάδας
 212 ἀναλίσκων· σίτον γὰρ ἐδίδου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἔλαιον διένεμεν¹ καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δὲ πόλιν ἀνδριάντων ἀναθέσειν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποτύποις εἰκόσιν ἐκόσμει καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν πάντα τὸν τῆς βασιλείας κόσμον ἐκεῖ μετήνεγκεν. μῖσος οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἠϋξέτο διὰ τὸ περιαιρούμενον τὰ
 213 ἐκείνων εἰς ξένην πόλιν κοσμεῖν. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰησοῦν ἀφελομένου

¹ σίτον . . . διένεμεν] frumenta namque populo copiosa et oleum opulenter exhibuit Lat.

^a Or "household." ^b Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 28 and *B.J.* ii. 168.

^c The name appears also on coins; cf. F. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, 1864, p. 116, and *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 145-146.

him off in bonds. They then sent to Ananias saying that they would release the secretary to him if he would induce Albinus to release ten of their number who had been taken prisoner. Ananias under this constraint persuaded Albinus and obtained this request. This was the beginning of greater troubles; for the brigands contrived by one means or another to kidnap some of Ananias' staff^a and would hold them in continuous confinement and refuse to release them until they had received in exchange some of the *sicarii*. When they had once more become not inconsiderable in number, they grew bold again and proceeded to harass every part of the land.

(4) At this time King Agrippa enlarged Caesarea Philippi,^b as it is called, and renamed it Neronias^c in honour of Nero. He furthermore built at great expense a theatre^d for the people of Berytus and presented them with annual spectacles, spending many tens of thousands of drachmas upon this project. Moreover, he used to give the people grain and distribute olive oil. He also adorned the whole city by erecting statues, as well as replicas of ancient sculptures. He thus transferred to that place well-nigh all the ornaments of the kingdom. The hatred of his subjects for him consequently increased because he stripped them of their possessions to adorn a foreign city. And now the king deposed Jesus the son of Damnaeus from the high priesthood and appointed as his successor Jesus the son of Gamaliel. In conse-

Agrippa
offends the
Jews by his
buildings
and spec-
tacles at
Berytus.

^a Cf. *Ant.* xix. 335-336, which describes the special favours that Agrippa's father had likewise conferred upon Berytus, including a theatre "surpassing many others in its costly beauty," an amphitheatre, baths, and porticoes. Herod had also provided porticoes, temples, and a market-place for Berytus (*B.J.* i. 422).

- τὸν τοῦ Δαμναίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στάσις αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο· σύστημα γὰρ τῶν θρασυτάτων ποιησάμενοι πολλάκις μέχρι λίθων βολῆς ἀπὸ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ἐξέπιπτον. ὑπερείχεν δὲ Ἀνανίας τῷ πλούτῳ προσαγόμενος τοὺς λαμβάνειν ἐτοίμους.
- 214 Κοστόβαρος¹ δὲ καὶ Σαοῦλος² αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς μοχθηρὰ πλήθη συνήγον γένους μὲν ὄντες βασιλικοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν συγγένειαν εὐνοίας τυγχάνοντες, βίαιοι δὲ καὶ ἀρπάζειν τὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἔτοιμοι. ἐξ ἐκείνου μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ συνέβη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν νοσεῖν προκοπτόντων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.
- 215 (5) Ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν Ἀλβῖνος διάδοχον αὐτῷ Γέσσιον Φλῶρον ἀφικνεῖσθαι, βουλόμενος δοκεῖν τι τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις παρεσχῆσθαι προαγαγών³ τοὺς δεσμώτας, ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν προδῆλως θανεῖν ἄξιοι, τούτους προσέταξεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης αἰτίας εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν κατατεθέντας χρήματα λαμβάνων αὐτὸς ἀπέλυεν. καὶ οὕτως ἡ μὲν φυλακὴ τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἐκαθάρθη, ἡ χώρα δὲ ληστῶν ἐπληρώθη.
- 216 (6) Τῶν δὲ Λευιτῶν, φυλὴ⁴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, ὅσοι περ ἦσαν ὑμνωδοὶ πείθουσι τὸν βασιλέα καθίσαντα

¹ Custobarus Lat.

² i. marg. A : Σαλοῦος AM Exc. Peiresc. : Σαλοῦλος W : Σάλουος E : Saul Lat.

³ Niese : producents Lat. : προσαγαγών codd. E Exc. Peiresc.

quence, a feud arose between the latter and his predecessor. They each collected a band of the most reckless sort and it frequently happened that after exchanging insults they went further and hurled stones. Ananias, however, kept the upper hand by using his wealth to attract those who were willing to receive bribes. Costobar and Saul ^a also on their own part collected gangs of villains. They themselves were of royal lineage and found favour because of their kinship with Agrippa, but were lawless and quick to plunder the property of those weaker than themselves. From that moment particularly, sickness fell upon our city, and everything went steadily from bad to worse.

(5) ^b When Albinus heard that Gessius Florus ^c was coming to succeed him, he sought to gain a name as one who had done some service to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. He therefore brought out those prisoners who clearly deserved to be put to death and sentenced them to execution, but released for a personal consideration those who had been cast into prison for a trifling and commonplace offence. Thus the prison was cleared of inmates and the land was infested with brigands.

Albinus releases Jewish prisoners, thus filling the country with brigands

(6) Those of the Levites—this is one of our tribes ^d—who were singers of hymns urged the king to con-

Levite singers obtain permission to wear linen like priests.

^a Costobar and Saul were brothers (*B.J.* ii. 556) who formed part of a delegation sent by the leading citizens to Agrippa in 66 (*B.J.* ii. 418) urging him to send troops to crush the incipient revolt of the Jewish revolutionaries. After the rout of Cestius, the Roman governor of Syria, they abandoned the city and joined the Roman forces (*B.J.* ii. 556).

^b Cf. the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 273.

^c Cf. §§ 252-258. ^d Variant "this is a watch."

- συνέδριον φορεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπίσης τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπι-
 τρέψαι λινὴν στολήν· πρέπειν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς τῆς
 ἀρχῆς χρόνοις ἔφασκον ἀφ' ὧν μνημονευθήσεται
 217 καινοποιεῖν. καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως οὐ διήμαρτον· ὁ
 γὰρ βασιλεὺς μετὰ γνώμης τῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον
 ἐποικομένων συνεχώρησεν τοῖς ὑμνωδοῖς ἀποθε-
 μένους τὴν προτέραν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν λινὴν οἷαν
 218 ἠθέλησαν. μέρους δέ τινος τῆς φυλῆς λειτουργοῦν-
 τος κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τούτοις ἐπέτρεψεν τοὺς
 ὕμνους ἐκμαθεῖν, ὡς παρεκάλουν. πάντα δ' ἦν
 ἐναντία ταῦτα τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις,¹ ὧν παραβα-
 θέντων οὐκ ἐνῆν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκας ὑποσχεῖν.
 219 (7) Ἦδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτετέλεστο. βλέ-
 πων οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἀργήσαντας τοὺς τεχνίτας ὑπὲρ
 μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας καὶ μισθοφορίας
 ἐνδεεῖς ἐσομένους διὰ τὸ τὴν τροφήν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ
 220 τὸ ἱερὸν ἐργασίας κομίζεσθαι,² καὶ χρήματα μὲν
 ἀπόθετα διὰ τὸν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων φόβον ἔχειν οὐ
 θέλων, προνοούμενος δὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ εἰς τού-
 τους ἀναλοῦν τοὺς θησαυροὺς βουλόμενος, καὶ γὰρ
 εἰ μίαν τις ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐργάσαιτο, τὸν μισθὸν

¹ A : om. MWE.

² A : πορίζεσθαι MW.

^a See Wolfson, *op. cit.* ii. 346, who appositely notes that the first judges and officers were appointed by Moses, who is regarded in both the Jewish tradition and in Philo as a king, and that it was he who thus fulfilled the Biblical commandment : " Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates " (Deut. xvi. 18). Thus Agrippa, in convening the Sanhedrin, was simply exercising the Scriptural prerogative to appoint judges.

^b The Levites were divided into two groups, the " singers "

vene the Sanhedrin^a and get them permission to wear linen robes on equal terms with the priests, maintaining that it was fitting that he should introduce, to mark his reign, some innovation by which he would be remembered. Nor did they fail to obtain their request; for the king, with the consent of those who attended the Sanhedrin, allowed the singers of hymns to discard their former robes and to wear linen ones such as they wished. A part of the tribe that served in the temple were also permitted to learn the hymns by heart,^b as they had requested. All this was contrary to the ancestral laws, and such transgression was bound to make us liable to punishment.

(7) Just now, too, the temple had been completed. The people therefore saw that the workmen, numbering over eighteen thousand, were out of work and would be deprived of pay, for they earned their living by working on the temple. Moreover, owing to their fear of the Romans, they did not want to have any money that was kept on deposit. Hence, out of regard for the workmen and choosing to expend their treasures upon them—for if anyone worked for but one hour of the day, he at once received his pay for and the “gate-keepers,” as indicated in their separate enumeration in Ezra ii. 41-42 (see Rashi’s comment *ad loc.*), vii. 7, x. 24, and in Nehemiah x. 28. Membership in each of these groups was gained by birth. There was a sharp division between them, the singers being regarded as lower in rank, as is indicated by the Talmud, *‘Arakin* 11 b, in which Abaye says that according to tradition a singing Levite who did his colleague’s work at the gate actually incurs the penalty of death. But in any case all the rabbis agree that a transgression is involved. On the background of the dispute see the exhaustive study by H. Vogelstein, *Der Kampf zwischen Priestern und Leviten*, 1889; and, more briefly, R. Meyer, “Levitische Emanzipationsbestrebungen in nachexilischer Zeit,” *Orient. Literaturzeit.* xli, 1938, pp. 721-728, esp. 727.

Completion
of the
temple;
work found
for the idle
workmen.

- ὑπὲρ ταύτης εὐθέως ἐλάμβανεν, ἔπειθον τὸν βασιλέα
 221 τὴν ἀνατολικὴν στοὰν ἀνεγείραι. ἦν δὲ ἡ στοὰ τοῦ
 μὲν ἕξωθεν ἱεροῦ, κειμένη δ' ἐν φάραγγι βαθεῖα
 τετρακοσίων πηχῶν τοὺς τοίχους ἔχουσα ἐκ λίθου
 τετραγώνου κατεσκεύαστο καὶ λευκοῦ πάνυ, τὸ μὲν
 μῆκος ἐκάστου λίθου πῆχεις εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἕξ,
 ἔργον Σολόμωνος τοῦ βασιλέως πρώτου δειμαμένου
 222 τὸ σύμπαν ἱερόν. ὁ βασιλεὺς δ', ἐπεπίστευτο γὰρ
 ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ,
 λογισάμενος παντὸς μὲν ἔργου τὴν καθαίρεσιν εἶναι
 ῥαδίαν δυσχερῇ δὲ τὴν κατασκευὴν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς
 στοᾶς ταύτης καὶ μᾶλλον, χρόνου τε γὰρ καὶ πολ-
 λῶν χρημάτων εἰς τοῦργον δεήσειν, ἡρνήσατο μὲν
 περὶ τούτου δεομένοις, καταστορέσαι δὲ λευκῷ
 223 λίθῳ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν. Ἰησοῦν δὲ τὸν τοῦ
 Γαμαλιήλου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος ἔδωκεν
 αὐτὴν Ματθία τῷ Θεοφίλου, καθ' ὃν καὶ ὁ πρὸς
 Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος Ἰουδαίοις ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν.¹
 224 (x. 1) Ἀναγκαῖον δ' εἶναι νομίζω καὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ
 ταύτῃ προσῆκον διηγήσασθαι περὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων,
 πῶς ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τίσιν ἕξεστι τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης
 μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πόσοι γεγόνασιν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ
 225 πολέμου τελευτῆς. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πάντων λέγου-
 σιν Ἀαρῶνα τὸν Μωυσέως ἀδελφὸν ἀρχιερατεῦσαι
 τῷ θεῷ, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου διαδέξασθαι τοὺς
 παῖδας εὐθὺς κατ' ἐκείνων τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν
 226 διαμεῖναι τὴν τιμὴν ἅπασιν. ὅθεν καὶ πάτριόν ἐστι

¹ Ἰουδαίοις . . . ἀρχήν] ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προκεχωρήκει E.

^a Cf. Deut. xxiv. 15: "In the same day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it." See also the Talmudic discussion in *Baba Mezia* 111 a. Cf. Matt.

this ^a—, they urged the king to raise the height of the east portico. This portico was part of the outer temple, and was situated in a deep ravine. It had walls four hundred cubits ^b long and was constructed of square stones, completely white, each stone being twenty cubits long and six high.^c This was the work of King Solomon, who was the first to build the whole temple. The king, who had been appointed by Claudius Caesar to be curator of the temple, reasoned that it is always easy to demolish a structure but hard to erect one, and still more so in the case of this portico, for the work would take time and a great deal of money. He therefore refused this request of theirs; but he did not veto the paving of the city with white stone. He also deprived Jesus the son of Gamaliel of the high priesthood and gave it to Matthias the son of Theophilus, under whom the war of the Jews with the Romans began.

(x. 1) Now I think it necessary and befitting in this history to give a detailed account of the high priests—how they began, who may lawfully participate in this office, and how many there were up to the end of the war.^d It is said that Aaron the brother of Moses was the first to act as high priest to God, that after his death his sons at once succeeded him, and that thereafter the office remained permanently with all their descendants. Wherefore it is also a tradition

Enumeration of the high priests until the first temple.

xx. 8, where, when evening comes, the owner of the vineyard says to his steward: "Call the labourers and pay them their wages."

^b 586 feet.

^c About 29 feet long and 8·8 feet high.

^d That Josephus' account of the high priests here is not a mere summary of his previous accounts can be seen from divergencies and new facts added in the present listing.

μηδένα τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην λαμβάνειν ἢ τὸν
 ἐξ αἵματος τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος, ἑτέρου δὲ γένους οὐδ' ἂν
 227 βασιλεὺς ὢν τύχη τεύξεται τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης. ἐγέ-
 νοντο οὖν πάντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ Ἀαρῶνος, ὡς
 ἔφαμεν, τοῦ πρώτου γενομένου μέχρι Φανάσου¹ τοῦ
 228 ἀναδειχθέντος ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς. ἐκ τούτων κατὰ
 τὴν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τῶν Μωυσέως χρόνων τῆς σκηνῆς
 ἐστώσης, ἣν Μωυσῆς τῷ θεῷ κατεσκεύασεν, μέχρι
 τῆς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφίξεως, ἔνθα Σολόμων ὁ βα-
 σιλεὺς τῷ θεῷ τὸν ναὸν ἤγειρεν, ἀρχιεράτευσαν
 229 δεκατρεῖς. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἕως τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς
 τὰς ἀρχιερωσύνας εἶχον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ παρὰ ζών-
 των διεδέχοντο. οἱ τοίνυν δεκατρεῖς οὗτοι τῶν δύο
 παίδων Ἀαρῶνος ὄντες ἔγγονοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τὴν
 τιμὴν παρελάμβανον. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῶν² ἀριστο-
 κρατικὴ μὲν ἡ πρώτη πολιτεία, μετὰ ταύτην δὲ
 230 μοναρχία, βασιλέων δὲ τρίτη. γίνεται δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν

¹ γρ ἐν ἄλλοις Φηνάσου i. marg. A : Φινεέσου E : Finasum Lat. : Φαννί aut Φαννίτης B.J. iv. 155.

² δὲ αὐτῶν] codd. E Phot. : autem Hebreorum Lat. : δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν coni. Niese.

^a Variants Phenasus, Phineesus, Finasus. In B.J. iv. 155 he is called Phanni (or Phannites) the son of Samuel. He was chosen by lot by the Zealots and is said not only not to have been descended from high priests but also to have been such a clown as not to have any conception of what the high priesthood meant.

^b According to Bab. Yoma 9 a, there were more than three hundred high priests during the period of the second temple alone. The Palestinian Yoma i. 1 says that the number is between eighty and eighty-five.

^c In his narrative in the earlier books of the *Antiquities*, Josephus likewise enumerates thirteen: Aaron, Eleazar, 508

that none should hold God's high priesthood save him who is of Aaron's blood, and that no one of another lineage, even if he happened to be a king, should attain to the high priesthood. The total number of the high priests beginning with Aaron, who, as I have said, was the first, up to Phanasus,^a who during the war was appointed high priest by the revolutionary party, is eighty-three.^b Of these, thirteen ^c served as high priests from the sojourn in the wilderness in the time of Moses, when the tabernacle was standing which Moses constructed for God, until the arrival in Judaea, when King Solomon erected the temple to God. At first they held the high priesthoods for life, but afterwards succeeded to it during the lifetime of their predecessors. These thirteen consequently, being descendants of Aaron's two sons, received the office in succession. Their ^d first constitution ^e was an aristocracy, then followed monarchy,^f and thirdly came the rule of the kings.

Phinees, Abiezer, Bokki, Ozis, Eli (v. 361-362), Jesus (viii. 12), Achias (vi. 107), Achitob (vi. 122), Abimelech (vi. 242), Sadok (vii. 110), and Abiathar (vii. 110). Jesus (viii. 12), however, is perhaps to be identified with Abiezer (so Marcus, note *ad loc.*).

^a The Jews'.

^c Under Moses and Joshua (*Ant.* vi. 84). In his previous enumeration of the Jewish constitutions Josephus notes that after Joshua's death there was anarchy for eighteen years (*ibid.*).

^f Presumably the rule of the Judges, who are represented as ruling one at a time. This is clear from *Ant.* xi. 112, where Josephus says that during this period the Jews were ruled by "men called judges and monarchs." Cf. *Ant.* vi. 85, where Josephus says that during this interval the nation returned to an aristocratic rule, "entrusting supreme judicial authority to him who in battle and in bravery had proved himself the best; and that is why they called this period of their political life the age of Judges."

ἀριθμὸς ὧν ἤρξαν οἱ δεκατρεῖς ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐξέλιπον Αἴγυπτον Μωυσέως ἄγοντος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς, ὃν Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνήγειρεν, ἔτη δώδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις.

- 231 (2) Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δεκατρεῖς ἀρχιεράς ἐκείνους οἱ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔσχον ἀπὸ Σολόμωνος βασιλέως ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὴν διαδεξάμενοι, μέχρι οὗ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐπιστρατεύσας τῇ πόλει τὸν μὲν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἡμῶν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετήνεγκεν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰωσαδάκην¹ αἰχ-
- 232 μάλωτον ἔλαβεν. τούτων χρόνος τῆς ἱερωσύνης τετρακοσίων² ἑξηκονταῖς ἐτῶν ἐστὶ μηνῶν ἑξ ἡμε-
- 233 ρῶν δέκα ἤδη βασιλευσάντων Ἰουδαίων. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἐτῶν ἀλώσεως ἑβδομήκοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων γενομένης Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν τοὺς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν γῆν πάλιν καὶ συνεχώρησεν τὸν ναὸν ἀν-
- 234 εγεῖραι. τότε δὴ τῶν ὑποστρεψάντων αἰχμαλώτων Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδέκ εἰς ὧν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην

¹ MW : Ἰωσεδέκην, ε *utrumque ex a* corr. A : Iosedec Lat. : Ἰωσεδέκ Photius habuisse vid. nunc corruptus.

² W : τριακοσίων AM Phot.

^a Cf. *Ap.* ii. 19, which also gives 612 years from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple. In *Ant.* viii. 61 Josephus gives 592 years. The Bible (1 Kings vi. 1) has 480.

^b According to *Ant.* x. 152-153, the number is seventeen ; cf. Marcus' note *ad loc.* The Talmud, *Yoma* 9 a, agrees with 510

The number of years during which the thirteen held office from the day when our fathers left Egypt under the leadership of Moses down to the building of the temple which King Solomon erected in Jerusalem was six hundred and twelve.^a

(2) After these thirteen high priests, eighteen ^bEnumeration of the high priests from the first temple to Antiochus Eupator. others held the high priesthood in succession from the time of Solomon, who was king in Jerusalem, until the time when Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, led his army against the city, set fire to the temple and carried away our nation to Babylon, taking prisoner the high priest Josadakes.^c The period covered by the high priesthood of these men was four hundred and sixty-six years,^d six months, and ten days, during which time the Jews were now governed by kings. After a period of seventy ^e years of captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of the Persians, freed the Jews from Babylon and permitted them to return to their own land and to rebuild the temple. At that time Jesus ^f son of Josedek,^g who was one of the captives who returned,^h

Josephus in stating that there were eighteen high priests during the period of the first temple.

^a Biblical Jehozadak (Jozadak, Josedech). Cf. *Ant.* x. 150 and 153, where the name is spelled Josadakos, and xi. 73, where it is spelled Josedekos.

^d Cf. note on *Ant.* x. 147 (470 years, six months, ten days). Josephus carelessly subtracts four years from the duration of the temple instead of adding; the total should be 474 years, six months, and ten days. The Talmud, *Yoma* 9 a, says that the first temple stood for 410 years.

^e So also *Ant.* xi. 1.

^f Cf. *Ant.* xi. 73 ff.

^g This is the Josadakes who is mentioned above (§ 231) as having been taken prisoner by the Babylonians.

^h The Epitome has "Jesus, son of Josedek, who had been taken captive, being one of those who returned."

λαμβάνει.¹ λαμβάνει δ' οὗτος αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα συνάπαντες μέχρι βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος, ἐπολιτεύοντο δὲ δημοκρατικῶς ἔτη τετρακόσια² δεκατέσσαρα.

235 (3) Πρῶτος δ' Ἀντίοχος ὁ προειρημένος καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτοῦ Λυσίας τὸν Ὀνίαν, ᾧ Μενέλαος ἐπίκλην, παύουσι τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀνελόντες αὐτὸν ἐν Βεροίᾳ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπελάσαντες³ καθιστᾶσιν Ἰάκιμον⁴ ἀρχιερέα, γένους μὲν 236 τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος, οὐκ ὄντα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης. διὰ

¹ τότε δὴ . . . λαμβάνει] τότε τῶν ὑποστρεψάντων εἰς ὧν ὁ τοῦ αἰχμαλωτισθέντος Ἰωσαδάκου παῖς Ἰησοῦς λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην E : εἰς οὗν τῶν ἀναχθέντων αἰχμαλώτων λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Phot. : captivis igitur remeantibus Sison pontificatum sumpsit Lat.

² τριακόσια E.

³ τὸν παῖδα . . . ἀπελάσαντες] AE Phot. p. 52 : om. MW Phot. p. 317.

⁴ Ἰωάκειμον E : Ioachim Lat.

^a 164/163 B.C. Cf. *Ant.* xii. 360-361.

^b If Josephus is counting from the return from Babylon (537 B.C.) until Antiochus Eupator, the number should be 373, if from the beginning of the captivity it should be 443 ; if he is reckoning from the end of the captivity and in accordance with the chronology implicit in *B.J.* i. 70, it should be 411, if in accordance with the chronology implicit in *Ant.* xiii. 301 it should be 421. In *Ant.* xiii. 301 Josephus says that Aristobulus I transformed the government into a kingdom ; if Josephus regards the democracy as having extended

assumed the office of high priest. He and his descendants, fifteen in all, held the office until the reign of Antiochus Eupator ^a; and for four hundred and fourteen years ^b they lived under a democratic ^c form of government.

(3) The aforesaid Antiochus and his general Lysias were the first ^d to depose anyone from the high priesthood. This they did in the case of Onias, ^e surnamed Menelaus; for they put him to death ^f at Beroea, ^g excluded his son from the succession, and appointed as high priest Jacimus, ^h who was of Aaron's line but not of the same family as Onias. ⁱ In consequence of

from the end of the captivity until the beginning of his reign (104 B.C.), the number should be 433 (Josephus there actually gives 481, and in *B.J.* i. 70 gives 471).

^a Contrast *Ant.* xi. 111, where Josephus says that the form of government from the return until the Hasmonaeans was a mixture of aristocracy and oligarchy, with the high priests at the head of the people.

^d But according to *Ant.* xii. 237-241 and xv. 41, it was Antiochus Epiphanes, the father of Antiochus Eupator, who first deposed a high priest, for he removed Jesus (Jason) the son of Simon from this office and replaced him with Onias (Menelaus), who is the Onias here mentioned as having been murdered by order of Antiochus Eupator and Lysias.

^e In *Ant.* xii. 384-385, however, Lysias advises Eupator to put Menelaus to death in order to keep the Jews quiet, since it was Menelaus, he says, who had caused all the trouble for Epiphanes by persuading him to force the Jews to give up their ancestral religion. The implication is, therefore, that his removal was justified.

^f See *Ant.* xii. 383-385.

^g Aleppo in Syria. Cf. *Ant.* xii. 385. It was so called by Seleucus Nicator in remembrance of the Macedonian city of the same name.

^h The Hebrew equivalent (*i.e.* Joachim) of Alcimus (*Ant.* xii. 385, where the name is spelled *Ἰάκιμος* in some mss., as in the Epitome here).

ⁱ So also *Ant.* xii. 387.

τοῦτο καὶ Ὀνίας¹ ὁ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Ὀνίου
 ἐξάδελφος ὁμώνυμος τῷ πατρὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς
 Αἴγυπτον καὶ διὰ φιλίας ἀφικόμενος Πτολεμαίῳ
 τῷ Φιλομήτορι καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ,
 πείθει τούτους κατὰ τὸν Ἑλιοπολίτην² νομὸν³ δει-
 μαμένους τῷ θεῷ ναὸν παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱερο-
 237 σολύμοις αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστήσαι. ἀλλὰ περὶ
 μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
 πολλάκις ἐδηλώσαμεν.⁴ ὁ δὲ Ἰάκιμος ἔτη τρία τὴν
 ἀρχιερωσύνην κατασχὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. διεδέξατο
 δ' αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ διετέλεσεν ἡ πόλις ἐνιαυ-
 238 τοὺς ἑπτὰ χωρὶς ἀρχιερέως οὔσα. πάλιν δὲ οἱ τῶν
 Ἀσραμωναίου παίδων ἑγγονοὶ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ
 ἔθνους πιστευθέντες καὶ πολεμηθέντες καὶ⁵ πολεμῆ-

¹ Niese: Ἀνανίας A Phot.: ὁ Ἀνανίας MW: νεανίας E: Ananias Lat.: ὁ Ὀνίας Hudson.

² A: Ἑλιουπολίτην MWE Phot.

³ Niese: νόμον codd. E Lat.

⁴ ἀλλὰ περὶ . . . ἐδηλώσαμεν] om. E Phot.

⁵ πολεμηθέντες καὶ] A: om. MWE.

^a V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 1959, p. 277, remarks that since Onias fled to Egypt during a period (c. 162–160 B.C.) when the temple was once again functioning properly so that even the Hasidim recognized Alcimus as high priest, his motive in leaving Palestine could not have been to create a replacement for the desecrated temple. But Tcherikover neglects what appears to be the real reason, namely, the one given here, that Onias was discontented with having the high priesthood pass out of the hands of his family. Once he had arrived in Egypt, Onias may have found other reasons for establishing a temple, namely, a desire for personal glory (*Ant.* xiii. 63), a desire to build a place where Egyptian Jews could gather and pray for the welfare of the Egyptian rulers (xiii. 67), or a desire to

this,^a Onias,^b who was the nephew ^c of the deceased Onias and who bore the same name as his father,^d made his way to Egypt, where he won the friendship of Ptolemy Philometor ^e and Cleopatra his queen, and persuaded them to build a temple to God in the nome of Heliopolis,^f similar to the one at Jerusalem, and to appoint him high priest. I have, however, frequently ^g told the story of the temple that was constructed in Egypt. Now Jacimus died after holding the high priesthood for three years.^h No one succeeded him; and the city continued for seven years without a high priest.ⁱ Then the descendants of the sons of Asamonaïos, entrusted with the leadership of the nation, after war had been waged against

The Hasmonaeans high priests.

build a shrine for the Jewish military colony at Leontopolis (so Tcherikover, pp. 278-280).

^b Onias IV.

^c So also *Ant.* xii. 387.

^d From this account, as from *Ant.* xii. 237-238, it would appear that both Onias' father and the latter's brother were named Onias. S. Krauss, "Onias III," *Jewish Ency.* ix, 1905, p. 403, suggests that this confusion may have arisen from the Greek transcription of the related names, Johanan, Honya, and Nehonya. From the account in *B.J.* vii. 423, which mentions the name of Onias' father as Simon, it appears that the temple was built by Onias III, the father of Onias IV.

^e Reigned between 182 and 146 B.C.

^f At Leontopolis, probably to be identified with modern *Tell el-Yehudiyeh*, at the southern end of the Nile Delta.

^g *Ant.* xii. 387-388, xiii. 62-73, 285; *B.J.* i. 33, vii. 422-432.

^h Four years in *Ant.* xii. 413, where part of a year is counted as a full year.

ⁱ Contrast *Ant.* xii. 434, which records that after the death of Jacimus, Judas the Maccabee served as high priest for three years. But there was an interval of seven years (not four, as stated in *Ant.* xiii. 46) between the death of Judas in 159 B.C. and the assumption of the high priesthood by Johathan in 152 B.C. (1 Macc. x. 21).

- σαντες Μακεδόσιν Ἰωνάθην ἀρχιερέα καθιστᾶσιν, ὃς
 239 ἥρξεν ἑνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβου-
 λῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέδρας τῆς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος μηχανη-
 θείσης, ὡς ἀνωτέρω πού προειρήκαμεν, λαμβάνει
 240 τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Σίμων ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ τοῦ-
 τον δὲ δόλῳ παρὰ συμπόσιον ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ
 διαφθαρέντα διεδέξατο παῖς Ὑρκανὸς ὄνομα ὃν
 κατασχόντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην πλείονα τὰδελφοῦ χρό-
 νον ἑνιαυτῷ, τριακονταὲν ἔτη τῆς τιμῆς Ὑρκανὸς
 ἀπολαύσας τελευτᾷ γηραιὸς Ἰούδα τῷ καὶ Ἀριστο-
 241 βούλῳ κληθέντι τὴν διαδοχὴν καταλιπών. κληρο-
 νομεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀδελφὸς¹ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑπὸ
 νόσου μὲν τελευτήσαντα, τὴν ἱερωσύνην δὲ κατα-
 σχόντα μετὰ βασιλείας, καὶ γὰρ διάδημα πρῶτος
 περιέθετο ὁ Ἰούδας, ἑνιαυτὸν ἓνα.
 242 (4) Βασιλεύσας δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἱερατεύσας
 ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτὰ καταστρέφει τὸν βίον Ἀλεξάνδρα
 τῇ γυναικὶ καταστήσαι τὸν ἀρχιερατευσόμενον ἐπι-
 τρέψας. ἡ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανῷ δίδω-
 σιν, αὐτὴ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτη ἑννέα κατασχοῦσα
 τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· τὸν ἴσον δὲ χρόνον τὴν ἀρχιερω-

¹ ἀδελφὸς] ἀδελφὸς βασιλεὺς E.

^a According to *Ant.* xiii. 45-46, it is not the Hasmonaeans but Alexander Balas, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, who named Jonathan as high priest.

^b Four years according to *Ant.* xiii. 212. Both figures are incorrect: Jonathan was high priest for ten years, from 152 to 143/142 B.C. See Marcus' note on *Ant.* xiii. 212.

^c *Ant.* xiii. 187-212; the story is also told briefly in *B.J.* i. 49.

^d *Ant.* xiii. 213.

^e *Ant.* xiii. 228.

^f Named Ptolemy (*ibid.*).

^g So also *Ant.* xiii. 228. Simon served from 142 to 135 B.C.

^h *Ant.* xiii. 230.

them and they had taken the offensive against the Macedonians, resumed the tradition, appointing as high priest Jonathan,^a who held office for seven years.^b When he was killed by a plot and ambush devised by Tryphon, as I have already described somewhere in the preceding narrative,^c his brother Simon^d obtained the high priesthood. Simon likewise was killed^e craftily by his son-in-law^f at a banquet after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother.^g He was succeeded by his son named Hyrcanus,^h who, after enjoying the office for thirty-one years, died in old age,ⁱ leaving the succession to Judas,^j also called Aristobulus. Judas died of illness after having held the high priesthood for one year^k together with the kingship, for Judas also put the diadem upon his head for a single year, being the first^l to hold both offices. His heir was his brother Alexander.^m

(4) Alexander departed this life after holding the kingship and the high priesthood for twenty-seven years,ⁿ entrusting his wife Alexandra^o with the appointment of a successor to the latter office. She gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus^p and herself occupied the throne for nine years,^q after which she died; her son Hyrcanus held the high priesthood for

ⁱ The earlier account, *Ant.* xiii. 299, omits the fact that Hyrcanus lived to an old age. His rule lasted from 135 to 105 B.C.

^j The alternate name, Judas, is a new detail not found in the earlier account, *Ant.* xiii. 301-319, where he is called simply Aristobulus.

^k 104-103 B.C.; so also *Ant.* xiii. 318.

^l So also *Ant.* xiii. 301. ^m Jannaeus. *Ant.* xiii. 320.

ⁿ From 103 to 76 B.C. So also *Ant.* xiii. 404.

^o So also *Ant.* xiii. 407.

^p *Ant.* xiii. 408.

^q 76 to 67 B.C. So also *Ant.* xiii. 430.

243 σύνην ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ὑρκανὸς ἔσχεν· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν
 θάνατον αὐτῆς πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς
 Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ νικήσας ἀφαιρεῖται μὲν ἐκείνον
 τὴν ἀρχήν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐβασίλευέ τε καὶ ἀρχιεράτευεν
 244 τοῦ ἔθνους. ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πρὸς
 μησὶν τοῖς ἴσοις Πομπήιος ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν τῶν
 Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν αὐτὸν μὲν
 εἰς Ῥώμην μετὰ τῶν τέκνων¹ δῆσας ἔπεμψεν, τῷ
 δ' Ὑρκανῷ πάλιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀποδοὺς τὴν
 μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους προστασίαν ἐπέτρεψεν, διάδημα δὲ
 245 φορεῖν ἐκώλυσεν. ἥρξεν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα τοῖς
 πρώτοις ὁ Ὑρκανὸς τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσιν.² Βαρ-
 ζαβάνης³ δὲ καὶ Πάκορος οἱ τῆς Παρθυηνῆς δυνά-
 σται διαβάντες τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ πολεμήσαντες
 Ὑρκανῷ αὐτὸν μὲν ζωγρία συνέλαβον, τὸν Ἀριστο-
 βούλου δὲ υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον κατέστησαν βασιλέα.
 246 τρία δ' ἔτη καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ἄρξαντα τοῦτον Σόσ-
 σιὸς τε καὶ Ἡρώδης ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, Ἀντώνιος δ'
 ἀνεῖλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀναχθέντα.

¹ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων] om. E.

² τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσιν] viginti tres Lat.

³ codd. E: γρ Βαρζαφράνης i. marg. A: Barzanes Lat.: Βαρζαφαρμάνης Phot. p. 318: Φαρναβάζου Phot. p. 53: Βαρζαφράνης Niese.

^a According to *Ant.* xv. 180, he served for three months after Alexandra's death.

^b *Ant.* xiv. 4-7; cf. *B.J.* i. 120-122.

^c So also *Ant.* xiv. 41, 97.

^d 65-63 B.C. Lit. "In the third year of his reign and after as many months." Marcus' note on *Ant.* xiv. 5 should be corrected, since our passage is inconsistent with *Ant.* xiv. 97, which he cites as being in accordance with ours, but which states that Aristobulus served for three years and six months.

^e 63 B.C. See *Ant.* xiv. 34-79 and *B.J.* i. 127-158.

^f 63-40 B.C. Forty years, according to *Ant.* xv. 180.

an equal period.^a For after her death, Hyrcanus' brother Aristobulus made war upon him, defeated him, deprived him of his office ^b and himself became both king and high priest ^c of the nation. When he had reigned two years and three months,^d Pompey ^e came and took the city of Jerusalem by storm and sent him with his children to Rome in bonds. Pompey also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus and permitted him to have the leadership of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. Hyrcanus ruled for twenty-four years,^f in addition to the nine years of his previous rule. Then Barzabanes ^g and Pacorus,^h the rulers of Parthia, crossing the Euphrates, made war on Hyrcanus, captured him alive, and appointed Antigonos, son of Aristobulus, king. The latter ruled for three years and three months,ⁱ following which he was captured after a siege by Sossius and Herod.^j When he had been taken to Antioch, he was slain by Antony.

^a Barzaphranes in *Ant.* xiv. 330, where he is called a Parthian satrap.

^b Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 340 ff.

^c 40-37 B.C. The length of Antigonos' reign is not given in Josephus' earlier account of his death, *Ant.* xiv. 487-491 and xv. 8-10. The total number of years during which the Hasmonaeans, starting from Jonathan, ruled is, therefore, 112½ years. In *Ant.* xiv. 490 the total given is 126 years. In *Ant.* xvii. 162, however, the total is 125 years, but these last two totals presumably include Judas, who assumed his leadership upon the death of Mattathias in 167/166 B.C. The Talmud, 'Abodah Zarah 8 b, gives the duration of the Hasmonaean dynasty as 103 years, reckoning, it would appear (so J. Lehmann, "Quelques Dates importantes de la chronologie du 2^e Temple," *Rev. d. Ét. juiv.* xxxvii, 1898, pp. 1-44), from the official recognition of the dynasty by the Romans in 140 B.C. to the victory of the Roman general Sosius over the Hasmonaean Antigonos in 37 B.C.

^d Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 468 ff. and *B.J.* i. 345 ff.

- 247 (5) Τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἡρώδης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων
 ἐγχειρισθεὶς οὐκέτι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου γέ-
 νους καθίστησιν ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλὰ τισιν ἀσήμεοις καὶ
 248 μόνον ἐξ ἱερέων οὓσιν πλήν ἐνὸς Ἀριστοβούλου τὴν
 τιμὴν ἀπένεμεν. τὸν δ' Ἀριστόβουλον Ὑρκανοῦ
 τοῦ ὑπὸ Πάρθων ληφθέντος υἱὸν ὄντα καταστή-
 σας ἀρχιερέα τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ συνώκησεν Μαρι-
 άμμη, τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θηρώμενος
 εὖνοϊαν διὰ τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ μνήμην. εἶτα φοβηθεὶς,
 μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον πάντες ἀποκλίνωσιν,
 ἀνείλεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἱεριχοῖ πινηγῆναι μηχανησάμενος
 249 κολυμβῶντα, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. μετὰ τοῦ-
 τον οὐκέτι τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων
 τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπίστευσεν. ἔπραξεν δὲ ὅμοια
 τῷ Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἱερέων Ἀρ-
 χελάος τε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τὴν ἀρχὴν
 250 Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραλαβόντες. εἰσὶν οὖν
 οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων ἀρχιερατεύσαντες
 μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν Τίτος
 ἐλὼν ἐπυρπόλησεν, οἱ πάντες εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτώ,
 251 χρόνος δὲ τούτων ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἑπτά. καὶ
 τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπολιτεύσαντο ἐπὶ τε Ἡρώδου
 βασιλεύοντος καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρχελαοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ,

^a Cf. *Ant.* xv. 22, where Herod appoints an obscure priest from Babylon named Ananelus as high priest.

^b Son of Alexander and Alexandra. Cf. *Ant.* xv. 39-41.

^c *Ant.* xv. 51-56; cf. *B.J.* i. 437.

^d For a convenient listing and a critical evaluation of the worth of Josephus' list see G. Hölscher, *Die Hohenpriesterliste bei Josephus und die evangelische Chronologie*, 1940. esp. pp. 9-19. The total number of high priests, according to Josephus (§ 227), from Aaron to the destruction of the second temple is eighty-three (or eighty-four if we include

(5) Herod, when the kingdom was committed to him by the Romans, abandoned the practice of appointing those of Asamonaean lineage as high priests, and, with the exception of Aristobulus alone, assigned the office to some insignificant persons who were merely of priestly descent.^a Herod appointed as high priest Aristobulus,^b the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was taken captive by the Parthians; and Herod married Aristobulus' sister Mariamme, hoping to capture the goodwill of the people for himself, thanks to their recollection of Hyrcanus. Afterwards, fearing that everyone would incline to Aristobulus, he put him to death at Jericho by contriving to have him strangled while swimming, as I have reported.^c After Aristobulus' death Herod ceased to entrust the high priesthood to the descendants of the sons of Asamonaioi. Herod's son Archelaus also followed a similar policy in the appointment of high priests, as did the Romans after him when they took over the government of the Jews. Now those who held the high priesthood from the times of Herod up to the day on which Titus captured and set fire to the temple and the city numbered twenty-eight^d in all, covering a period of one hundred and seven years.^e Of these some held office during the reigns of Herod and

Herod's
policy of
appointing
undis-
tinguished
high
priests.

Alcimus). The Babylonian Talmud, *Yoma* 9 a, as noted above, says that there were more than 300 for the period of the second temple alone. The Palestinian Talmud, *Yoma* 1, gives a number in the 80's, but only for the high priests of the period of the second temple. H. Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, 1879, pp. 149-150, asserts his belief that Josephus had at his disposal official lists of the high priests and refers to *Ap.* i. 30 ff.

^a 37 B.C.-A.D. 70. The Talmud, *'Abodah Zarah* 8 b, gives the number of years as 103, presumably reckoning from 37 B.C. to the beginning of the revolt in A.D. 66.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπεπίστευντο. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἱκανὰ ταῦτα.

- 252 (xi. 1) Γέσσιος δὲ Φλῶρος ὁ πεμφθεὶς Ἀλβίνου διάδοχος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος πολλῶν ἐνέπλησε κακῶν Ἰουδαίους. Κλαζομένιος μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος οὗτος, ἐπήγετο δὲ γυναῖκα Κλεοπάτραν, δι' ἣν φίλην οὖσαν Ποππαίας¹ τῆς Νέρωνος γυναικὸς καὶ πονηρίας μηδὲν αὐτοῦ διαφέρουσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέτυχεν.
- 253 οὕτω δὲ περὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐγένετο κακὸς καὶ βίαιος, ὥστε διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κακῶν Ἀλβί-
- 254 νον ἐπὶ τὴν ὥς εὐεργέτην Ἰουδαῖοι· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἐπεκρύπτετο τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντάπασιν κατάφωρος εἶναι προὔνοει, Γέσσιος δὲ Φλῶρος καθάπερ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν πονηρίας πεμφθεὶς τὰς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν παρανομίας ἐπόμεπεν, μήτε ἀρπαγῆς παραλιπὼν μηδένα τρόπον μήτε ἀδίκου
- 255 κολάσεως· ἦν γὰρ ἄτεγκτος μὲν πρὸς ἔλεον, παντὸς δὲ κέρδους ἄπληστος, ᾧ γε μηδὲ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ὀλίγων διέφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λησταῖς ἐκοινώνησεν². ἀδεῶς γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦτ' ἔπραττον ἐχέγγυον παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἔχειν πεπι-
- 256 στευκότες.³ καὶ τοῦτο μέτριον οὐκ ἦν. ἀλλ' οἱ δυστυχεῖς Ἰουδαῖοι μὴ δυνάμενοι τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν

¹ Niese : Πομπηίας codd. Lat. Exc. Peiresc. : Πομπαίας E ; cf. § 195.

² παντὸς . . . ἐκοινώνησεν] et omnibus lucris avarus qui etiam in latronum direptione communicabat Lat.

Archelaus his son. After the death of these kings, the constitution became an aristocracy, and the high priests were entrusted with the leadership of the nation. This will suffice about the high priests.

(xi. 1) ^a Gessius Florus,^b who had been sent by Nero as successor to Albinus, filled the cup of the Jews with many misfortunes. He was a native of Clazomenae ^c and brought with him a wife Cleopatra, who was not a whit behind him in wickedness. It was through her influence that he obtained the post, she being a friend of Poppaea,^d Nero's consort. So wicked and lawless was Florus in the exercise of his authority that the Jews, owing to the extremity of their misery, praised Albinus as a benefactor. For the latter used to conceal his villainy and took precautions not to be altogether detected; but Gessius Florus, as if he had been sent to give an exhibition of wickedness, ostentatiously paraded his lawless treatment of our nation and omitted no form of pillage or unjust punishment. Pity could not soften him, nor any amount of gain sate him; he was one who saw no difference between the greatest gains and the smallest, so that he even joined in partnership with brigands. In fact, the majority of people practised this occupation with no inhibitions, since they had no doubt that their lives would be insured by him in return for his quota of the spoils. There was no limit in sight.^e The ill-fated Jews, unable to endure the devastation

Gessius
Florus'
outrageous
administra-
tion as pro-
curator.

^a For §§ 252-256 *cf.* the parallel passage, *B.J.* ii. 277-279.

^b Procurator A.D. 64. See § 215.

^c On the central coast of Asia Minor.

^d *Cf.* § 195. ^e Or "And this was intolerable."

³ ἐχέγγυον . . . πεπιστευκότες] cum illius promissione de sua salute minime cogitarent Lat.

- ληστῶν γινομένας πορθήσεις ὑπομένειν ἡναγκάζοντο
 τῶν ιδίων ἡθῶν¹ ἐξανιστάμενοι φεύγειν ἅπαντες,
 ὡς κρεῖττον ὅπουδήποτε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοφύλοις
 257 κατοικήσοντες. καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν;² τὸν γὰρ
 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ὁ καταναγκάσας ἡμᾶς
 ἄρασθαι Φλῶρος ἦν κρεῖττον ἡγουμένους ἀθρώως ἢ
 κατ' ὀλίγον ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν
 ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλῶρου,
 258 δωδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς. ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν
 δρᾶν ἡναγκάσθημεν ἢ παθεῖν ὑπεμείναμεν, ἀκριβῶς
 γνῶναι πάρεστιν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐντυχεῖν ταῖς ὑπ'
 ἐμοῦ περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις γεγραμ-
 μέναις.
- 259 (xii. 1) Παύσεται δ' ἐνταῦθά μοι τὰ τῆς ἀρχαιο-
 λογίας μεθ' ἣν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡρξάμην γράφειν.
 περιέχει δ' αὕτη τὴν ἀπὸ πρώτης γενέσεως ἀνθρώ-
 που παράδοσιν μέχρι ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς Νέρωνος
 ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἡμῖν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις
 κατά τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Παλαιστίνην,
 260 ὅσα τε πεπόνθαμεν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων τε καὶ Βαβυ-
 λωνίων, τίνα τε Πέρσαι καὶ Μακεδόνες δεινὰ³ δια-
 τεθείκασιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους Ῥωμαῖοι πάντα

¹ MW: ἔθῶν A: sollemnitatibus Lat.

² καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν] om. Lat.

³ AE: om. MW.

^a So also Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 10: "Yet the endurance of the Jews lasted till Gessius Florus was procurator."

^b A.D. 66. The same dating is found in *B.J.* ii. 284.

^c R. Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus*, 1920, p. 5, presents the theory that there were two different editions of the *Antiquities*, the first omitting both §§ 259-266 and the *Vita*, and the second omitting § 258 and §§ 267-268.

by brigands that went on were one and all forced to abandon their own country and flee, for they thought that it would be better to settle among gentiles, no matter where. What more need be said? It was Florus who constrained us to take up war with the Romans,^a for we preferred to perish together rather than by degrees. The war in fact began in the second year of the procuratorship of Florus and in the twelfth of Nero's reign.^b But all the things that we were forced to do or sufferings that we endured may be learnt with accuracy by any who choose to read the books that I have written on the Jewish war.

(xii. 1) Here will be the end of my *Antiquities*,^c following which begins my account of the war.^d The present work contains the recorded history,^e from man's original creation up to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, of the events that befell us Jews in Egypt, in Syria, and in Palestine.^f It also comprises all that we suffered at the hands of Assyrians and Babylonians, and the harsh treatment that we received from the Persians and Macedonians and after

Conclusion of the *Antiquities*. Josephus speaks of himself and of his future writings.

The second edition, he suggests, was due to the publication of a rival account of the Jewish war by Justus of Tiberias, who had attacked Josephus for the rôle which he had played in that revolt. Hence Josephus decided to append an apologia, namely his *Vita*, to the *Antiquities*, while introducing §§ 259-266 to provide the transition.

^a Lit. "after which I began to write an account of the war." But since the *Bellum Judaicum* was written before the *Antiquities*, what Josephus means is that the *Antiquities* ends at the point at which the *Bellum Judaicum* begins.

^e Lit. "the tradition."

^f Cf. G. Hölscher, "Josephus," Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 1916, pp. 1956-1957, who says that the term "Palestine" is not found before A.D. 70 except here in Josephus. Elsewhere Josephus uses the older expression, the land of the Philistines (cf. also *B.J.* v. 384).

γὰρ οἶμαι μετ' ἀκριβείας ἀπάσης¹ συντεταχέναι.
 261 τηρῆσαι δὲ πεπείραμαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἀνα-
 γραφὴν τῶν ἐν δισχιλίοις ἔτεσι γενομένων. ἀπλανῆ
 δὲ πεποίημαι καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς διαδοχὴν
 τε καὶ ἀγωγὴν² τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς³ πολιτείας
 ἀπαγγέλλων μοναρχῶν τε δυναστείας, ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ
 βίβλοι περὶ πάντων ἔχουσι τὴν ἀναγραφὴν· τοῦτο
 γὰρ ποιήσῃ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπηγγειλάμην.
 262 λέγω δὴ θαρσύσας ἤδη διὰ τὴν τῶν προτεθέντων
 συντέλειαν,⁴ ὅτι μηδεὶς ἂν ἕτερος ἠδυνήθη θελήσας
 μήτε Ἰουδαῖος μήτε ἀλλόφυλος τὴν πραγματείαν
 263 ταύτην οὕτως ἀκριβῶς εἰς Ἑλλήνας ἐξενεγκεῖν· ἔχω
 γὰρ ὁμολογούμενον παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν πλείστον
 αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν⁵ παιδείαν
 διαφέρειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δὲ γραμμάτων καὶ
 ποιητικῶν μαθημάτων πολλὰ⁶ ἐσπούδασα μετα-
 σχεῖν τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀναλαβὼν, τὴν
 δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκρίβειαν πάτριος ἐκώλυσεν
 264 συνήθεια. παρ' ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκείνους ἀποδέχονται
 τοὺς πολλῶν ἔθνων διάλεκτον ἐκμαθόντας καὶ γλα-

¹ A : om. MWE.

² τε καὶ ἀγωγὴν] A : om. MWE.

³ τε καὶ ἀγωγὴν τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς] i. ras. m. 2 A.

⁴ συντέλειαν] ὑποθέσεων ἀνακεφαλάεωσιν καὶ i. ras. m. 2 A :
ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν καὶ συντέλειαν E.

⁵ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν A : om. MWE.

⁶ καὶ ποιητικῶν μαθημάτων πολλὰ] A : καὶ ποιητικῶν μαθη-
μάτων E : om. MW.

^a Ant. i. 5 ff.

^b Epitome : " the summary and consummation."

^c Cf. Vita 9, where Josephus asserts that when he was
only fourteen, the high priests and the leaders of Jerusalem
526

them the Romans. For I think that I have drawn up the whole story in full and accurate detail. I have also endeavoured to preserve the record of the line of the high priests who have served during a space of two thousand years. I have further noted without error the succession and conduct of the kings, reporting their achievements and policies, as well as the period of rule by the Judges—all as recorded by the Holy Scriptures. For this was what I promised to do at the beginning of my history.^a And now I take heart from the consummation^b of my proposed work to assert that no one else, either Jew or gentile, would have been equal to the task, however willing to undertake it, of issuing so accurate a treatise as this for the Greek world. For my compatriots admit that in our Jewish learning I far excel them.^c I have also laboured strenuously to partake of the realm of Greek prose^d and poetry, after having gained a knowledge of Greek grammar,^e although the habitual use of my native tongue has prevented^f my attaining precision in the pronunciation.^g For our people do not favour those persons who have mastered the speech of many constantly used to consult him on particular points of Jewish law.

^a Or "learning."

^e Or perhaps "after acquiring practice in writing." G. C. Richards, "The Composition of Josephus' Antiquities," *Class. Quart.* xxxiii, 1939, p. 36, says that the meaning is "I learned by rote the scholarship of the language."

^f Or "the usages of our nation have prevented."

^g Josephus, *Ap.* i. 50, says that in writing the *Bellum Judaicum* he employed "some assistants for the sake of the Greek." On Josephus' knowledge of Greek and on his use of assistants see H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus the Man and the Historian*, 1929, pp. 100-124. That there were many Jews, including rabbis, who knew the Greek language and literature well has been amply illustrated by S. Lieberman,

φυρότητι λέξεων τὸν λόγον ἐπικομψεύοντας¹ διὰ τὸ κοινὸν εἶναι νομίζειν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἐλευθέροις² τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς θέλουσι, / μόνοις δὲ σοφίαν μαρτυροῦσιν τοῖς τὰ νόμιμα σαφῶς ἐπισταμένοις καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν
 265 γραμμάτων δύναμιν ἐρμηνεύσαι δυναμένοις. / διὰ τοῦτο πολλῶν πονησάντων περὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν ταύτην μόλις δύο τινὲς ἢ τρεῖς κατώρθωσαν καὶ τῶν
 266 πόνων τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβον. ἴσως δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπίφθονον γένοιτο οὐδὲ σκαιὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς φανήσεται³ καὶ περὶ γένους τοῦμοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων βραχέα διεξελεθεῖν ἕως ἔχω ζῶντας ἢ τοὺς ἐλέγξοντας ἢ τοὺς μαρτυρήσοντας.
 267 Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καταπαύσω τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν βιβλίῳ μὲν εἴκοσι περιειλημμένην, ἕξ δὲ μυριάσι

¹ καὶ γλαφυρότητι λέξεων τὸν λόγον ἐπικομψεύοντας] A : om. MWE.

² τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἐλευθέροις] οὐκ ἐλευθέρων τοῦτο μόνον E : τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλευθέροις μόνον Hudson.

³ οὐδὲ σκαιὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς φανήσεται] A : om. MWE.

Greek in Jewish Palestine, 1942, esp. pp. 1-67. Especially impressive is the statement of Rabbi Simeon the son of Rabban Gamaliel (*Soṭah* 49 b, cited by Lieberman, p. 20) that his father, at the beginning of the second century, had a thousand students, five hundred of whom studied Torah, while five hundred studied Greek wisdom. The large number of Greek loan-words, perhaps as many as 1500, in the Talmudic literature and the prevalence of Greek inscriptions on Jewish tombstones in Palestine are other indications that Greek was well known. See M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture*, 1959, pp. 35-39 and 48-49.

^a But cf. Mishnah, *Sheḳalim* v. 1, where Mordecai is said, in an obvious tone of approbation, to have known seventy languages.

nations,^a or who adorn their style with smoothness of diction, because they consider that not only is such skill common to ordinary freemen but that even slaves who so choose may acquire it. / But they give credit for wisdom to those alone who have an exact knowledge of the law and who are capable of interpreting the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. / Consequently, though many have laboriously undertaken this training, scarcely two or three have succeeded, and have forthwith reaped the fruit of their labours. Perhaps it will not seem to the public invidious or awkward for me to recount briefly my lineage and the events of my life ^b while there are still persons living who can either disprove or corroborate my statements.

With this I shall conclude my *Antiquities*, contained in twenty books ^c with sixty thousand lines.^d God

^b The reference is to Josephus' *Vita*, which seems to be attached to the *Antiquities*, though Schürer, i. 87, asserts that the two works are not connected.

^c The division into twenty books was most probably prompted, as Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 56, suggests, by the similar division into twenty books of a work by Dionysius of Halicarnassus which bore a like title, 'Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία (*Roman Antiquities*).

^d Since the *Antiquities* consists, in Niese's division, of 7375 subsections, this would make an average subsection consist of a little over eight lines. There were, therefore, somewhat fewer letters per line in Josephus' original edition than is the case in the present edition. Among other purposes served by such a count of lines was to indicate how much was to be paid the one who copied the manuscript, the scribe being paid by the hundred lines (see Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 73, who cites R. Harris, *Stichometry*, p. 26). Usually, however, this count was not included in the text but was appended separately at the end of the manuscript. See Weinberger, "Stichometrie," Pauly-Wissowa, 2. Reihe, iii, 1929, pp. 2487-2489.

στίχων, καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιτρέπη κατὰ περιδρομὴν
 ὑπομνήσω πάλιν τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν συμβεβη-
 κότων ἡμῖν μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας, ἣτις
 ἐστὶν τρισκαιδεκάτου μὲν ἔτους τῆς Δομετιανοῦ
 Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπὸ γενέσεως πεντηκοστοῦ
 268 τε καὶ ἔκτου. προῆρημαι δὲ συγγράψαι κατὰ τὰς

^a Or "I shall once more."

^b Petersen, *op. cit.* p. 260, says (he had been anticipated on this point by H. Clementz in his German translation of the *Antiquities*) that the reference here is to Josephus' autobiography, and that "our" is really, as so commonly in Josephus, used in place of "my." He cites as an indication of this the fact that Josephus gives not only the year of Domitian's reign, but also his own age, the latter being appropriate in an autobiography but not in a history. But in § 266, where the reference is clearly to Josephus' autobiography, the first person singular is used; and at the end of § 267, in speaking of his own age, Josephus likewise uses the first person singular. When, therefore, he uses the first person plural here, he probably refers not to his own autobiography but to the history of the Jewish people, just as the running account of the war, with which it is coupled, refers to the events that befell the Jewish people in the war. The statement of his own age seems to be, like the statement of the year of Domitian's reign, merely a way of dating the completion of the *Antiquities*; since Josephus has just spoken of his personal qualifications for writing history it is not inappropriate to continue in this vein by citing his age at the time of the completion of the work. Petersen finds it difficult to believe that Josephus would have intended to write another account of the Jewish war, since he had already described it in a lost work in Aramaic and in the extant work in Greek, the latter of which he recommends to his readers in § 258. But Josephus is here proposing a running account of the war, which will presumably be considerably briefer than the extant work: such a work would surely find a much wider audience than the existing, rather detailed work, even as the epitomes of such bulky works as Livy's history achieved considerable popularity in Rome during Josephus' time (*cf.*

willing, I shall at some future time ^a compose a running account of the war and of the later events of our history up to the present day, ^b which belongs to the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian Caesar and to the fifty-sixth of my life. ^c It is also my intention to compose a work in four books ^d on the opinions (Martial xiv. 190). The autobiography, however, is too personal, too brief, and too spotty to be called a running account of the war.

^c A.D. 93/94.

^d Cf. *Ant.* i. 25. Petersen, *op. cit.* pp. 263-265, proposes the identification of this work with the so-called *Contra Apionem*. That the *Contra Apionem* is in and was intended to comprise two books is not an insurmountable obstacle, he states; Josephus' prophecy here simply did not turn out to be correct. But the real objection to Petersen's identification is that, while the *Contra Apionem* does contain a discussion of the nature of God (ii. 180, 188-192, 197) and of the Jewish code of laws (ii. 145-187, etc.), this discussion is brief and is surely not the central theme of that work, whereas we are told here that the work is to be about these subjects. H. R. Moehring, in his doctoral dissertation *Novelistic Elements in the Writings of Flavius Josephus*, 1957, pp. 11-12, presents the following conspectus of the contents of this work, basing his reconstruction on the many references to it in Josephus and assuming, as is probably the case, that the references are to the same work: the bulk of the Law (*Ant.* iii. 94); the law concerning "mutual relations" distinguished from laws concerning the political constitution (iv. 198, 302); ritual of the sacrifices (iii. 205); details in the laws of Moses, in particular the reasons why some things are forbidden and others allowed (xx. 268); clean and unclean food (iii. 259); reason for circumcision of Jews (i. 192); table of shewbread (iii. 143, 257); two daily sacrifices of the priests (iii. 257); sin offerings (iii. 230); cessation of shining of breastplate (iii. 218); comparison of Essenes with Pythagoreans (xv. 371); Israelites in Egypt (*Ap.* i. 92). (Moehring has omitted Josephus' statement here that he intends to discuss God and His essence, probably at the beginning of his work.) From this, Moehring, p. 12, plausibly suggests that Josephus had at least drawn up an outline of this work.

JOSEPHUS

ἡμετέρας δόξας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τέσσαρσι βίβλοις
περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων,
διὰ τί κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ποιεῖν, τὰ
δὲ κεκώλυται.

that we Jews hold concerning God and His essence, as well as concerning the laws, that is, why according to them we are permitted to do some things while we are forbidden to do others.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON *ANT.* XVIII. 343, PAGE 195

The reading ἀνὴρ . . . κτιλίων, as Professor Abraham Schalit in a forthcoming article notes, reflects a common Aramaic phrase, *garra ktīla* ("slain man"), found several times in the Talmud (*Pesahim* 110 b, *Sanhedrin* 71 b, 81 a, and 85 a). According to it the brothers Anilaeus and Asinaeus declared the Parthian general a "dead man," *i.e.* one to be slain with impunity by anyone. Josephus' source for the episode of the Babylonian brothers may well have been in Aramaic, the language of the Jews of Babylonia.

APPENDIX A

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BIBΛION IH

α'.¹ Ὡς Κυρίνιος² ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπέμφθη τιμη-
τῆς Συρίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὴν
Ἀρχελάου οὐσίαν.³

β'. Ὡς Κωπώνιος ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος ἐ-
πέμφθη ἑπαρχος Ἰουδαίας.

γ'. Ὡς Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἔπεισεν⁴ τὸ πλῆθος
μὴ ἀπογράψασθαι τὰς οὐσίας,⁵ μέχρις Ἰώζαρος⁶ ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ὑπακοῦσαι Ῥω-
μαίοις.⁷

δ'. Τίνες αἰρέσεις καὶ ὁπόσαι παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις
φιλοσόφων καὶ τίνες οἱ νόμοι.

ε'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης καὶ Φίλιππος οἱ τετράρχαι πό-
λεις ἔκτισαν εἰς τιμὴν Καίσαρος.

¹ numeros hab. (α'-κβ' W, I-XXI Lat.) W Lat.

² P: Κυρήνιος AMW.

³ + μεταπεσούσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκ βασιλείας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν
AMW Lat.

⁴ ἔπεισεν] P: καὶ τινες ἕτεροι ἔπεισαν AMW Lat.

⁵ + καὶ πολλοὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαῖς AMW Lat.
(in Lat. numeratur hoc cap. IIII).

⁶ P: Ἰωάζαρος AMW: Iozarus Lat.

⁷ + καὶ ἀποτιμήσασθαι τοὺς βίους AMW Lat.

APPENDIX A

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK XVIII

	In this edition	
	SECTION	PAGE
(i) How Quirinius was sent by Caesar to make an assessment of Syria and Judaea and to liquidate the estate of Archelaus ^a	1	3
(ii) How Coponius, a man of equestrian rank, was sent to be procurator of Judaea	2	5
(iii) How Judas the Galilaean ^b persuaded the masses not to register their properties, ^c until Joazar the high priest induced them rather to give heed to the Romans ^d	4	5
(iv) What and how many were the philosophical schools among the Jews and what rules they had	11	9
(v) How Herod and Philip the tetrarchs founded cities in honour of Caesar ^e	27	23

^a Some mss. add "after Judaea had changed from a kingdom to a procuratorship."

^b Some mss. add "and certain others."

^c Some mss. add "and many followed their advice."

^d Some mss. add "and to give an evaluation of their properties."

^e Augustus.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XVIII

ς'. Ὡς Σαμαρεῖς ὅστᾳ νεκρῶν διαρρίψαντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν¹ τὸν λαὸν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐμίαναν.

ζ'. Ὡς Σαλώμη ἡ ἀδελφὴ Ἡρώδου τελευτήσασα τὰ αὐτῆς² κατέλιπεν Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γαμετῇ.

η'. Ὡς Πόντιος Πιλάτος ἠθέλησε κρύφα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰσενέγκαι προτομὰς Καίσαρος, ὃ δὲ λαὸς οὐ κατεδέξατο στασιάσας.³

θ'. Τὰ συμβάντα Ἰουδαίοις ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων.⁴

ι'. Κατηγορία ὑπὸ Σαμαρέων Πιλάτου ἐπὶ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ⁵ ὡς Οὐιτέλλιος ἠνάγκασεν αὐτὸν ἀναβῆναι εἰς Ῥώμην λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀποδύσσοντα.⁶

¹ + ἐορτῆς ἐνεστηκυίας AMW Lat.

² τὰ αὐτῆς] P: Ἰάμνειαν (ει i. ras. A, Ἰαμνίαν W) καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς καὶ Φασαηλίδα (Faselidam Lat.) καὶ Ἀρχελαΐδα AMW Lat.

³ ὃ δὲ . . . στασιάσας] P: γνοὺς δὲ ὁ λαὸς ἐστασίασε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄχρι ἐξεκόμισεν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων εἰς Καισάρειαν AMW Lat.

⁴ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων] P: παρὰ τῆς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καταφθορᾶς τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὡς πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε Πιλάτος AMW Lat.

⁵ καὶ] P: om. AMW Lat. novum caput incipientes.

⁶ λόγον . . . ἀποδύσσοντα] P: πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ ἀποδοῦναι λόγον περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων. Οὐιτελλίου (οὐ Ἰουτελλίου W) ἀνάβασις εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τιμὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις παρεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ κειμένην ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίᾳ ὑφ' αὐτοῖς (ἐαυτοῖς MW) ἔχειν AMW Lat.

^a Some mss. add "during a festival."

^b For "her estate" some mss. have "Jamnia and its territory, together with Phasaëlis and Archelaïs."

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(vi) How the Samaritans scattered bones of the dead in the temple ^a and thus defiled the people for seven days	29	25
(vii) How Salome the sister of Herod died leaving her estate ^b to Julia the wife of Caesar ^c	31	27
(viii) How Pontius Pilate sought secretly to introduce busts of Caesar into Jerusalem, and how the people rose up against him and refused to permit it ^d	55	43
(ix) What happened to the Jews in Rome about this time at the instigation of the Samaritans ^e	81	59
(x) The bringing of charges against Pilate by the Samaritans before Vitellius, and how Vitellius compelled him to proceed to Rome to render an account of his actions ^f	88	63

^c The table omits special mention of the dynastic struggles in Parthia (§§ 39-52).

^d For "how the people rose up against him and refused to permit it" some mss. have "how the people, having learnt of it, rose up against him until he withdrew them from Jerusalem to Caesarea." The table omits special mention of Jesus and of Paulina (§§ 63-80).

^e Some mss. have, in place of "at the instigation of the Samaritans," "arising from the destruction in Samaria, and how Pilate slew many." Regardless of the reading, there is some confusion, since the troubles of the Jews in Rome arose not from the Samaritans but from certain unscrupulous Jews living in Rome who misled Fulvia, a Roman lady (§§ 81-84).

^f Some mss. add "The ascent of Vitellius to Jerusalem and the honour accorded him by the people, and how he thereupon permitted them to keep under their own control the sacred robe that lay in Antonia in custody of the Romans" (§§ 90-95).

ια'. Πόλεμος Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου πρὸς Ἀρέταν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα καὶ ἦττα.¹

ιβ'. Ὡς Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ ἔγραψεν Οὐιτελλίῳ Ἀρταβάνῃ μὲν τὸν Πάρθον πείσαι ὁμήρους αὐτῷ πέμψαι, πρὸς Ἀρέταν δὲ πολεμεῖν.

ιγ'. Τελευτὴ Φιλίππου καὶ ὡς ἡ τετραρχία αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχία ἐγένετο.²

ιδ'. Ἀπόπλους Ἀγρίππα εἰς Ῥώμην³ καὶ ὡς κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀπελευθέρου ἐδέθη.

ιε'. Ὅν τρόπον ἐλύθη ὑπὸ Γαίου μετὰ τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτὴν καὶ ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας.⁴

ισ'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης ἀναβὰς εἰς Ῥώμην⁵ ἐξωρίσθη καὶ ὡς τὴν τετραρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήσατο Γάιος Ἀγρίππα.

ιζ'. Στάσις τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρεσβεία ἀφ' ἐκατέρων πρὸς Γάιον.

ιη'. Κατηγορία Ἰουδαίων ὑπὸ Ἀπίωνος καὶ τῶν συμπρέσβειων ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἔχειν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα.

ιθ'. Ὡς ἀγανακτήσας Γάιος πέμπει Πετρώνιον

¹ πόλεμος . . . ἦττα] post ἐγένετο (ιγ') tr. MW, in Lat. antecedentibus continuo adiuncta sunt.

² + de baptista Iohanne Lat. (numero non adiecto).

³ + πρὸς Τιβέριον Καίσαρα AMW Lat.

⁴ ὃν τρόπον . . . τετραρχίας] om. Lat.

⁵ + κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα AMW Lat.

^a The table omits special mention of the listing of Herod the Great's descendants (§§ 130-142) and of Agrippa's up-bringing in Rome, his voyage to Judaea, and his proposed suicide (§§ 143-150).

^b This section and section xiii belong before section xi.

^c Artabanus in the text of this book (§§ 48 ff.).

^d The Latin version adds "Concerning John the Baptist" (§§ 116-119).

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(xi) The war of Herod the tetrarch with Aretas the king of the Arabians and Herod's defeat ^a	109	77
(xii) ^b How Tiberius Caesar sent instructions to Vitellius to induce Artabanus ^c the Parthian to send hostages to him and make war on Aretas	96	69
(xiii) The death of Philip and how his tetrarchy became provincial territory ^d	106	75
(xiv) The voyage of Agrippa to Rome ^e and how, after being accused by his own freedman, he was thrown into chains ^f	155	101
(xv) How he was released by Gaius after the death of Tiberius and became king of the tetrarchy of Philip	237	143
(xvi) How Herod, upon making a trip to Rome, ^g was banished, and how Gaius presented his tetrarchy to Agrippa	240	145
(xvii) The civil strife of the Jews and Greeks in Alexandria and the dispatch of delegates by both groups to Gaius	257	153
(xviii) The charges brought against the Jews by Apion and his fellow delegates on the score of their permitting no image of Caesar	257	153
(xix) How Gaius in his resentment		

^a Some mss. add "to Tiberius Caesar."

^f The table omits special mention of the thwarting of Tiberius' scheme to bestow the succession to the empire upon his grandson Gemellus (§§ 205-223).

^g Some mss. add "and after being accused by Agrippa."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XVIII

ἡγεμόνα εἰς Συρίαν¹ πολεμῆσαι Ἰουδαίους, ἐὰν μὴ θελήσωσιν εἰσδέξασθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀνδριάντα.

κ'. Τὴν συμβᾶσαν φθορὰν τοῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἰουδαίοις δι' Ἀσιναῖον καὶ Ἀνιλαῖον τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἑτῶν λβ'.

¹ + δοὺς ἐντολὰς συναγαγόντα δύναμιν AMW Lat.

^a Some mss. add: "giving him orders to collect a force and . . ."

^b The table omits special mention of Agrippa's successful

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
sent Petronius to Syria as governor ^a		
to open hostilities against the Jews if		
they did not agree to accept an image		
of him ^b	261	155
(xx) The disaster that befell the		
Jews in Babylonia because of the		
brothers Asinaeus and Anilaeus .	310	179

This book covers a period of thirty-two years.

plea with Gaius to give up the proposal of setting up the statue in the temple (§§ 289-301). It also omits Petronius' escape, through the intervention of Gaius' death, from the death penalty for insubordination.

BIBΛION ΙΘ

α'.¹ Ὡς Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Κασσίου Χαιρέου ἀνηρέθη καὶ ὥς² Κλαύδιος ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν.

β'. Στάσις τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύματα.³

γ'. Πρεσβεία τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν, καὶ ὥς συνθέμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς Κλαύδιον καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν κατέστησαν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ μονωθεῖσα παρεκάλει Κλαύδιον αὐτῇ διαλλαγῆναι.

δ'. Ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ ἀποδίδωσιν Ἀγρίππα τὴν πατρώαν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἅπασαν προσθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν.

ε'. Προγράμματα Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐν πάσῃ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ.⁴

ς'. Ἀπόπλους Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Ἰουδαίαν.

¹ numeros hab. (α'-ι' W, I-VIII Lat.) W Lat.

² καὶ ὥς] AW : ὥς M : qualiterque Lat. (capitulum indicant MW Lat.).

³ στάσις . . . στρατεύματα] antecedenti capiti adiungit Lat.

⁴ προγράμματα . . . ἀρχῇ] priori capiti adiungit Lat.

BOOK XIX

In this edition
SECTION PAGE

(i) How Gaius Caesar was the object of a plot and was slain by Cassius Chaerea and how the divine Claudius, compelled by the soldiers, succeeded him as emperor	1	213
(ii) The disagreement of the senate and the people in their attitude towards him and towards the armies that favoured him	227	321
(iii) The mission of King Agrippa to the senate, and how the soldiers who had been mustered on the side of the senate defected to Claudius and established him as master of the empire, and how the senate, being now isolated, appealed to Claudius to be reconciled with them	239	325
(iv) How Claudius Caesar restored to Agrippa all the lands that had been ruled by his line and added the tetrarchy of Lysanias	274	341
(v) The proclamations of Claudius Caesar in Alexandria on behalf of the Jews there and in all his empire	279	345
(vi) The homeward voyage of King Agrippa to Judaea	292	353

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIX

ζ'. Ἐπιστολὴ Πουπλίου Πετρωνίου τοῦ Συρίας
ἡγεμόνος πρὸς Δωρίτας ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων.

η'. Ὡς βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας τὰ Ἱεροσολύμων
τείχη πολυτελῶς κατασκευάζων ἀτελῇ τὴν σπουδὴν
ἔσχεν μεταξὺ τελευτήσας.

θ'. Ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἄχρι τῆς τε-
λευτῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὃν τρόπον τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν γ' μηνῶν σ'.

^a The table omits special mention of Silas' removal by Agrippa from his command of Agrippa's army (§§ 317-325).

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(vii) The letter of Publius Petronius, the governor of Syria, to the people of Dora on behalf of the Jews ^a	302	359
(viii) How King Agrippa spent extravagant sums on the construction of walls for Jerusalem but died before he had brought his project to completion	326	367
(ix) What he did in the three years before his death and how he ended his life.	328	369

This book covers a period of three years and six months.

BIBLION K

α'.¹ Ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ μετὰ τὴν Ἀγρίππου τελευτὴν Φᾶδον ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπον.

β'. Στάσις² Φιλαδελφηνῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Περαιᾷ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους περὶ ὄρων κώμης μιᾶς, καὶ ὥς ὑπὸ τούτων πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων Φιλαδελφηνῶν³ Φᾶδος ἀγανακτήσας τῶν Περαιτῶν⁴ Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρώτους τρεῖς ἄνδρας λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.

γ'. Ὡς Θολομαῖος⁵ ὁ ἀρχιληστής τοὺς Ἀραβας ληστεύων ληφθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶδον ἀχθεὶς ἀνηρέθη.⁶

δ'. Ὡς Φᾶδος καὶ Κάσσιος Λογγῖνος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἀναβάντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκέλευσαν τὸν ποδῆρην καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ καταθέσθαι ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίᾳ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἦν.

ε'. Παράκλησις⁷ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Φᾶδον καὶ Λογγῖνον ἀξιούντων αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαι

¹ numeros hab. (α'-κε' W, I-XX Lat.) W Lat.

² στάσις] et seditio Lat. cap. I continuans.

³ A : Φιλαδελφίων MW : Filadelphinorum Lat.

⁴ A : Περαιατῶν MW.

⁵ conl. (cf. supra, p. 392) : Θολεμαῖος codd. : Tholomeus Lat.

⁶ ὥς Θολομαῖος . . . ἀνηρέθη] A : om. MW.

⁷ A : παρακλήσεις MW.

BOOK XX

	In this edition	
	SECTION	PAGE
(i) How Claudius Caesar sent Fadus to Judaea as procurator after the death of Agrippa	1	391
(ii) The strife of the Philadelphians with the Jewish inhabitants of Peraea over the boundaries of one village, and how Fadus, indignant because many Philadelphians were slain by the Peraean Jews, seized three of the leaders of the latter and put them to death	2	391
(iii) How Tholomaeus, ^a the arch-brigand who had been robbing the Arabs, was apprehended, brought before Fadus and put to death	5	393
(iv) How Fadus and Cassius Longinus the governor of Syria went up to Jerusalem and ordered the leaders of the Jews to deposit the full-length tunic and the sacred robe in custody of the Romans in Antonia, as they had customarily done in times past	6	393
(v) The petition thereupon of the Jews to Fadus and Longinus asking		

^a MSS. Tholemaeus. But *cf.* § 5, where the spelling is Tholomaeus.

πέμψαι πρεσβείαν πρὸς Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον περὶ τούτου.

ς'. Ὡς Φᾶδος λαβὼν ὁμήρους ἐπέτρεψεν.¹

ζ'. Ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ παρακληθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀγρίππα τοῦ νεωτέρου συνεχώρησεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ αἰτήματα καὶ πρὸς Φᾶδον ἔγραψε περὶ τούτων.

η'. Ὁν τρόπον Ἑλένη ἡ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλὶς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῆς Μονόβαζος καὶ Ἰζάτης² καὶ τὸ πᾶν γένος αὐτῶν ἐζήλωσαν τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθῃ.

θ'. Ὡς Ἡρώδου τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλέως Ἀγρίππας ὁ νεώτερος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν δόντος αὐτῷ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος.³

ι'. Ὡς Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίτροπος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐλθὼν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου τὸν ὄχλον ἀπατῶντας ἐκόλασεν.

ια'. Περὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὴν χώραν.⁴

ιβ'. Κουμάνου ἄφιξις εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρόπου πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.

¹ παράκλησις . . . ἐπέτρεψεν] et quia rogantes Iudaei Fadum et Longinum eis concedentibus datis obsidibus legationem ad Caesarem Claudium destinarunt Lat.

² Iazatis cod. Ambr. Lat.

³ ὡς Ἡρώδου . . . Καίσαρος] infra post cap. XII exhibent MW (ια' in W), post cap. X Lat. (VIII in Lat.), ut capitum ordo in MW hic sit: VIII, X, XI, XII, IX, XIII; in Lat. vero hic: VIII, XI, X, IX, (XII + XIII).

⁴ περὶ . . . χώραν] post cap. VIII exhibet numero VI ascripto Lat.

^a The table omits special mention of how Artabanus was

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
them for permission to send a delegation to Claudius Caesar about this matter	7	393
(vi) How Fadus, upon receiving hostages, granted them permission	8	395
(vii) How Claudius Caesar, after an appeal by the younger Agrippa, granted the petition of the Jews and wrote to Fadus indicating what he had done	9	395
(viii) How Helena, the queen of Adiabene, and her sons Monobazus and Izates and their entire family became converts to Judaism ^a	17	399
(ix) How, at the death of Herod the king of Chalcis, Agrippa the Younger received his kingdom by grant of Claudius Caesar	104	445
(x) ^b How Tiberius Alexander came as procurator to Judaea and punished the sons of Judas the Galilaean for deceiving the people	100	443
(xi) Concerning the famine that occurred in the land	101	443
(xii) The arrival of Cumanus, who had been sent as procurator to Judaea by Caesar	103	445

restored to the Parthian throne through Izates' intervention (§§ 54-68), how Artabanus' son Vardanes was frustrated in his attempt to wage war against Izates (§§ 69-74), and how Izates, despite being betrayed by his own nobles, was delivered from the Arabs and later from the Parthians (§§ 75-91). It also omits mention of the impostor Theudas (§§ 97-99).

^b This section, as well as sections xi and xii, belongs before section ix.

ιγ'. Ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων¹ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπώλοντο.²

ιδ'. Στάσις Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Σαμαρεῖς καὶ ὡς πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν.

ιε'. Ὡς Μόδιος³ Κοναδρᾶτος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναβῆναι, ὁμοίως⁴ καὶ Κούμανον τὸν ἐπίτροπον καὶ Κέλερα τὸν χιλιάρχον λόγον ὑφ' ἑξόντας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸς ἐκόλασεν.

ισ'. Ὡς Κλαύδιος ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους τῆς αἰτίας ἀπέλυσεν παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, Κούμανον δὲ ἐξώρισε, Κέλερα δὲ τὸν χιλιάρχον καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν ἐκόλασεν.

ιζ'. Ὡς Φῆλιξ ἐπίτροπος πεμφθεὶς καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν χώραν κεκακωμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν προὔνοήσατο διαφθείρας αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταστήσαι, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον τῶν ληστῶν Ἐλεάζαρον ὄνομα δῆσας εἰς Ῥώμην⁵ ἀνέπεμψεν.

ιη'. Ὡς ἐπιδημήσαντος Αἰγυπτίου τινὸς γόητος

¹ τῶν Ἰουδαίων] sacerdotum Lat.

² ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου . . . ἀπώλοντο] in Lat. antecedentibus continuo adiuncta sunt (cap. VIII).

³ codd. Lat. : Νομίδιος i. marg. A, idem ed. pr. et Latinae editiones ex § 125 : Οὐμμίδιος Norisius.

⁴ ὁμοίως] novum cap. incip. A.

⁵ εἰς Ῥώμην] ad Caesarem Lat.

^a The Latin version has "many of the priests," but in § 111 it is the Jewish masses who are said to have perished.

^b So according to § 125 (Hudson's emendation, based on B.J. ii. 239); mss. : Modius.

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(xiii) How, during Cumanus' administration, many of the Jews ^a perished in the temple	105	445
(xiv) The strife of the Jews with the Samaritans and the great slaughter among the Samaritans	118	451
(xv) How Ummidius ^b Quadratus the governor of Syria, when he was informed of this, proceeded to Judaea and ordered the leaders of the Jews and of the Samaritans, as well as Cumanus the procurator and Celer the military tribune, to go to Rome to render an account of their actions to Claudius Caesar, and how he also punished some of the Jews	125	455
(xvi) How Claudius gave them a hearing and, upon being entreated by King Agrippa, acquitted the Jews of the charge against them, banished Cumanus, and punished Celer the military tribune and the leaders of the Samaritans	134	459
(xvii) How Felix was sent as procurator and how, finding that the country had been devastated by brigands, he took measures to establish peace in the land by exterminating them, and how he imprisoned the foremost of the brigands, Eleazar by name, and dispatched him to Rome ^c	137	461
(xviii) How, when a certain impostor		

^c The table omits special mention of the marriages contracted by Agrippa's sisters (§§ 139-147).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XX

καὶ πολλῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλανηθέντων
Φῆλιξ ἐπεξελθὼν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

ιβ'. Ὡς στασιάζοντας Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρῶτους
ἐν Καισαρείᾳ πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους Φῆλιξ ὁ ἐπίτροπος
ἔπαυσεν.

κ'. Ὁν τρόπον Κλαυδίου τελευτήσαντος Νέρων
τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο.¹

κα'. Ὡς Πορκίου Φήστου πεμφθέντος εἰς Ἰου-
δαίαν ἐπιτρόπου συνέβη κακωθῆναι τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ
τῶν σικαρίων.

κβ'. Περὶ τῆς στοᾶς τοῦ ἔσωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ ὃν
τρόπον ὕψωσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.²

κγ'. Ὡς Φῆστος ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοὺς
πρῶτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν πρὸς
Νέρωνα πείσοντας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων.

κδ'. Ὡς τελευτήσαντος Φήστου ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ
Ἀλβῖνος ἦλθεν διάδοχος.³

κε'. Ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου ἐπαύσαντο οἱ σικάριοι τὴν
χώραν κακοποιεῖν.

κς'. Ὡς Φλῶρος ἐλθὼν Ἀλβίνῳ διάδοχος τοσ-
αῦτα διέθηκε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κακά, ὥς ἀναγκάσαι
αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὅπλα χωρῆσαι.

¹ ὃν τρόπον . . . διεδέξατο] post cap. XVI tr. MW, post cap. XVII tr. Lat., Niesio superadditum vid.

² περὶ τῆς στοᾶς . . . οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι] priori capiti (κ' in W) adiungunt MW.

³ ὥς Φῆστος . . . διάδοχος] Lat. priori capiti (XVIII) adiungens.

^a This section belongs before section xviii.

^b The table omits special mention of how James, the brother of Jesus, was sentenced to death (§§ 199-203).

^c The table omits special mention of the attempt of the

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
from Egypt had come to reside in the land and had led astray many of the Jews, Felix made a sally against them and put many to death	169	481
(xix) How Felix the procurator put a halt to the quarrel between the leaders of the Jews in Caesarea and the Syrians	173	483
(xx) ^a How Nero succeeded to the throne upon the death of Claudius	148	469
(xxi) How, when Porcius Festus was sent to Judaea as procurator, it came about that the land was devastated by the <i>sicarii</i>	182	487
(xxii) Concerning the portico of the inner temple and how the Jews built it higher	189	491
(xxiii) How Festus, though indignant at this, sent the leaders of the Jews to Rome to Nero to obtain his sanction for the action that they had taken	193	493
(xxiv) How, upon the death of Festus in Judaea, Albinus came as his successor ^b	197	495
(xxv) How in his administration the <i>sicarii</i> ceased to harass the land ^c	204	497
(xxvi) How Florus came as Albinus' successor and inflicted so many injuries upon the Jews that they were forced to take up arms	252	523

Levites to gain certain privileges reserved for the priests (§§ 216-218), the completion of the building of the temple (§§ 219-222), and Josephus' catalogue of the high priests (§§ 224-251).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XX

κζ'. Περὶ Ἰωσήπου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ πολι-
τείας.¹

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν κβ'.²

¹ περὶ Ἰωσήπου . . . πολιτείας] A : om. Lat. : περὶ γένους
Ἰωσήπου καὶ πολιτείας MW.

² W : κς' AME Lat.

^a This is to be found not in the *Antiquities* but in the auto-
biography, which forms a sequel to it.

^b A.D. 44-66. This is the reading of one of the mss. ; the
others have twenty-six years, *i.e.* from 44 to 70, the year of

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(xxvii) Concerning Josephus, his family, and his public career ^a . . .	262	527

This book covers a period of twenty-two years.^b

the destruction of the temple. But in § 257 Josephus says that he is closing his narrative with the start of the Jewish revolt against the Romans, which, he says, occurred in the second year of Florus' procuratorship and the twelfth of Nero's reign, *i.e.* A.D. 66. Similarly in § 259 Josephus says that the *Antiquities* covers the period from creation to the twelfth year of Nero's reign.

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^a In the following bibliographies a single asterisk indicates a work presenting an especially good introductory survey; a double asterisk indicates a work indispensable for specialists. This system has been adopted from R. Marcus, "Selected Bibliography (1920-1945) of the Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman Period," *Proc. of the Am. Acad. for Jew. Res.* 16 (1946-7), 87-181.

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GENERAL INDEX

This is primarily an index of names. References are to books and to the sections shown in the left margin of the Greek text and in the headline of the English text (Arabic figures). References are cited in the order in which Josephus composed his works: *B.* (= *Bellum Judaicum*), *A.* (= *Antiquities*), *V.* (= *Vita*), *Ap.* (= *Contra Apionem*). A number in parentheses indicates that the reference is not by name.

- AARON, brother of Moses, *A.* ii. 279; his age at the Exodus, ii. 319; supports Moses in fight against Amalekites, iii. 54; iii. 64; appointed high priest, iii. 188-192; his four sons, iii. 192; iii. 205; two of his sons burnt to death, iii. 208-211; abused by Hebrews, iii. 307; iii. 310; his authority as high priest challenged by Korah, iv. 15, 18, 21, 23; iv. 26, 29, 33, 46, 54, 56-58; budding of his rod quells rebels, iv. 64-66; his death, iv. 83; v. 361; vi. 86, 89; viii. 228; ix. 224; x. 65; first high priest (in genealogy of high priests), xx. 225-227, 229, 235
- Ab. See Abba
- Abaiz (var. Baiz; Bibl. Boaz), name of one of the columns in the temple in Jerusalem, *A.* viii. 78
- abanêth* (Bibl. 'abnêt; see *hemian*), tunic of Jewish priests, *A.* iii. 156
- Abarim. See Abaris
- Abaris (Bibl. Abarim), mountain opposite Jericho where Moses disappeared, *A.* iv. 325
- Abar(os) (Bibl. Heber), son of Asher, *A.* ii. 183
- Abassaros. See Sanabasaros
- Abba (var. Saba; Hebrew Ab; Athenian Hecatombaeon, Macedonian Lous), Hebrew month, *A.* iv. 84
- Abbar, high priest and judge of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 157
- Abdaeus, father of Chelbes (judge of Tyre), *Ap.* i. 157
- Abdagases, military chief of staff of Parthian King Artabanus, *A.* xviii. 333-334
- Abdastratus, King of Tyre, son of Balbazer, slain by conspiracy, *Ap.* i. 122
- Abdeel (Bibl. Adbeel), son of Ishmael, *A.* i. 220
- Abdelimus, father of Gerastratus (judge of Tyre), *Ap.* i. 157
- Abdemon(os) (Abdemun), Tyrian youth wiser than Solomon, *A.* viii. 146, 149; (Abdemun) *Ap.* i. 115, 120
- Abdemun. See Abdemon(os)
- Abdenago (Bibl. Abed-nego), name given to Azariah by King Nebuchadnezzar, *A.* x. 189
- Abdera, native city of Hecataeus, *A.* xii. 38; *Ap.* i. 183
- Abdon, Hebrew judge, son of Hillel, *A.* v. 273
- Abed-nego. See Abdenago
- Abel, etymology, *A.* i. 52; slain by Cain, i. 53-55, 67
- Abela. See Abila (1), (2) and (4)
- Abel-beth-maachah. See Abellane Abele. See Abila (1)
- Abelios (Bibl. Abiel), father of Kish, *A.* vi. 130
- Abellane (Abeloches; Bibl. Abel-beth-maachah), city in northern Palestine, (Abeloches) *A.* vii. 288; viii. 305

GENERAL INDEX

- Abel-meholah. See Abila (2)
 Abelocha. See Abellane
 Abel-shittim. See Abila (1)
 Abenar (Abener, Abenner; Bibl. Abner), son of Ner, kinsman of Saul, *A.* vi. 58; commander of Saul's army, vi. 129; (Abener) vi. 235, 312, 314; (Abenner) proclaims Ish-bosheth king, is defeated by Joab, vii. 9-19; (Abenner) transfers allegiance to David, vii. 22-30; (Abenner) killed by Joab, vii. 31-36; (Abenner) mourned by David, vii. 39-44; (Abenner) vii. 46, 52, 285, 386
 Abener. See Abenar
 Abenner. See Abenar
 Abennerigus, king of Charax Spasini, *A.* xx. 22-23
 Abes(s)alomos. See Absalom (1)
 Abi. See Abia
 Abia (Bibl. Abi), mother of King Hezekiah, *A.* ix. 260
 Abias (1) (Bibl. Abijah), son of Rehoboam, *A.* vii. 190, 244; succeeds to kingship of Judah, viii. 249-250, 264; defeats Jeroboam, viii. 274-284; his death, viii. 285, 287, 393
 Abias (2), king of Arabs, declares war on Izates and is defeated, *A.* xx. 77, 80
 Abias (3). See Abira
 Abiathar (Heb. Ebyathar), son of Abimelech the high priest, *A.* vi. 261, 269-270, 359; chosen high priest by David, vii. 110, 200, 201, 222, 260, 293; joins Adonijah's plot, vii. 346-347, 350, 359, 366; deposed from high priesthood by Solomon, viii. 9-11, 16
 Abibalos (Abibalus), king of Tyre, father of Hiram, *A.* viii. 144, 147; *Ap.* i. 113, 117
 Abibalus. See Abibalos
 Abida (1) (Bibl. Azubah), wife of Asa, mother of Jehoshaphat, *A.* viii. 315
 Abida (2). See Ebidas
 Abiel. See Abelios
 Abiezer (Jesus; Bibl. Abishua), high priest, son of Phinehas, *A.* v. 362; (Jesus) viii. 12
 Abigaia (1) (Bibl. Abigail), wife of Nabal, appeases David by presents, *A.* vi. 300-306; marries David, vi. 308, 320; vii. 21
 Abigaia (2), wife of Ithra, mother of Amasa, *A.* vii. 232
 Abigall. See Abigaia (1)
 Abihu, son of Aaron, *A.* iii. 192; burnt to death, iii. 209
 Abijah (1). See Abias (1)
 Abijah (2). See Abira; Obime
 Abila (1) (Abile, Abela, Abele; Bibl. Abel-shittim), city near the Jordan, place of assembly held by Moses, *A.* iv. 176; (Abele) v. 4
 Abila (2), city in Peraea, *B.* ii. 252; iv. 438 (probably identical with [1])
 Abila (3) (Abela; Bibl. Abel-meholah), native city of Elisha, *A.* viii. 352
 Abila (4), city near Gadara, *A.* xii. 136
 Abila (5) (Abela), district in Lebanon, added to Agrippa I's kingdom by Claudius, *A.* xix. 275; xx. 138
 Abile. See Abila (1)
 Abilmathadachos (Evilmara-duch; Bibl. Evilmerodach), king of Babylon, son of Nebuchadnezzar, *A.* x. 229, 231; *Ap.* i. 146
 Abimael, son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
 Abimelech (1), king of Gerar, makes pact with Abraham, *A.* i. 207-212; his friendship and controversies with Isaac, i. 259-264
 Abimelech (2), bastard son of Gideon, *A.* v. 233; slays all but one of Gideon's sons, v. 234; v. 239; expelled from Shechem, v. 240; terrorizes Shechem, v. 242-249; death of, v. 251-253; vii. 142
 Abimelech (3) (Bibl. Elimelech), father-in-law of Ruth, *A.* v. 318; death of, v. 319; v. 323, 333
 Abimelech (4), high priest, *A.* vi. 242, 254; slain on Saul's orders, vi. 260; vi. 261, 268-269, 378

GENERAL INDEX

- Abimelech (5), the Hittite, *A.* vi. 311
- Abinadab (1). See Aminadab (1), (2), (3)
- Abinadab (2), governor of Dor, *A.* viii. 35
- Abira (var. Abias, Ebias; Bibl. Abijah), son of Samuel, *A.* vi. 32
- Abiram, elder of tribe of Reuben, *A.* iv. 19; rebels against Moses, iv. 37-39; iv. 47
- Abisai (Bibl. Abishai), son of Zeruah, nephew of David, *A.* vi. 311-312; vii. 11; pursues Abner, vii. 16; buries Asahel, vii. 19; helps Joab kill Abner, vii. 35; vii. 45; conquers Idumaea, vii. 109; vii. 124, 126, 208; fights against Absalom, vii. 233; vii. 265, 282, 286; rescues David from a Philistine giant, vii. 299; his exploits summarized, vii. 314-315
- Abisake (Bibl. Abishag), comforts David's old age, *A.* vii. 344; sought in marriage by Adonijah, viii. 5, 8-9
- Abisar (Bibl. Jezreel), city in Palestine, *A.* vi. 309
- Abishag. See Abisake
- Abishai. See Abisai
- Abishua. See Abiezer
- Abital. See Abitale
- Abitale (Bibl. Abital), wife of David, mother of Shephetaiah, *A.* vii. 21
- Abner. See Abenar
- '*abnēt*. See *abanēth*
- abortion, prohibited by Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 202
- Abraham (Abram[es]), *B.* iv. 531, v. 380; son of Terah, marries Sarah, *A.* i. 148-151; goes to Canaan, i. 154; mentioned by Berosus, i. 158; (Abram[es]) mentioned by Nicolas of Damascus, i. 159-160; teaches Egyptians arithmetic and astronomy, i. 161-168; divides land with Lot, i. 169; rescues Lot from Assyrians, i. 176-179; meets Melchizedek, i. 181-182; promised a son, i. 184; lives near oak called Ogyges, i. 186; has a son Ishmael by Hagar, i. 187-190; has son Isaac by Sarah, i. 191; circumcision of Abraham and his family, i. 192-193; visited by three angels, i. 196-198; begs God to spare Sodom, i. 199; migrates to Gerar and meets Abimelech, i. 207-212; birth and circumcision of Isaac, i. 213-214; agrees to send Hagar and Ishmael away, i. 216-217; prepares to sacrifice Isaac, i. 222-236; buys burial ground for Sarah, i. 237; marries Keturah and begets sons, i. 238-240; seeks wife for Isaac, i. 242-255; death of, i. 256; i. 259, 281, 289, 346; ii. 213, 229 (*bis*), 257, 269, 318; iii. 87; iv. 4; v. 97, 113; vii. 67, 333; dating of temple from, viii. 61; viii. 155; xi. 169; xii. 226; xiv. 255
- Abram(es). See Abraham
- Abram's abode, village near Damascus, *A.* i. 160
- Absalom (1) (var. Abes[s]alomos), son of David and Maacah, *A.* vii. 21, 70, 162, 172; slays his brother Amnon, vii. 173-176; vii. 178, 180-181, 186-188, 191; David reconciled to him, vii. 193; plots to secure kingdom, vii. 194-198, 202, 204, 211, 213-216, 221, 223, 225, 227-229; leads army against David, is killed by Joab, vii. 232-242; vii. 243-244, 247, 250-252, 255, 258, 261, 279, 281, 348; viii. 249
- Absalom (2), father of Matthias, *A.* xiii. 161
- Absalom (3), father of Jonathan (may be same as father of Matthias), *A.* xiii. 202
- Absalom (4), uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus, *A.* xiv. 71
- Absalom (5), most eminent supporter of Menahem, *B.* ii. 448
- Absalom's Hand, monument erected by Absalom the son of David, *A.* vii. 244
- Abuma (Bibl. Rumah), city in Judaea, *A.* x. 83

GENERAL INDEX

- Acatelas. See Cathlas
- Acchabaron, rock in Galilee, fortified by Josephus, *B. ii.* 573
- Accho. See Ptolemais
- Acedasa, village in Galilee, *B. i.* 47
- Achab (Bibl. Ahab), king of Israel, *A. vii.* 103; succeeds Omri, *viii.* 313, 316; marries Jezebel, *viii.* 317; drought in his reign, *viii.* 319, 324; seeks Elijah, *viii.* 328, 334-335; summons people to Mt. Carmel, *viii.* 337; *viii.* 344-345, 347; takes possession of Naboth's vineyard, *viii.* 358-360; repents of his sin against Naboth, *viii.* 362; attacked by and defeats Ben-hadad, *viii.* 363-388; rebuked for releasing Ben-hadad, *viii.* 391-393; allies with Jehoshaphat, *viii.* 398-400; death of, *viii.* 401-420; *ix.* i, 17-19, 27, 29, 45, 47, 96, 99; his line destroyed by Jehu, *ix.* 108-109, 119-120, 125-132, 134-135; *ix.* 138, 140, 154
- Achaea (Achaia), *B. i.* 531; *ii.* 558; *iii.* 8, 64; *iv.* 499
- Achaean, in quotation from Homer, *A. xix.* 92
- Achaia. See Achaea
- Achamon (Bibl. Amon), governor of Samaria, *A. viii.* 410
- Achan. See Achar
- Achar (Bibl. Achan), son of Zabdi, appropriates booty, *A. v.* 33; his crime discovered, *v.* 43-44
- Acharabe, village in Upper Galilee, fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188
- Acharampsaris, Babylonian commander assigned to sack of Jerusalem, *A. x.* 135
- Achaz (Bibl. Ahaz), son and successor to Jotham, king of Judah, *A. ix.* 243, 247-249; bribes Assyrians to attack Syria and Israel, *ix.* 252-255; idolatry of, *ix.* 256; death of, *ix.* 257, 260
- Achemaïos (Bibl. Tachmonite), father of Jashobeam, *A. vii.* 308
- Acme (Bibl. Jecholiah), mother of Uzziah, *A. ix.* 216
- Achiab(us), cousin of Herod, prevents Herod from committing suicide, *B. i.* 862; *ii.* 55, 77; *A. xv.* 250; prevents Herod from committing suicide, *xvii.* 184; leads revolt against Jewish "royalists," *xvii.* 270; counsels Jews to surrender to Varus, *xvii.* 297
- Achias (1) (Bibl. Ahijah), prophet, foretells split of Jewish kingdom, *A. viii.* 206-208; *viii.* 209, 218, 266-267
- Achias (2) (Bibl. Ahiah), high priest, *A. vi.* 107
- Achiba. See Epsiba
- Achilos (1) (Bibl. Ahilud), father of Jehoshaphat, *A. vii.* 110, 293
- Achilos (2) (Bibl. Ahilud), father of Baana, *A. viii.* 36 (perhaps identical with father of Jehoshaphat)
- Achima. See Achina
- Achimanos (Bibl. Chimham), son of Barzillai, *A. vii.* 274
- Achimas (Bibl. Ahimaaz), son of Zadok, *A. vii.* 201; tells David of Joab's victory, *vii.* 245-250; succeeds his father as high priest, *x.* 152
- Achina (Achima; Bibl. Ahinoam), wife of David, *A. (vi.* 309); (Achima) *vi.* 320; *vii.* 21
- Achinadab (Bibl. Ahinadab), governor of Galilee, *A. viii.* 36
- Achish. See Anchus
- Achitob (Bibl. Ahitub), high priest, son of Amariah, *A. vi.* 122; father of Zadok the high priest, *viii.* 12
- Achitophel (Bibl. Ahithophel), counsellor to David, *A. vii.* 197; joins Absalom's party, *vii.* 202, 204, 211-222; his suicide, *vii.* 228-229
- Achonios (Bibl. Shechaniah), head of people of Jerusalem, *A. xi.* 145; his advice accepted by Ezra, *xi.* 146
- Achratheos (Bibl. Hatach), eunuch of Esther, *A. xi.* 223
- Achzib. See Ekdippa
- Acme, Jewess, slave of Julia (Livia) the wife of Augustus,

GENERAL INDEX

- B. i.* 641-643, 645; condemned to death, *i.* 661; plots with Antipater against Salome, xvii. 134-145; put to death by Augustus, xvii. 182-183
- Acra (Akra), citadel of Jerusalem, *B. i.* 39, 50; v. 137-139, 253; vi. 354, 355, 392; (Akra) built by Antiochus Epiphanes, *A. xii.* 251-252; (Akra) xii. 318; (Akra) besieged by Judas the Maccabee, xii. 362-364; (Akra) xii. 369, 405, 406
- Acrobatene (= Acrabet[t]a), toparchy south-east of Shechem, *B. ii.* 235; (Acrabet[t]a) ii. 568; ii. 652; iii. 48; (Acrabet[t]a) iii. 55; iv. 504, 511; (Acrabet[t]a) iv. 551
- Acrabet(t)a. See Acrobatene
- Acropolis of Athens, burning of, *Ap. ii.* 131
- Actian era (28-24 B.C.), *B. i.* 398
- Actium, site of battle, *B. i.* 364, 370, 386, 388; *A. xv.* 109, 121, 161-162, 190; xvi. 147; xviii. 26; (*Ap. ii.* 59)
- Acusilaus of Argos, Greek historian, *A. i.* 103; his date, *Ap. i.* 13; discrepancies between him and Hellanicus on genealogies, his correction of Hesiod, *i.* 16
- Ada (1) (Bibl. Adah), wife of Lamech, *A. i.* 63-64
- Ada (2) (Bibl. Adah), wife of Esau, *A. i.* 265
- Adados (1) I (Bibl. Ben-hadad), king of Damascus, defeated by David, *A. vii.* 100-101, 104
- Adados (2) III (var. Ader, Aderos, Adder; Bibl. Ben-hadad), sacks Samaritis, *A. vii.* 103; is defeated but spared by Ahab, viii. 363-388, 392; attacked by Ahab, viii. 401; kills Ahab, viii. 411-415; alliance of Ahab and Jehoshaphat against him, ix. 1; attempts to capture Elisha, ix. 52-54; besieges Jehoram, ix. 59-61; flees before four lepers, ix. 77-78; his death foretold by Elisha, he is killed by Hazael, ix. 87-94, 105
- Adados (3) IV (Bibl. Ben-hadad), son and successor to Hazael, *A. ix.* 184
- Adah (1). See Ada (1)
- Adah (2). See Ada (2)
- Adah (3). See Adasa
- Adam, creation of, *A. i.* 34-51, 66-67, 70, 79, 82-83; iii. 87; dating of temple from, viii. 62; x. 148
- Adamah, village in Galilee, where Josephus conceals his troops, *V.* 321
- Adar, Hebrew month, *A. iv.* 327; xi. 107; Esther and Ahasuerus married in, xi. 202; thirteenth of, xi. 281, 286; Nicanor killed by Judas in, xii. 412
- Adasa, village near Bethoron in Palestine, *A. xii.* 408
- Adasa (Bibl. Adah), wife of Esau, *A. ii.* 4
- Adbeel. See Abdeel
- Addaios (= Asaph?), eparch of Syria, Phoenicia, and Samaria, *A. xi.* 167; Nehemiah delivers letters to, xi. 168
- Adder. See Adados III
- Addida (Adida, Haditheh), city near Lydda, *B. iv.* 486; *A. xiii.* 203, 392
- Ader. See Adados III
- Aderos (1) (Bibl. Hadad), Edomite, rebels against Solomon, *A. viii.* 199-204
- Aderos (2). See Adados III
- Adiabene, district in northern Mesopotamia, *B. i.* 6; ii. 388, 520; iv. 567; v. 147, 252, 474; *A. xx.* 17-18; Izates becomes king of, xx. 35-36; xx. 80; nobles of object to Monobazus' conversion, xx. 81; xx. 86, 94
- Adida. See Addida
- Adnah. See Ednaïos
- Adom (Edom), nickname of Esau, *A. ii.* 1, 3
- adoma*, Hebrew word for "red," *A. ii.* 3
- adōni*, Hebrew word for "lord," *A. v.* 121
- Adonias (Bibl. Adonijah), son of David and Haggith, *A. vii.* 21; plots to secure the kingdom for

GENERAL INDEX

- himself, vii. 345-351; asks Solomon's forgiveness, vii. 359-362; seeks to marry Abishag, viii. 3-9; killed by Benaiah on orders from Solomon, viii. 10; viii. 13
- Adoni-bezek. See Adonizebek
- Adonijah. See Adonias
- Adoniram. See Adoram (3)
- Adonizebek (Bibl. Adoni-bezek), king of Zebekians, *A.* v. 121; captured by Israelites, v. 122
- Adora (Adoreon, Adoreus, Adoraim; Bibl. Adoraim), city in Idumaea, (Adoreus) captured by John Hyrcanus, *B.* i. 63; (Adoreus) repopled by Gabinius, i. 166; (Adoraim) *A.* viii. 246; xiii. 207, 209; captured by Hyrcanus, xiii. 257; xiii. 396; rebuilt by Gabinius, xiv. 88
- Adoraim. See Adora
- Adoram. See Adoram (2) and (4)
- Adoram (1) (Bibl. Hadoram), son of the king of Hamath, *A.* vii. 107
- Adoram (2) (Bibl. Adoram), Jew put in charge of tribute by David, *A.* vii. 293
- Adoram (3) (Bibl. Adoniram), Jew placed in charge of tree-cutting on Mt. Lebanon by Solomon, *A.* viii. 59
- Adoram (4) (Bibl. Adoram), Jew placed in charge of levies by Rehoboam, stoned to death by the people, *A.* viii. 220
- Adoreon. See Adora
- Adoreus. See Adora
- Adraazaros. See Adrazaros
- Adrammelech. See Andromachos
- Adrazaros (Adraazaros; Bibl. Hadadezer), son of Rehob, king of Zobah, *A.* vii. 99-100, 105; defeated by David, vii. 107; (Adraazaros) viii. 204
- Adriatic Sea, Josephus' ship founders there on his trip to Rome in c. 61, *V.* 15
- Adullam. See Odollam
- adulteress, ordeal of suspected, according to Jewish law, *A.* iii. 270-273
- adultery, penalty for in Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 215
- Aebutius, Roman decurion, invests Jotapata, *B.* iii. 144; slain at Gamala, iv. 36; in charge of Great Plain, his troops halted by Josephus, *V.* 115-120
- Aegae, city in Macedonia where Philip died, *A.* xi. 304
- Aegyptus. See Sethos[is] (1)
- Aelius Gallus. See Gallus (3), Aelius
- Aemilian, a Roman tribe, *A.* xiv. 238 (*bis*)
- Aemilius Jucundus, Roman commander of a troop of horse, *B.* ii. 544
- Aemilius Regulus of Cordova, leader of a conspiracy against Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 17, 19
- Aeneas (1), a Jewish deserter, *B.* v. 326-328
- Aeneas (2), son of Antipater, envoy to Rome from Hyrcanus I, *A.* xiv. 248
- Aeneas (3), also called Aretas, becomes ruler of Arabs, *A.* xvi. 294
- Aeolians. See Halisaeans
- Aequus Modius. See Modius, Aequus
- Aesop, servant of Alexandra, *A.* xv. 47
- Aeta (Bibl. Etam), rocky stronghold in tribe of Judah, *A.* v. 297 (probably same as Etame, Etan)
- Aethe (1). See Agithe
- Aethe (2). See Aigla
- Aethiopia. See Ethiopia
- Africa, *A.* i. 133; origin of name, i. 239, 241; xiv. 185
- Agaba (= Ragaba?), city in Transjordan, *A.* xiii. 424
- Agag, king of Amalekites, *A.* vi. 137; killed by Samuel, vi. 155
- Agalain (Agalla; Bibl. Eglaim), city in Moab, *A.* xiii. 397; (Agalla) xiv. 18
- Agalla. See Agalain
- Agar (Hagar), brought to Abraham and gives birth to Ishmael, *A.* i. 187-190; sent away by Sarah, i. 215-219
- Agatharchides of Cnidus, cited on Jewish refusal to fight on

GENERAL INDEX

- Sabbath, *A.* xii. 5-7; ridicules Jewish observance of Sabbath, *Ap.* i. 205-212
- Agathocles, Athenian archon, *A.* xiv. 150
- Agee. See Elos
- Agessilaus, Spartan explorer of Asia, *B.* ii. 359
- Agiras. See Ceagiras
- Agithe (Aethe; Bibl. Haggith), wife of David and mother of Adonijah, *A.* vii. 21, 345
- agora. See Jerusalem (topography)
- agriculture, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 225-230
- Agrippa (1), Marcus Vipsanius, friend of Augustus and of Herod, *B.* i. 400; father of Gaius, ii. 25; gives name to Agrippias (Agrippium), i. 118, 416; preserves Jewish privileges in Asia Minor, *A.* xii. 125-127; consul, xiv. 487; his couch in Herod's palace in Jerusalem, xv. 318; viceroy of Augustus, xv. 350-351, 356; held in esteem by Augustus, xv. 361; entertained by Herod, xvi. 12-15; met by Herod in Asia Minor, xvi. 16-26; hears appeal of Ionian Jews and confirms their rights, xvi. 29-62; introduces Antipater to Augustus, xvi. 86; impressed by Herod's magnanimity, xvi. 141; honoured by Herod, xvi. 157; orders Ephesians and Cyrenaeans to respect rights of Jews, xvi. 167-173; xvii. 229
- Agrippa (2) I (the Great, Herod), son of Aristobulus and Berenice, *B.* i. 552; is imprisoned by Tiberius, ii. 178-180; declared king, ii. 181-183; mediator between Senate and Claudius, ii. 206-213; made king of Judaea by Claudius, ii. 214; reign and death of, ii. 218-219; his family, ii. 220; ii. 223; his wall, v. 147-155; custody of priestly robes taken over by Romans upon his death, *A.* xv. 405; preserves freedom of Babylonian Jews in Bathyra, xvii. 28; his friendship with Philip, son of Jacimus, xvii. 31; brother of Herodias, xviii. 110; xviii. 126, 129; married to Cypros, xviii. 131-135; xviii. 137; story of his extravagances and of his imprisonment by Tiberius, xviii. 142-204; released from prison by Gaius Caligula and receives Herod's tetrarchy, xviii. 228-255; xviii. 273; persuades Gaius to desist from setting up his statue, xviii. 289-301; persuades Claudius to become emperor, xix. 236, 242; urges Claudius to spare the senators, xix. 265; his kingdom confirmed and enlarged by Claudius, xix. 274-275; his daughter marries son of Alexander the alabarch, xix. 276-277; urges Claudius to issue edict on behalf of Alexandrian Jews, xix. 279, 288; returns to Palestine, xix. 292, 295; appoints Simon high priest, xix. 297; rebukes men of Dora for placing emperor's statue in a synagogue, xix. 300-311; replaces Simon as high priest by Jonathan son of Ananus, xix. 313-316; ordered to desist from restoring the walls of Jerusalem, xix. 326-327; his generosity contrasted with that of Herod the Great, xix. 328-334; his buildings at Berytus, xix. 335-337; entertains certain kings at Tiberias, who are ordered by Marsus to depart, xix. 338-342; hailed as god in theatre at Caesarea, xix. 343; his death, xix. 346-361; his quarrel with Marsus, xix. 363; death of, xx. 1; xx. 15, 104; *V.* 33; Tiberias maintains primacy under him, 37
- Agrippa (3) II (Herod), son of Agrippa I and Cypros, *B.* ii. 220; made king of Chalcis, ii. 223; defends Jews before Claudius, ii. 245; made king over Philip's former province, ii. 247; ii. 252, 284; in Alex-

GENERAL INDEX

andria, ii. 309; returns from Alexandria, ii. 335; ii. 337, 338-340, 343; speech of to dissuade the Jews from war, ii. 344-407; ii. 418, 421, 426, 429, 481, 483; takes field with Cestius, ii. 500-502; ii. 520; attempts parley with Jews, ii. 523-526; ii. 556, 595, 605, 632; iii. 29, 37; extent of his kingdom, iii. 56-57; sends auxiliaries to join Vespasian, iii. 68; iii. 443, 445, 454, 456, 461; embellishes Pannon, iii. 514; iii. 540; iv. 2, 4, 10, 14, 81; sets out to speak to Emperor Galba, iv. 498; iv. 500; repairs temple, v. 36; v. 152; vii. 97; receives permission from Claudius Caesar to keep priestly robes in Jewish hands, A. xv. 407; xviii. 132, 194, 354; does not succeed his father because of his youth, xix. 360, 362; urges Claudius to allow Jews to keep high priest's vestments, xx. 9-12; succeeds Herod of Chalcis, xx. 104; influences Claudius to favour Jews in quarrel with Samaritans, xx. 135; receives tetrarchy of Philip and other territory, xx. 138; marriages of his family, xx. 139-140; certain cities given to him by Nero, xx. 159; confers high priesthood on Ishmael, xx. 179; additions to his palace, xx. 189-193; deposes Ananus as high priest, xx. 203; offends the Jews by his buildings and spectacles at Berytus, xx. 211-212; appoints Jesus son of Gamaliel as high priest, xx. 213; xx. 214; has allegiance of one faction at Tiberias in 66, V. 34; receives Tiberias as a present from Nero, 38; object of disparaging remarks by Justus of Tiberias, 39; his lieutenant, Philip son of Jacimus, 46, 48; alleged by Syrians of Caesarea to be about to be sent to death by Romans on the indictment of the Jews,

52; replaces Varus with Aequus Modius, 61; orders his viceroy Modius to shut up Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea Philippi, 74; 112; sends a force under Aequus Modius to destroy fortress of Gamala, 114; 126, 131; his noble vassals come to Josephus, 149, 154; written to by citizens of Tiberias for troops to protect their territory, 155; his troops expected by Josephus to repulse him from Tiberias, 162; sends body of horse to escort Philip son of Jacimus to Berytus, 180-182; revolt against him in Gamala incited by Josephus, the midwife's son, 185; 220; commutes death penalty for Justus of Tiberias to imprisonment, 340-356; thoroughly conversant with Hellenic culture, 359; is presented *History of Jewish War* by Josephus, 362; writes sixty-two letters testifying to truth of Josephus' history, 364-367; invited to take over Tiberias by leading councillors, 381-384; his messenger Crispus kept prisoner by Josephus, 388-389; Justus goes over to him, 390-391; sends troops under Sulla against Josephus, 397-398; arrives at Tyre accompanying Vespasian, 407; Tyrians reprimanded for insult to him, 408; declines to execute Justus of Tiberias, 410; vouches for Josephus' accuracy, *Ap.* i. 51

Agrippa (4), son of Drusilla and Felix, perishes in eruption of Vesuvius, A. xx. 143-144

Agrippa (5), youngest son of Josephus by his third wife, V. 5, 427

Agrippa (6), son of Aristobulus and Salome, A. xviii. 137

Agrippa (7), Fonteius. See Fonteius Agrippa

Agrippeum, name of one of the buildings of Herod's palace, B. i. 402; A. xv. 318

GENERAL INDEX

- Agrippias (Agrippium), name given to Anthedon by King Herod, *B. i.* 87, 118, 416; *A.* xiii. 357
- Agrippina, wife of Emperor Claudius, *B. ii.* 249; *A.* xx. 135; rumoured to have poisoned Claudius, *xx.* 148; kills Claudius, *xx.* 151
- Agrippinus, son of Mariamme and Demetrius, *A.* xx. 147
- Agrippium. See Agrippias
- Ahab. See Achab
- Ahasuerus. See Artaxerxes (1) I
- Ahaz. See Achaz
- Ahaziah I. See Ochozias (1) I
- Ahaziah II. See Ochozias (2) II
- Ahenobarbus, Domitius. See Domitius (1) Ahenobarbus
- Ahiah. See Achias (2)
- Ahijah (1). See Achias (1)
- Ahijah (2). See Seidos
- Ahikam. See Aikamos
- Ahilud. See Achilos (1) and (2)
- Ahimaaz. See Achimas
- Ahinadab. See Achinadab
- Ahinoam. See Achina
- Ahisamach. See Isamach
- Ahithophel. See Aчитophel
- Ahitub. See Achitob
- Al. See Naia
- Aia. See Naia
- Aiah. See Sibatos
- Aichiba. See Epsiba
- Aigla (Aethe; Bibl. Eglah), wife of David, mother of Ithream, *A.* vii. 21
- Aijalom. See Elom
- Aikamos (Bibl. Ahikam), father of Gedaliah, *A.* x. 155
- Ailane (Elathus; Bibl. Eloth, Elath), city near Gulf of Akabah, later called Berenike, *A.* viii. 163; (Elathus) ix. 245
- Ain. See Nain
- Aion (Joannu; Bibl. Ijon), city in Palestine, sacked by Benhadad, *A.* viii. 305
- Aithalidean deme, in Athens, *A.* xiv. 150
- Akairos. See Demetrius (5)
- Akairos
- Ake (Bibl. Asher, Aloth), city near Tyre, *A.* viii. 37
- Akenchères, Egyptian queen, daughter of Orus, *Ap. i.* 96
- Akenchères I, Egyptian king, son of Rathotis, *Ap. i.* 97
- Akenchères II, Egyptian king, son of Akenchères I, *Ap. i.* 97
- Akkaron (Bibl. Ekron), city belonging to Dan, *A.* v. 87; withstands capture, v. 128; v. 177; Philistine city, vi. 8; vi. 30; god of, ix. 26; xiii. 102
- Akmon (Bibl. Ishbi-benob), Philistine giant, *A.* vii. 298
- Akra. See Acra
- Akrabatene. See Acrabatene
- Alani, Scythian tribe, invade Media, *B.* vii. 244-251; attack Parthian king Artabanus, *A.* xviii. 97
- Albanians, tribe of Caucasus, urged by Tiberius to make war on Parthian king Artabanus, *A.* xviii. 97
- Albinus, procurator of Judaea, summary of his misdeeds, *B.* ii. 272-277; vi. 305; succeeds Festus as procurator, *A.* xx. 197, 200; his anger with Ananus for stoning James, *xx.* 202-203; wipes out *sicarii*, *xx.* 204; courted by Ananias, *xx.* 205; his trouble with *sicarii*, *xx.* 209; releases Jewish prisoners, thus filling country with brigands, *xx.* 215; succeeded by Gessius Florus, *xx.* 252-253
- Alcimus (Jakeimos, Jacimus), appointed high priest by Antiochus V Eupator, *A.* xii. 385, 387; enemy of Judas, xii. 391-401; death of, xii. 413; (Jacimus) succeeds Onias as high priest, *xx.* 235; (Jacimus) death of, *xx.* 235
- Alcyon, physician in Rome, *A.* xix. 157
- Alexander (1) of Macedon, the Great, *B.* ii. 360; grants Jews of Alexandria equality with Greeks, ii. 487-488; fortune of, v. 465; closes "Caspian Gates," vii. 245; *A.* i. 138; ii. 348; his victory at the

GENERAL INDEX

- Granicus, xi. 305; captures Tyre and besieges Gaza, xi. 313-320; sanctions building of a Samaritan temple, xi. 321-324; prostrates himself before Jewish high priest and sacrifices in the temple at Jerusalem, xi. 329-339; is courted by Samaritans, xi. 340-345; death of, xi. 346, xii. 1; xii. 8; length of his reign, xii. 11; xii. 354; xiii. 74, 256; *Ap.* i. 183; death of in 114th Olympiad, i. 184-185; exempts Jews from helping to restore temple of Bel in Babylon, i. 192; i. 194; participation of Jews in his campaigns, i. 200; presents residential quarter and privileges to Jews in Alexandria, ii. 35; his letters bestow rights on Jews of Alexandria, ii. 37; rewards Jewish valour and fidelity by settling them in Alexandria, ii. 42-44; his testimonials to Jews, ii. 62; gives privileges to Alexandrian Jews, ii. 72
- Alexander (2) Balas, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, invades Syria, *A.* xiii. 35, 37; bids for Jonathan's support, xiii. 43, 45, 47; defeats Demetrius, xiii. 58; becomes king of Syria and marries daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, xiii. 80-82; honours Jonathan, xiii. 83-85; opposed by Demetrius II, xiii. 87; rewards Jonathan, xiii. 102; aided by Ptolemy Philometor, xiii. 103-104; his plot against Ptolemy Philometor discovered, xiii. 106-112; death of, xiii. 116-119; xiii. 131, 218
- Alexander (3) Zebinas, seizes throne of Syria from Demetrius II, *A.* xiii. 268-269; his friendship with Hyrcanus, xiii. 273
- Alexander (4) Jannaeus, son of Hyrcanus I, King of Judaea, brother of Aristobulus, placed on throne by Aristobulus' widow, *B.* i. 85; early wars of, i. 86-87; revolt of Jews against, i. 88; attacks Arabia, i. 89; defeated by Obedas, i. 90; his long wars with his subjects, i. 91-98; defeated by Demetrius, i. 94-95; massacres Jews, i. 97; tries to check Antiochus Dionysus, i. 99; defeated by Aretas, i. 103; his last expeditions, i. 104-105; his death, i. 106; i. 109, 113; his tomb, v. 304; vii. 171; succeeds Aristobulus as king of Judaea, *A.* xiii. 320; hated by his father, xiii. 322; attacks cities on coast of Syria, xiii. 324-329; is defeated by Ptolemy Lathyrus, xiii. 330-341; makes treaty with Cleopatra, xiii. 353, 355; destroys Gaza, xiii. 356-364; oppresses his Jewish adversaries, xiii. 372-383; is nicknamed Thrakidas (the "Cossack"), xiii. 383; xiii. 390; is defeated by Aretas, xiii. 393; his victories in Transjordan, xiii. 393-394; extent of his territory, xiii. 395-397; death of, xiii. 398-404; his splendid burial, xiii. 405-406; his sons, xiii. 407; xiii. 410, 415-416; xiv. 10, 18, 36, 44, 151, 191-200, 206, 211, 226; xx. 241-242
- Alexander (5), son of Aristobulus II, escapes from Pompey, *B.* i. 158; revolts, i. 160; prepares to meet Gabinius, i. 161; fights with Gabinius and is defeated, i. 162-167; i. 168, 176-177, 182; death of, i. 185; i. 241, 344, 432, 551; *A.* xiv. 79; is twice defeated by Gabinius, xiv. 82-85, 89-90, 100-102; executed by Scipio, xiv. 125, 140; father-in-law of Herod, xiv. 300, 353, 467; xv. 23
- Alexander (6) (= Ptolemy IX), son of Cleopatra, king of Egypt, *A.* xiii. 350
- Alexander (7) (var.), son of Alexander (son of Aristobulus II), *A.* xiv. 387
- Alexander (8), son of Mariamme and Herod, his hostility toward his father, *B.* i. 445-447; is

GENERAL INDEX

- tried before Augustus, *i.* 452-454; *i.* 456, 467, 469-479; denounced by Herod's eunuchs, *i.* 488-491; arrested, *i.* 496; his written statement, *i.* 498, 501-502, 504, 508; denounced to Herod by Eurycles, *i.* 513-533; *i.* 535; implicated in alleged plot of Tiro against Herod, *i.* 538-551; *i.* 552-553, 557, 559, 561, 563, 581, 586, 588, 599, 603, 627, 644; impersonated by false Alexander, *ii.* 101-110; *ii.* 114, 116, 222; sent to Rome, *A.* xv. 342; married to Glaphyra, Archelaus' daughter, *xvi.* 11, 97; defends himself and his brother before Augustus, *xvi.* 104-122; *xvi.* 131; named by Herod as successor after Antipater, *xvi.* 133; his wife incurs hatred of Salome, *xvi.* 193; incited by Pheroras against his father, *xvi.* 206-208; accused by Herod's eunuchs of plotting against him, *xvi.* 231-234; his friends tortured by Herod, *xvi.* 243-253; further exasperates his father, *xvi.* 255; Archelaus reconciles Herod to him, *xvi.* 263, 265-269; Herod brings charges against him before Augustus, *xvi.* 273; betrayed by Eurycles, *xvi.* 302-309; imprisoned by his father, *xvi.* 311-321; denies having plotted with Archelaus against Herod, *xvi.* 325-331; implicated in alleged plot of Tiro against Herod, *xvi.* 375, 387-391; killed by strangling at command of Herod, *xvi.* 394; *xvi.* 401; *xvii.* 11; his children, *xvii.* 12, 14; his sisters given in marriage, *xvii.* 22; his death, *xvii.* 80; impersonated by false Alexander, *xvii.* 324-338; his widow married to his brother, Archelaus, *xvii.* 341, 349, 351; *xviii.* 134; his children, *xviii.* 139-141
- Alexander (9), son of Alexander (son of Herod) and Glaphyra, *B.* i. 552; *A.* xviii. 139; his son Tigranes, *xviii.* 140
- Alexander (10), son of Tigranes, *A.* xviii. 140; his children, *xviii.* 141
- Alexander (11), son of Phasael and Salampsio, *A.* xviii. 131, 138
- Alexander (12), son of Jason, Jewish envoy to the Roman Senate, *A.* xiv. 146
- Alexander (13), son of Dorotheus, Jewish envoy to the Roman Senate, *A.* xiv. 146
- Alexander (14), father of Apollonius the Jewish envoy, *A.* xiii. 260; *xiv.* 248
- Alexander (15), son of Theodorus, envoy from Hyrcanus to the Roman Senate, *A.* xiv. 222, 226; envoy of Jews to Antony, *xiv.* 307
- Alexander (16), Marcus, of Halicarnassus (probably a Roman official), *A.* xiv. 256
- Alexander (17), father of Tiberius Alexander, *B.* v. 205; alabarch, lends money to Cypros, Agrippa I's wife, *A.* xviii. 159-160; brother of Philo the philosopher, *xviii.* 259; liberated by Claudius, *xix.* 276; his son marries Berenice, daughter of Agrippa I, *xix.* 277; *xx.* 100
- Alexander (18), Marcus, prob. Roman official, *A.* xiv. 256
- Alexander (19), Marcus Julius, son of Alexander the alabarch, marries Berenice, *A.* xix. 276-277
- Alexander (20), leader of brigands, *B.* ii. 235
- Alexander (21), a Jew of Libya, *B.* vii. 445
- Alexander (22), Polyhistor, Greek writer, quoted, *A.* i. 240
- Alexander (23) (var.). See Alexas (1)
- Alexander (24), Tiberius, procurator in Judaea, *B.* ii. 220, 223; governor of Egypt, *ii.* 309; *ii.* 492-493, 497; secures Alexandria, *iv.* 616-618; *v.* 45, 205, 510; *vi.* 237, 242; *A.* xx. 100, 102-103
- Alexandra (1) (Salina, Salome), wife of Aristobulus and of

GENERAL INDEX

- Alexander Jannaeus, Queen of Jews, (Salina) consents for murder of Antigonus, *B. i.* 76; (Salina) appoints Alexander Jannaeus as king, *i.* 85; is bequeathed the kingdom by Alexander Jannaeus, *i.* 107; her piety, *i.* 108; her two sons, *i.* 109; Pharisees' influence on her, *i.* 110-114; her foreign policy, *i.* 115-116; her illness, *i.* 117; imprisons wife and children of Aristobulus, *i.* 118; her death, *i.* 119; (Salina) appoints Alexander Jannaeus as king, *A. xiii.* 320; succeeds to throne after death of Alexander Jannaeus and appeases Pharisees, *xiii.* 405-417; wages war against Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus, *xiii.* 418; bribes Tigranes to leave Judaea, *xiii.* 419; her illness and death, *xiii.* 422-432, *xiv.* 1; *xv.* 179; *xx.* 242; *V.* 5
- Alexandra (2), daughter of Hyrcanus II, charges to Cleopatra that Herod slighted her son, *A. xv.* 23-27; temporarily reconciled with Herod, *xv.* 31-38; appeals to Cleopatra against Herod again, *xv.* 42; plans to flee to Egypt, *xv.* 46-47; *xv.* 53; her grief at death of Aristobulus, *xv.* 58; informs Cleopatra that Herod murdered her son, *xv.* 62-63; discovers Herod's secret instructions concerning Mariamme, *xv.* 69; plans to flee with Joseph and Mariamme, *xv.* 72, 80; put in chains by Herod, *xv.* 87; urges Hyrcanus to seek aid of Malchus against Herod, *xv.* 166, 169; held in suspicion by Herod, *xv.* 183; placed in Alexandrion by Herod, *xv.* 185; angry at Herod, *xv.* 202; betrays Mariamme, *xv.* 232-236; executed by Herod, *xv.* 247-252
- Alexandra (3), daughter of Aristobulus II, *B. i.* 186; wife of Philippion and of Ptolemy Mennaeus, *A. xiv.* 126
- Alexandra (4), daughter of Phasael and Salampsio, *A. xviii.* 131
- Alexandr(e)ion, fortress in Judaea, *B. i.* 134; fortified by Alexander, son of Aristobulus, *i.* 161; besieged by Gabinius, *i.* 163-168; *i.* 171, 308, 528, 551; *A. xiii.* 417; *xiv.* 49, 83, 86, 89 (*bis*), 92; fortified by Herod, *xiv.* 419; *xv.* 185; place where Herod entertains Agrippa, *xvi.* 13; *xvi.* 317; place where Alexander and Aristobulus are buried, *xvi.* 394
- Alexandria, Alexandrian(s), in Egypt, *B. i.* 278, 598; *ii.* 309, 335, 385; riots at, *ii.* 487-499; *iii.* 8, 64; *iv.* 605-606; description of its port, *iv.* 612-615; *iv.* 616, 631; second to Rome in magnitude, *iv.* 656; *iv.* 658-659; *v.* 2, 44, 169, 287; *vi.* 238; *vii.* 21, 75, 116, 409, 420, 423, 433, 447; site of translation of Torah into Greek, *A. i.* 12; *viii.* 156; its Jews given equal civic rights by Ptolemy, *xii.* 8; arrival there of Jewish elders, *xii.* 86; attempt to get citizenship rights of its Jews revoked, *xii.* 121, 123; visited by Joseph the Tobiad, *xii.* 168, 170, 174; *xii.* 180; place where Joseph the Tobiad begets Hyrcanus, *xii.* 187; place where birth of Ptolemy Epiphanes' son is celebrated, *xii.* 196, 199-203; Antiochus Epiphanes defeated there, *xii.* 243-244; *xiii.* 62; its Jews quarrel with Samaritans, *xiii.* 74, 77, 79; *xiii.* 120; its Jewish community flourishes under Cleopatra, *xiii.* 284; *xiv.* 113; its Jewish population, *xiv.* 117; Jews declared citizens of, *xiv.* 188; *xiv.* 193, 236, 250; Herod reaches it, *xiv.* 375; *xv.* 320; Agrippa I's attempt to raise money there, *xviii.* 159-160; strife between Jews and Greeks there and appointment of rival dele-

GENERAL INDEX

gations, xviii. 257; Gaius Caligula prepares to sail there, xix. 81; strife between Jews and Greeks there, xix. 278-279; edict of Claudius on behalf of its Jews, xix. 280-286, 288, 292; edicts favourable to its Jews, xix. 310; xx. 51, 100, 147, 202; Vespasian goes there, accompanied by Josephus, V. 415; Josephus is sent from there with Titus to siege of Jerusalem, 416, *Ap.* i. 48; Apion on its Jews, ii. 7; falsely claimed by Apion to be his birthplace, ii. 29; bestows citizenship upon Apion, ii. 32; hatred of its inhabitants for Jews, ii. 32; its Jews originally from Syria, according to Apion, ii. 33; its Jewish quarter near seaboard, ii. 33-36; slab there records rights bestowed upon Jews by Julius Caesar, ii. 37; citizenship of its Jews, ii. 38-42; falsely claimed by Apion as his birthplace, ii. 41-42; honoured by Alexander, Ptolemy son of Lagus, and Ptolemy Philadelphus, ii. 42-47; saved by Jewish generals Onias and Dosithus, ii. 49-50; its Jews keep feast commemorating deliverance from Ptolemy Physcon's elephants, ii. 55; Cleopatra, its last queen, ii. 56; captured by Octavius, ii. 60; its inhabitants receive corn distributed by Germanicus, ii. 63; high opinion of its Jews held by Roman emperors, ii. 63; administration of corn supplies taken from its inhabitants, ii. 64; Jews emigrate there, ii. 67; its Jews accused of causing sedition, ii. 68-70; extension of citizenship there, ii. 69; Egyptians there hold citizenship under no regular title, ii. 71-72; its Jewish citizens called "aliens" by Egyptians, ii. 71; ii. 78; felicitated by Apion on possessing such a citizen as himself, ii. 135-136

Alexandria, lake of (=Lake Mareotis), *B.* iii. 520
 Alexandrion. See Alexandreion
 Alexas (1), friend of Antony, *B.* i. 393; *A.* xv. 197
 Alexas (2), friend of Herod and husband of Salome, *B.* i. 566, 660, 666; Salome forced by Herod into marriage with him, *A.* xvii. 9-10; Herod's final instructions to him, xvii. 175; refuses to carry out Herod's funeral plans, xvii. 193-194
 Alexas (3), father of Alexas Helcias (perhaps identical with Alexas [2] the husband of Salome), *A.* xviii. 138
 Alexas (4), surnamed Helcias, son of Alexas, marries Cypros, daughter of Cypros and Antipater, *A.* xviii. 138
 Alexas (5), soldier in army of John of Gischala, *B.* vi. 92, 148
 Alibame (Bibl. Oholibamah), wife of Esau, *A.* i. 265; ii. 4
 aliens, attitude to, according to Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 209
 Alienus, *A.* Caecinna. See Caecinna
 Aliphaz(es) (Bibl. Eliphaz), son of Esau, *A.* ii. 4-5
 Alisphragmuthosis. See Misphragmuthosis
 Aliturus, Jewish actor, special favourite of Nero, befriends Josephus, V. 16
 Alkanes (Bibl. Elkanah), the Levite, father of Samuel, *A.* v. 342-343, 347
 allegorists, Greek, *Ap.* ii. 255
 Almodad. See Elmodad
 Aloth. See Ake
 alphabet, lateness of Greeks in learning it, *Ap.* i. 10-11; its late acquisition by Arcadians, i. 22
 Alps, *B.* ii. 371
 Alurus, village in Idumaea, *B.* iv. 522
 Alusa (var. Lus[s]a), Arabian city, *A.* xiv. 18
 Amadathos (Bibl. Hammedatha), father of Haman, *A.* xi. 209, 270, 277
 Amalek. See Amalek(os)

GENERAL INDEX

- Amalekites, make war on Hebrews, *A.* iii. 40-42; defeated by Hebrews, iii. 53-54; iii. 60; iv. 304; attack Israelites, v. 210; vi. 129; defeated by Saul, vi. 132, 134-142; vi. 146, 155, 323, 336; sack Ziklag, vi. 356; pursued and slain by David, vi. 359, 362, 364, 367; vi. 371, 378; vii. 1, 6; defeated by Amaziah, ix. 188; their gods worshipped by Amaziah, ix. 193; ix. 198; descent of Haman from them, xi. 209; xi. 211, 277
- Amalekitis, region in Idumaea, *A.* ii. 6
- Amalek(os), son of Esau, *A.* ii. 5-6; vi. 133
- Amanos, page of King Ben-hadad, wounds Ahab, *A.* viii. 414
- Amanus, mountain-range inhabited by sons of Japheth, *A.* i. 122; occupied by descendants of Ham, i. 130
- Amaraios (Bibl. Jambri), his sons slay John son of Mattathias, *A.* xiii. 11; his sons killed by Jonathan and Simon, sons of Mattathias, xiii. 18-21
- Amaram(es) (Bibl. Amram), father of Moses, is promised that his son will deliver Hebrews from bondage, *A.* ii. 210; ii. 217; hides Moses in basket, ii. 219-221; ii. 229; iii. 86
- Amaramus, Jewish leader of Peraeans against Philadelphians, *A.* xx. 4
- Amarapsides (Bibl. Amraphel), Assyrian commander, *A.* i. 173
- Amariah (1). See Amasias (1)
- Amariah (2). See Arophaos
- Amarinos (Bibl. Omri), succeeds Zimri as king of Israel, *A.* viii. 310-312; his death, viii. 313
- Amasa (var. Amessa), son of Ithra, commander of Absalom's army, *A.* vii. 232, 261-262; appointed commander of David's army, vii. 280-281; slain by Joab, vii. 283-296; vii. 386
- Amase, son of David, *A.* vii. 70
- Amases. See Nemesaios
- Amasias (1) (Bibl. Amariah), priest, appointed officer over judges by King Jehoshaphat, *A.* ix. 6
- Amasias (2) (Bibl. Amaziah), King of Judah, son of and successor to Joash, *A.* ix. 172, 186; defeats Amalekites, ix. 188-192; rebuked by a prophet, ix. 193; captured by Joash, ix. 196-203; his death, ix. 204; ix. 205, 216, 218
- Amasias (3) (Bibl. Maaseiah), son of Ahaz, *A.* ix. 247
- Amasias (4) (Bibl. Maaseiah), governor of Jerusalem, *A.* x. 55
- Amatha. See Amathe
- Amathaeans (Hamathites), their land unassigned by Joshua, *A.* v. 89
- Amathe (Amatha, Amathos, Amathus; Bibl. Riblah, Hamath), city in Syria founded by Amathus, renamed Epiphaneia by Macedonians, *A.* i. 138; iii. 303; vii. 107-108; viii. 160; (Amathos) ix. 206; x. 82; xiii. 174
- Amathitis. See Hamath
- Amathos. See Amathe
- Amathus (1) (Bibl. "the Hamathite"), founder of Amathe (Amathus) in Syria, *A.* i. 138
- Amathus (2), fortress in Transjordan, *B.* i. 86, 89, 170; captured by Alexander Jannaeus, *A.* xiii. 356; demolished by him, xiii. 374; xiv. 91
- Amathus (3). See Amathe
- Amathus (4). See Emmaus (1)
- Amaziah. See Amasias (2)
- Ambibulus, Marcus. See Ambivulus, Marcus
- Ambivivus, Marcus. See Ambivulus, Marcus
- Ambivulus (var. Ambibulus, Ambivius), Marcus, procurator of Judaea, *A.* xviii. 31
- Ambronas. See Asprenas
- Amenophis (1) I, Egyptian king, son of Chebron, *Ap.* i. 95
- Amenophis (2) II, Egyptian king, son of Thmosis, *Ap.* i. 96
- Amenophis (3) III, Egyptian king, son of Harnesses Miamoun, *Ap.* i. 97

GENERAL INDEX

- Amenophis (4) (IV or III)**, Egyptian king invented by Manetho, according to Josephus, *Ap.* i. 230 ff.; Manetho's account of him criticized by Josephus, i. 254 ff.; Chaeremon's account of him, i. 238 ff.; Isis appears to him, i. 289; leaves 380,000 persons at Pelusium, i. 291; flees to Ethiopia but is brought back by his son Ramesses, i. 292; i. 295; leaves 380,000 persons at Pelusium and flees to Ethiopia, i. 297; i. 300
- Amenophis (5)**, son of Paapis, advises King Amenophis to purge Egypt of lepers so as to see the gods, *Ap.* i. 232-235; commits suicide, i. 236; his prediction recalled, i. 243; criticism by Josephus of Manetho's account of him, i. 256-259; i. 267; called Phritoboutes in Chaeremon's account, i. 295
- Ameroth**. See Meroth
- Amessa**. See Amasa
- Amesses**, Egyptian queen, sister and successor of Amenophis I, *Ap.* i. 95
- Aminadab (1) (Bibl. Abinadab)**, Levite, ark stored in his house, *A.* vi. 18; vii. 79
- Aminadab (2) (Bibl. Abinadab)**, son of Jesse, *A.* vi. 161
- Aminadab (3) (Bibl. Abinadab)**, son of Saul, *A.* vi. 369
- Aminadabos (Bibl. Henadad)**, father of Judas, *A.* xi. 79
- Amitale (Bibl. Hamutal)**, mother of Jehoahaz, *A.* x. 81
- Ammah**. See Ammata
- Amman (1) (Bibl. Ben-ammi)**, son of Lot and his daughter, *A.* i. 205-206
- Amman (2)**. See Ammanitis
- Ammanites**, tribe of Palestine, descended from Amman, *A.* i. 206; attack Hebrews, v. 255; v. 257, 261, 267; defeated by Saul, vi. 68; harass the Jews, vi. 71; defeated by Saul, vi. 77, 79-80; vi. 90, 129; war with David, vii. 117-128; vii. 139; defeated at Rabatha by David, vii. 159, 161; Solomon marries one of their women, viii. 191, 212; attack Jehoshaphat, ix. 7; defeated by Jehoshaphat, ix. 13; subdued by Uzziah, ix. 218; defeated by King Jotham, ix. 238; x. 160; send Ishmael to slay Gedaliah, x. 164, 172; x. 174; defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 181; xi. 174; subdued by Judas Maccabaeus, xii. 329
- Ammanitis (Amman)**, region of Ammanites with capital Rabatha, *A.* iv. 98; v. 262-263; vii. 230; its people send letter to Cambyses, xi. 21
- Ammata (var. Ommaton; Bibl. Ammah)**, place near Gibeon, *A.* vii. 16
- Ammatha**. See Betharamphtha
- Ammathus (Emmaus)**, village near Tiberias containing hot spring, *B.* iv. 11; *A.* xviii. 36
- Ammaus**. See Emmaus
- Ammon (1)**, oracle of, consulted by Egyptian king Bocchoris about failure of crops, *Ap.* i. 306; its oracle concerning victims of leprosy, i. 312
- Ammon (2) (Bibl. Amon)**, king of Judah, son of Manasseh, *A.* x. 46; his death, x. 48
- Ammonius**, friend of Alexander Balas, plots against Ptolemy Philometor, *A.* xiii. 106-108; xiii. 112
- Amon (1)**, son of David and Ahinoam, *A.* vii. 21; ravishes his sister Tamar, vii. 163-170; killed by Absalom, vii. 173, 175, 178
- Amon (2)**. See Amnu
- Amnu** (apparently identical with Ammon), son of David, *A.* vii. 70
- Amon (1)**. See Achamon
- Amon (2)**. See Ammon (2)
- Amoraea (Amoria, Amoritis, Amorite country)**, district beyond the Jordan, *A.* iv. 85; (Amorite country) awarded to Hebrew tribes, iv. 166, 171; (Amorite country) comprises

GENERAL INDEX

- one-seventh of the land of Canaan, v. 3; (Amoritis) v. 89; (Amorite country) v. 91; v. 93, 261-262
- Amoria. See Amoraea
- Amorite. See Amorreus
- Amorite country. See Amoraea
- Amorites, Canaanite tribe, *A.* iv. 86; defeated by Hebrews, iv. 87-94
- Amoritis. See Amoraea
- Amorreus (Amorite), son of Canaan, *A.* i. 139
- Amour(os) (Bibl. Hamul), son of Perez, *A.* ii. 178
- Amphēkas (Bibl. Aphek), city in plain of Sharon, *A.* v. 352
- Amphicallēus, father of Zacharias, *B.* iv. 225
- Ampius (1), Titus, father of Ampius (2), *A.* xiv. 229, 230, 238
- Ampius (2) Balbus, Titus, Roman legate, *A.* xiv. 229, 230, 238
- Ampius (3), Titus, father of Ampius (4), *A.* xiv. 239
- Ampius (4) Menander, Titus, attests Lentulus' exemption of Jews of Ephesus from military service, *A.* xiv. 239
- Ampronas. See Asprenas
- Amram. See Amaram(es)
- Amraphel. See Amaraḥsides
- Amuchaïos. See Muchaïos
- Amygdalon, pool in Jerusalem, *B.* v. 468
- Amyntas (1), king of Macedonia, father of Philip, *A.* xix. 95
- Amyntas (2), Jew, father of Aristobulus, *A.* xiv. 248
- Ana. See Cana (1)
- Anacharsis, Scythian, renowned for wisdom, put to death by Scythians, *Ap.* ii. 269
- Anamias (Bibl. Ananīm), son of Mersaeus, *A.* i. 137
- Ananīm. See Anamias
- Ananel (Heb. Hananel), Babylonian Jew, appointed high priest by Herod, *A.* xv. 22, 34; deposed by Herod, xv. 39-41; resumes office of high priest, xv. 56
- Ananias (1) (Bibl. Hananiah), called Sedrachos (Bibl. Shad-
rach) by Nebuchadnezzar, *A.* x. 188-189
- Ananias (2) (Bibl. Hananiah), envoy of Jews to Darius, *A.* xi. 116-119
- Ananias (3), son of Onias, Jewish commander of Cleopatra's army *A.* xiii. 285, 287, 349; persuades Cleopatra not to invade Judaea, xiii. 354-355
- Ananias (4), Jewish merchant, teaches King Izates of Adiabene about Judaism, *A.* xx. 34-47
- Ananias (5), high priest, son of Nedebaeus, *B.* ii. 243, 409; his house burnt, ii. 426; ii. 429; his death, ii. 441-442; *A.* xx. 103; sent to Rome in chains, xx. 131; his influence, xx. 205-206; his son captured by *sicarii*, xx. 208-210; his influence, xx. 213
- Ananias (6), father of Simon, *B.* ii. 418 (perhaps identical with Ananias, son of Nedebaeus)
- Ananias (7), father of John, *B.* ii. 568 (perhaps identical with Ananias, son of Nedebaeus)
- Ananias (8), son of Sadok, *B.* ii. 451, 628; Pharisee, from lower ranks, part of deputation sent by high priest Ananus to seek to depose Josephus from command of Galilee, *V.* 197 ff., 290, 316; released by Josephus and sent off to Jerusalem, 332
- Ananias (9) and (10), messengers of Zealots to Idumaeans, *B.* iv. 232
- Ananias (11), priest, son of Masbalus, *B.* v. 532
- Ananias (12), father of Jesus, rude peasant, *B.* vi. 300
- Ananus (1), high priest, son of Seth, father of Jonathan, *B.* ii. 240; appointed high priest by Quirinius, *A.* xviii. 26; deposed as high priest, xviii. 34; xviii. 95; father of Theophilus, xix. 297; father of Jonathan the high priest, xix. 313; his five sons become high priests, xx. 197-198
- Ananus (2), Tomb of (prob. son of Seth), *B.* v. 506

GENERAL INDEX

- Ananus (3), son of Ananias, sent to Rome in chains, *B.* ii. 243; captain of the temple, *A.* xx. 131
- Ananus (4), high priest, son of Ananus, elected to supreme control of Jerusalem, *B.* ii. 563; ii. 648; favours moderation, ii. 651; ii. 653; iv. 151, 160; his speech against Zealots, iv. 162-192; attacks the Zealots, iv. 193-207; betrayed by John of Gischala, iv. 208-223; iv. 224-229; shuts the gates against the Idumaeans, iv. 236-238; iv. 288, 296-297, 301; murdered by the Idumaeans, iv. 314-318; encumbrance on him, iv. 319-322; iv. 325, 349, 504, 508; appointed high priest, *A.* xx. 197, 199; has James, brother of Jesus, stoned, xx. 200-202; deposed as high priest, xx. 203; seeks to remove Josephus from command in Galilee, *V.* 193-204; 216; popular indignation at Jerusalem against him for seeking to expel Josephus from Galilee, 309
- Ananus (5), son of Jonathan, urges surrender to Cestius, *B.* ii. 533-534
- Ananus (6), son of Bagadates of Emmaus, satellite of Simon the son of Giorias, *B.* v. 531; deserts to Romans, vi. 229-231
- anarabaches*, Hellenized form of Aramaic term (= *kahana rabba*) for high priest, *A.* iii. 151
- Anath, father of Hebrew judge Shamgar, *A.* v. 197
- Anathoth, native city of Jeremiah, *A.* x. 114
- Anaxagoras, similar to Moses in his view of God's nature, *Ap.* ii. 168; native of Clazomenae, almost condemned by Athenians, ii. 265
- Anchus (Bibl. Achish), king of Gath (Philistine city), expels David, *A.* vi. 245-247; vi. 319; allows David to live in Ziklag, vi. 322-324; enlists David in his army, vi. 325-326; vi. 351
- "Ancient," "the most" (of God), *Ap.* ii. 206
- Ancyra, city in Galatia, *A.* xvi. 165
- Andreas, second efforts of Aristaeus, *A.* xii. 18, 24; xii. 50, 53, 86; bodyguard of Ptolemy Philadelphus, appointed his commissioner, *Ap.* ii. 46
- Andromachos (Bibl. Adrammelech), son of King Sennacherib of Assyria, *A.* x. 23
- Andromachus, friend of Herod, dismissed by him, *A.* xvi. 242, 245
- Andromeda, legendary figure, impressions of her chains at Joppa, *B.* iii. 420
- Andronicus, son of Messalamus, speaks for Jews against Samaritans before Ptolemy Philometor, *A.* xiii. 75, 78-79
- Aner. See Enner
- angaroi*, messengers sent out by Ahasuerus, *A.* xi. 203
- Anilaus, with his brother Asinaeus organizes outlaw band, *A.* xviii. 314 ff.; xviii. 327, 329, 332; his affair with a Parthian general's wife creates a scandal, xviii. 342-352; captures Mithridates but releases him, xviii. 353-360; defeated and killed by Mithridates, xviii. 363-371
- animals (1) in Egyptian religion: worship of as gods by Egyptians, *Ap.* i. 225, 239, 244; though sacred to Egypt, roasted by Solymites, i. 249, 254; worshipped by Egyptians, ii. 66, 81, 86, 128-129, 139
- animals (2) in Jewish religion: rights of, according to Jewish law, *A.* iv. 233; Jewish law on assistance to them in distress, iv. 275-276; representation of them forbidden to Jews, *V.* 65; humane use of them prescribed by Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 213
- Anna (1) (Bibl. Hannah), wife of Elkanah and mother of Samuel, *A.* v. 342-347
- An(n)a (2). See Naia

GENERAL INDEX

- Anna (3). See Cana (1)
- Annaeus (Jannaeus), son of Levi, most important citizen of Tarichaeae, *B. ii.* 597; special friend of Agrippa II, secretly sent by Josephus to return stolen goods to Agrippa, *V.* 131
- Annibas (1). See Hannibal
- Annibas (2), Jew, executed by Fadus, *A. xx.* 4
- Annius (1), Lucius, sent by Vespasian to capture Gerasa, *B. iv.* 487-488
- Annius (2) Rufus. See Rufus, Annius
- Annius (3) Vinicianus, leader of a conspiracy against Gaius Caligula, *A. xix.* 18, 20; joins Chaerea in conspiracy against Gaius, *xix.* 49-59; *xix.* 96; released by Clemens, *xix.* 153-154; restrains Asiaticus from attempting to secure the empire after death of Gaius, *xix.* 252
- Annon (Bibl. Hanun), son of Nahash, mistreats David's envoys, *A. vii.* 117, 119
- Anoch (1) (Bibl. Enoch), son of Cain, *A. i.* 62-63
- Anoch (2) (Bibl. Enoch), son of Jared, *A. i.* 79, 85-86; becomes invisible at death, *ix.* 28
- Anoch (3). See Anoch(os)
- Anocha (Bibl. Enoch), city built by Cain, *A. i.* 62
- Anoch(es) (Bibl. Hanoeh), eldest son of Reuben, *A. ii.* 178
- Anoch(os), son of Medan, *A. i.* 238
- Anos (Bibl. Enosh), son of Seth, *A. i.* 79, 83
- Antaeus, opponent of Heracles, *A. i.* 241
- Anteius (1), father of Anteius the senator, exiled and put to death by Gaius Caligula, *A. xix.* 125
- Anteius (2), Roman senator, son of Anteius, killed by Gaius Caligula's German bodyguard, *A. xix.* 125-126
- Anthedon, maritime city in Palestine, named Agrippias by King Herod, *B. i.* 87; rebuilt by
- Gabinius, *i.* 166; annexed to Herod's kingdom, *i.* 396; *i.* 416; razed by Jews, *ii.* 460; captured by Alexander Jannaeus, *A. xiii.* 357; *xiii.* 395; rebuilt by Gabinius, *xiv.* 88; added to Herod's realm, *xv.* 217; *xviii.* 158
- Anthesterion, Halicarnassian month, *A. xiv.* 256
- Antigone, name given mockingly to Antigonus (son of Aristobulus II) by Sosius, *B. i.* 353, *A. xiv.* 481
- Antigonus (1) the One-Eyed, becomes master of Asia, *A. xii.* 2; father of Demetrius Poliorcetes, *Ap. i.* 185; Hieronymus friendly to him, *i.* 213
- Antigonus (2) Gonatas (?), defeated by Ptolemy Philadelphus in naval battle, *A. xii.* 93
- Antigonus (3), son of John Hyrcanus, besieges Sebaste, *B. i.* 64-65; honours conferred upon him by his brother, *i.* 71; murdered by his brother Aristobulus, *i.* 72-80; *i.* 82; besieges Samaria with his brother Aristobulus, *A. xiii.* 276-281; killed by Aristobulus, *xiii.* 302-314; *xiii.* 322
- Antigonus (4), son of Aristobulus, conducted to Rome, *B. i.* 158; *i.* 173, 186; accuses Antipater, *i.* 195-198; returns from exile, *i.* 239; banished by Herod, *i.* 240; *i.* 248-250, 254, 257, 259, 269-270, 273, 282, 284; besieges Masada, *i.* 286-287; *i.* 289-291, 294, 296-297, 300, 302-303, 314, 317-319, 323; outrages Joseph's corpse, *i.* 325; *i.* 327, 333, 335, 339; throws himself at Sossius' feet, *i.* 353; his death, *i.* 357; *i.* 358, 364, 665; *v.* 398; carried to Rome as captive by Pompey, *A. xiv.* 79; *xiv.* 96, 126; appeals to Caesar against usurpation of Hyrcanus, *xiv.* 140-142; defeated by Herod, *xiv.* 297-298; secures support from Parthians against Herod, *xiv.* 330-346; mutilates Hyrcanus and kills Phasael, *xiv.*

GENERAL INDEX

- 365, 368; set up as king, xiv. 379; hated by Antony, xiv. 382; considered enemy by Romans, xiv. 384; besieges Masada, xiv. 390-391; victim of Romans' extortion, xiv. 392-393; attacked by Herod, xiv. 394; bribes Silo, xiv. 395; besieged in Jerusalem by Herod, xiv. 399-412; his army defeated in Galilee by Herod, xiv. 413-414; xiv. 418; sought by Herod in Galilee, xiv. 431; bribes Machaeras, xiv. 435; xiv. 437-438; cuts off Joseph's head, xiv. 450; defeated by Herod at Jericho, xiv. 457-461; besieged in Jerusalem by Herod, xiv. 469-478; surrenders to Sossius, xiv. 481; taken to Rome, xiv. 488; killed by Antony, xiv. 489-490; taken captive, xv. 1; executed by Mark Antony, xv. 6-9; mutilates Hyrcanus, xv. 17; deprives Hyrcanus of high priesthood and mutilates him, xv. 181; Sons of Baba loyal to him, xv. 262-263; xv. 323; xvii. 92; put to death by Herod, xvii. 191; xx. 245
- Antimachus.** See **Antiochus (18)**
- Antioch (1),** city in Syria, *B. i.* 185, 243, 328, 425, 512; *ii.* 18, 41, 79, 186, 201, 244, 281, 479, 481, 500; *iii.* 29; *iv.* 630; danger to its Jews, vii. 41-62; Titus refuses local petition to expel its Jews, vii. 100-111; capital of Lower Syria, its Jews given citizenship rights, *A. xii.* 119-120; its inhabitants try to get citizenship rights of Jews revoked, xii. 121, 123; xii. 247, 315, 367, 383, 394, 397, 401, 421; xiii. 33, 36, 42, 87; its inhabitants offended by Alexander Balas, xiii. 108; its inhabitants accept Demetrius as king, xiii. 111-115; its territory plundered by Alexander Balas, xiii. 116; xiii. 123; subdued by Demetrius II with help of Jews, xiii. 135-141; xiii. 144, 188, 209, 385-386; xiv. 125; Jews' rights there protected by Antony, xiv. 323; xiv. 440, 451; scene of Antigonus' execution, xv. 8-9; xv. 218, 359; its inhabitants benefited by Herod, xvi. 148; xvi. 270; xvii. 24, 132, 222, 251, 299; xviii. 95, 104, 126; xxi. 133, 246; revolution aroused there by Stratonice against Macedonian King Demetrius II, *Ap. i.* 206-207; its Jews given citizenship, *ii.* 39
- Antioch (2),** in Mesopotamia, founded by Macedonians, surnamed Epimygdonia, *A. xx.* 68
- Antiochenes,** Jews of Antioch (1) called, *Ap. ii.* 39
- Antiochus (1) I (Soter),** Syrian king, *B. vii.* 43 (apparently)
- Antiochus (2) II (Theos),** grandson of Seleucus, grants citizenship to Syrian Jews, *A. [xii.] 125*
- Antiochus (3) III (the Great),** takes Judaea away from Ptolemies, *A. xii.* 129-133; sends letter to his governor Ptolemy favourable to Jews, xii. 134-144; publishes decree concerning the temple of the Jews, xii. 145-146; orders transportation of Babylonian Jews to Phrygia, xii. 147-153; makes treaty of friendship with Ptolemy Epiphanes, gives his daughter Cleopatra to him in marriage, xii. 154; father of Seleucus, xii. 223; defeated by Rome, xii. 414
- Antiochus (4) IV (Epiphanes),** captures Jerusalem, *B. i.* 19, 31-38; his death, *i.* 40; *v.* 394; *vi.* 436; *vii.* 44; his treatment of Jews foretold by Daniel, *A. x.* 276; ascends the throne, xii. 234; seizes Hyrcanus' property, xii. 236; appoints high priest, xii. 237; petitioned by Hellenizers, xii. 240; marches against Egypt, xii. 242; captures Jerusalem, xii. 246; petitioned by Samaritans, xii. 257-264; his edicts defied by Mattathias, xii. 268-

GENERAL INDEX

- 270; sets out for Persia, xii. 293, 297; his generals defeated by Judas, xii. 316; makes the temple in Jerusalem desolate, xii. 320; his death, xii. 354-361; xii. 393; xiii. 35, 243, 292; violates law by removing high priest, xv. 41; his invasion of Judaea, *Ap.* i. 34; despoils temple in Jerusalem, allegedly discovers ass's head, ii. 80; plunders temple in Jerusalem because of impurity, ii. 83-84; defence of him by anti-Semitic writers, ii. 90; allegedly finds Greek in temple about to be sacrificed, ii. 91-102; ii. 120
- Antiochus (5) V (Eupator), son of Antiochus Epiphanes, fights with Judas Maccabaeus, *B.* i. 40-47; (erroneous reference in Josephus, i. 48); vii. 423 (not Antiochus Epiphanes, as listed in note); *A.* xii. 296, 360-361; besieges Jerusalem, xii. 364-378; comes to terms with the Jews in Jerusalem, xii. 379-383; kills high priest Menelaus, xii. 385; kills Philip, Syrian royal regent, xii. 386; xii. 387; killed by Demetrius, xii. 390; first to depose a high priest, xx. 234-235
- Antiochus (6) VI (Theos), makes truce with Jonathan, *B.* i. 48-49; son of Alexander Balas, *A.* xiii. 131; crowned king, xiii. 144; honours Jonathan, xiii. 145-147; aided by Jonathan against Demetrius, xiii. 148-150; plotted against by Tryphon, xiii. 187; killed by Tryphon, xiii. 218-219
- Antiochus (7) VII (Sidetes, Eusebes, Soter), his alliance with Simon, *B.* i. 50; sends general Cendebeus to subjugate Simon, i. 51; besieges Jerusalem, i. 61; campaigns against Medes, i. 62; *A.* vii. 393; xiii. 219, 222; forms alliance with Simon, xiii. 223-224; turns against Jews, xiii. 225-226; xiii. 236-241; his respect for Jewish festival, xiii. 242-244; agrees to truce with Jews, xiii. 245, 248; his alliance with Hyrcanus, xiii. 249-251; his death, xiii. 253-254; xiii. 261-263; xiii. 271, 273; xiv. 249 (probably); occupies temple in Jerusalem, *Ap.* ii. 82
- Antiochus (8) VIII (Aspendius, Grypus, Philometor), son of Demetrius II, fails to relieve Sebaste, *B.* i. 65; becomes king, is attacked by his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus, *A.* xiii. 269-273; xiii. 325; his death, xiii. 365
- Antiochus (9) IX (Cyzicenus), son of Antiochus VII, attacks his brother Antiochus Grypus, *A.* xiii. 270-274; defeated by Aristobulus, xiii. 277; invades Judaea, xiii. 278-279; xiii. 282, 325; his death, xiii. 366-367, 369; xiv. 38, 249 (perhaps)
- Antiochus (10) X (Eusebes, Philopator), son of Cyzicenus, defeats Seleucus and the latter's brother Antiochus, *A.* xiii. 367-369; his death, xiii. 371
- Antiochus (11) XI (Epiphanes, Philadelphus), son of Grypus, slain by Antiochus Cyzicenus, *A.* xiii. 369
- Antiochus (12) XII (Dionysus), son of Grypus, fights with Arabs, *B.* i. 99-102; invades Judaea but is slain by the Arabs, *A.* xiii. 387-391
- Antiochus (13) I, king of Commagene, *B.* i. 322; surrenders to Antony, *A.* xiv. 447
- Antiochus (14), king of Commagene, his death, *A.* xviii. 53
- Antiochus (15) IV, king of Commagene, supplies auxiliaries to Romans, *B.* ii. 500; iii. 68; v. 461; his misfortunes, vii. 219-237; his reconciliation with Vespasian, vii. 238-243; his relationship to House of Herod, *A.* xviii. 140; re-assigned a new kingdom by Claudius, xix. 276; entertained by Agrippa I at Tiberias, xix. 338; his son betrothed

GENERAL INDEX

- to Agrippa I's daughter, xix. 355; xx. 139
- Antiochus (16) Epiphanes, son of Antiochus IV of Commagene, vainly attempts to mount wall of Jerusalem, *B. v.* 460-465; allegedly in league with Parthians against Rome, vii. 221; 232, 236, 241; betrothed to Agrippa's daughter, *A. xix.* 355; rejects this marriage because of unwillingness to convert to Judaism, xx. 139
- Antiochus (17) Callinicus. See Callinicus
- Antiochus (18) (var. Antimachus), father of Numenius the Jewish envoy to the Romans, *A. xiii.* 169; xiv. 146
- Antiochus (19), Syrian Jew, renegade, accuses Antiochene Jews of incendiarism, *B. vii.* 47-60
- Antiochus (20) of Syracuse, writer on Sicilian history, contradicted by Timaeus, *Ap. i.* 17
- Antiochus (21), Ravine (Valley) of (apparently in Gaulanitis), captured by Alexander Jannaeus, *B. i.* 105; *A. xiii.* 394
- Antiochus (22), Valley of. See Antiochus, Ravine of
- Antipas (1), father of Antipas (Antipater), governor of Idumaea, *A. xiv.* 10
- Antipas (2), previous name of Antipater (3), *A. xiv.* 10
- Antipas (3), Herod (Herod the tetrarch), son of Herod the Great and Malthace, *B. i.* 562, 646, 664, 668; contends for throne of Judaea, ii. 20-22; made tetrarch, ii. 94-95; ii. 167-168; accused by Agrippa, ii. 178; his banishment to Spain by Gaius and death, ii. 181-183; son of Herod by his Samaritan wife, *A. xvii.* 20; designated tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, xvii. 188; sails for Rome to claim throne, xvii. 224-227, 238; receives a portion of Herod's kingdom from Augustus, xvii. 318; builds cities, xviii. 27; builds Tiberias, xviii. 36-38; gives feast for Vitellius and Artabanus, xviii. 102; anticipates Vitellius in sending news of treaty with Parthians to Tiberius, xviii. 104-105; xviii. 106; divorces daughter of Aretas and marries Herodias, xviii. 109-112; defeated by Aretas, xviii. 113-115; his defeat attributed to his murder of John the Baptist, xviii. 116-119; welcome Vitellius in Jerusalem, xviii. 122; xviii. 136; dissuades Agrippa from committing suicide, xviii. 148, 150; urged by Herodias to improve his fortunes, xviii. 240-243; accused of conspiracy by Agrippa, xviii. 247-251; his tetrarchy given to Agrippa, xviii. 252, 255; xix. 351; founder of Tiberias, intends that Sepphoris be subordinate to it, according to Justus, *V.* 37; builder of palace at Tiberias containing representations of animals, 65
- Antipas (4), relative of Agrippa II, in deputation to Agrippa, *B. ii.* 418, 557; murdered by brigands, iv. 140-146
- Antipater (1), son of Jason, envoy sent to Romans by Jonathan, *A. xiii.* 169
- Antipater (2), father of Aeneas the Jewish envoy to Romans, *A. xiv.* 248
- Antipater (3) the Idumaeen (earlier called Antipas), procurator of Judaea, *B. i.* 19; seeks to reinstate Hyrcanus, i. 123-124; i. 130; takes refuge with Pompey, i. 131; negotiates surrender of Aretas to Scaurus, i. 159; aids Gabinius, i. 162; i. 175, 177, 178, 180; his family and rise, i. 181; helps Caesar in Egypt, i. 187-188; prevails on Egyptian Jews, i. 190; rescues Mithridates, i. 191; praised by Mithridates, i. 192; i. 193; becomes Roman citizen, i. 194; i. 195, 197; appointed

GENERAL INDEX

- viceroy of Judaea, i. 199-203 ; i. 207-209, 214, 217, 220, 222-224, 226, 230, 244, 276, 282, 283 ; v. 398 ; his rise, *A.* xiv. 8-10 ; incites Hyrcanus against Aristobulus, xiv. 11-19 ; xiv. 33 ; seeks aid of Pompey against Aristobulus, xiv. 37, 43 ; reconciles Scaurus with Aretas, xiv. 80-81 ; xiv. 84 ; assists Gabinius in Egypt, xiv. 99 ; xiv. 101, 103 ; his great influence, xiv. 120-122 ; assists Caesar in Egypt, xiv. 127-139 ; honoured by Caesar despite Antigonus' protests, xiv. 140-143 ; restores order in Jerusalem, xiv. 156 ; honoured by Jews, xiv. 162 ; accused before Hyrcanus, xiv. 163-167 ; dissuades Herod from attacking Hyrcanus, xiv. 181 ; supports Caesarians against Pompeians, xiv. 269 ; supports Cassius, xiv. 273, 276 ; plotted against by Malichus, xiv. 277-279 ; poisoned by Malichus, xiv. 280-286, 293 ; his hospitality to Antony (xiv. 326) ; deposits money with Arabs, xiv. 372 ; xiv. 381 ; his services to Caesar remembered, xiv. 383 ; xiv. 491 ; xv. 47 ; Hyrcanus yields power to him, xv. 177 ; befriended by Hyrcanus, xv. 182 ; aid to Caesar recalled, xvi. 52-54 ; xvi. 143
- Antipater** (4), son of Herod and Doris, *B.* i. 241 ; banished, i. 433 ; recalled by Herod, i. 448 ; i. 450, 452, 453, 455 ; his intrigues, i. 467-475 ; i. 477, 495, 516-527, 545 ; his unpopularity and fears, i. 552-573 ; discovery of his plot to poison Herod, i. 582-647 ; executed by Herod, i. 661-664 ; *A.* xiv. 300 ; acquires influence over Herod, xvi. 78-86 ; intrigues against Mariamme's sons, xvi. 87-90 ; xvi. 127 ; designated Herod's successor, xvi. 133 ; xvi. 190-191 ; incites his father against Alexander, xvi. 232 ; plays on Herod's morbid fears, xvi. 244, 246, 250 ; left in care of Augustus, xvi. 273 ; assisted by Eurycles in his intrigues against Alexander, xvi. 302, 305-307 ; forges letter incriminating Alexander, xvi. 319 ; incites mob to kill Tyrannus, xvi. 327 ; his intrigues against Herod, xvii. 1-7 ; marries Aristobulus' widow, xvii. 9 ; xvii. 14 ; his antipathy to his brothers' children, xvii. 15-16, 18 ; xvii. 19 ; takes over management of affairs from Herod, xvii. 32-35 ; forbidden by Herod from associating with Pheroras, xvii. 50-51 ; designated Herod's successor, xvii. 52-53 ; accuses Syllaes before Augustus, xvii. 54 ; discovery of his intrigues, xvii. 60-74 ; denounces Archelaus and Philip to Herod, xvii. 79-82 ; receives cold reception from Herod, xvii. 83-92 ; accused by Herod of fratricide and of plotting against his father, xvii. 93-98 ; defends self before his father, xvii. 100-106 ; accused by Nicolas and many others, xvii. 109-127 ; appeals to God for defence, xvii. 128-131 ; arrested by Herod, xvii. 132-133 ; his plot against Salome discovered, xvii. 133-145 ; incites his father against Archelaus and Philip, xvii. 146 ; executed by Herod, xvii. 182, 185-186, 191 ; xvii. 238 (var.)
- Antipater** (5), son of Salome, *B.* i. 566 ; accuses Archelaus in Rome, ii. 26-33 ; his marriage, *A.* xvii. 22 ; accuses Archelaus in Rome, xvii. 230-240, 242 ; married to Cypros, daughter of Herod the Great, xviii. 130 ; xviii. 138
- Antipater** (6), son of Phasaël and Salampsio, *A.* xviii. 131
- Antipater** (7), surnamed Gadia, killed by Herod, *A.* xv. 252 ; accused by Salome of plotting against Herod, xv. 260
- Antipater** (8) the Samaritan,

GENERAL INDEX

- agent to Antipater (4), *B. i.* 592; *A. xvii.* 69
- Antipatris (Chabarsaba), city in Palestine, *B. i.* 99, 417; *ii.* 513, 515, 554; subdued by Vespasian, *iv.* 443; earlier name Chabarsaba, *A. xiii.* 390; city built by Herod, *xvi.* 143
- Antiphilus, friend of Antipater (4), involved in plot against Herod, *B. i.* 592; *i.* 598, 641; plots against Herod, *A. xvii.* 70, 73, 77; involved in Antipater's plot against Salome, *xvii.* 134-135, 144
- Antiquities.* See Josephus (1), works
- Antistius Vetus, C., Roman general, *B. i.* 217
- Antonia (1), fortified portion of the temple in Jerusalem, formerly Baris, *B. i.* 75, 118, 121, 401; *ii.* 328, 330, 331, 403; captured by Jews, *ii.* 430; *v.* 146, 149, 150, 183, 192; described, *v.* 238-246; *v.* 260, 267, 304, 356, 358, 467, 469, 486, 523; *vi.* 15, 23-28, 30, 32, 45; captured by Titus, *vi.* 68; *vi.* 74, 80, 82, 86, 91, 93, 133, 136, 145, 149, 165-168, 246, 249, 311; *A. xiii.* 307; built by Herod, *xv.* 292; Romans order Jews to deposit priestly robes there, *xv.* 403-408; fortified and named by Herod, *xv.* 409; connected to temple by secret passage, *xv.* 424; place where priestly vestments are stored, *xviii.* 91-95; priestly robes ordered deposited there, *xx.* 6; fortress overlooking temple, *xx.* 110; fortress in hands of revolutionaries at start of revolt against Rome, *V.* 20
- Antonia (2), wife of Drusus the Elder, her friendship with Agrippa I, *A. xviii.* 143; *xviii.* 156; loans money to Agrippa, *xviii.* 164-167; saves Tiberius from Sejanus' plot, *xviii.* 179-182; persuades Tiberius to hear Eutychus' charge against Agrippa, *xviii.* 183-186; cares for Agrippa during his imprisonment, *xviii.* 202; *xviii.* 236; guarded by Alexander the alabarch, *xix.* 276
- Antonia (3), daughter of Claudius and Petina, *B. ii.* 249; *A. xx.* 150
- Antonius (1), Gaius, Roman consul, *A. xiv.* 66
- Antonius (2), Marcus, father of Lucius Antonius, *A. xiv.* 235
- Antonius (3), Lucius, Roman proquaestor, *A. xiv.* 230; his letter to Sardis, *xiv.* 235
- Antonius (4), Marcus. See Antony, Mark
- Antonius (5), Julius, proconsul, orders Ephesians to allow Jews to send money to Jerusalem, *A. xvi.* 172
- Antonius (6) Primus, destroys Vitellius and his German legions, *B. iv.* 495, 633-654
- Antonius (7) Julianus, M., See Julianus, M. Antonius
- Antonius (8), Roman commander at Ascalon, *B. iii.* 12-13, 25-26
- Antonius (9), centurion, killed at Jotapata, *B. iii.* 333-335
- Antonius (10) Silo. See Silo
- Antony, Mark (Marcus Antonius), *B. i.* 118, 162, 165, 171, 184, 225, 232, 242-247; makes Herod king of the Jews, *i.* 281-285; *i.* 290, 298, 302; near Athens, *i.* 309; *i.* 317; besieges Samosata, *i.* 320-322; in Egypt, *i.* 327; *i.* 330, 346, 357; bewitched by Cleopatra, *i.* 359-363; *i.* 364-365; defeated by Octavian at Actium, *i.* 386; *i.* 388, 390-393; his death, *i.* 396; *i.* 401, 439, 441; urged by Cleopatra to kill Herod, *vii.* 301-302; *A. xiv.* 84, 86, 92, 124; continues Caesar's policy toward Jews, *xiv.* 217, 221; his war with Cassius, *xiv.* 280, 290; defeats Cassius at Philippi, *xiv.* 301; shows favour to Herod and Hyrcanus, *xiv.* 301-305; grants privileges to Jews of Tyre, *xiv.* 306; his letter to Tyre on behalf of Jewish rights, *xiv.*

GENERAL INDEX

314; orders Tyrians to return possessions of Jews, xiv. 319-320; meets Cleopatra, xiv. 324; favours Herod, xiv. 325-327, 329; makes Herod king, xiv. 379-389; urges support for Herod, xiv. 394; promises aid to Herod, xiv. 407; his favour sought by Antigonius, xiv. 412; in Athens, xiv. 420; urges Machaeras to aid Herod, xiv. 434; sends Machaeras to Herod, xiv. 437; his troops rescued by Herod from Parthian ambush, xiv. 439-441; welcomes Herod with honours, xiv. 445-447; xiv. 448; aids Herod, xiv. 453; sends Sosius to aid Herod, xiv. 469; kills Antigonius, xiv. 488-490; executes Antigonius, xv. 5-10; Alexandra's children commended to him by Dellius, xv. 24-31; xv. 32; questions Herod about Aristobulus' death, xv. 63-65; his desire for Mariamme, xv. 67; rumoured to have killed Herod, xv. 71; his desire for Mariamme, xv. 73; refuses to condemn Herod for Aristobulus' death, xv. 74-75, 77-80; xv. 85; gives Cleopatra part of Syria, xv. 88-93; escorted by Herod, xv. 96; Herod's desire to benefit him by murdering Cleopatra, xv. 99, 101-102; in Armenia, xv. 104; gives territories to Cleopatra, xv. 106; at battle of Actium, xv. 109; orders Herod to attack the Arabs, xv. 110-111; at battle of Actium, xv. 121; protects Judaea and Arabia from Cleopatra's annexation, xv. 131; defeated at Actium, xv. 161-162; murders enemies at Tyre, xv. 169; Herod's friendship with him, xv. 183; Herod recounts his friendship and loyalty for him to Octavia, xv. 189-190, 193, 195; xv. 197; defeated by Octavius, xv. 215; refuses to give Idumaea to Cleopatra, xv.

256, 258; Herod names Antonia for him, xv. 409; his defeat at Actium, xviii. 26; shares his rule with Augustus Caesar, xviii. 32; Herod names Antonia in his honour, xviii. 92; slays Antigonius, xx. 246; corrupted by Cleopatra, who deserts him at Actium, *Ap.* ii. 58-59
 Antyllus, father of Capella (Jewish leader in Tiberias), *V.* 69
 Anuath Borcaeus, village in Judaea, *B.* iii. 51
 Anubis, Egyptian god in whose guise Mundus has intimate relations with Paulina, *A.* xviii. 72-73, 75, 77
 Apachnas, third Hycsos king of Egypt, *Ap.* i. 80
 Apame, concubine of King Darius, *A.* xi. 54
 Apamea, city in Syria, site of fighting between Pompeians and Caesarians, *B.* i. 216; i. 218-219, 362; ii. 479; *A.* xiii. 131; besieged by Antiochus Sidetes, xiii. 224; xiv. 38, 268, 271; xv. 96
 Apate (Deceit), deified by Greeks, *Ap.* ii. 248
 Apellaeus (Apellaios), Macedonian name for ninth month, *B.* iv. 654; *A.* xi. 148; xii. 248, 319, 321
 Apellaios. See Apellaeus
 Apelles, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes slain by Mattathias, *A.* xii. 270
 Aphairema, district given to Jewish nation by Demetrius II, *A.* xiii. 127
 Aphek (1). See Amphekas
 Aphek (2). See Apheka
 Apheka (Bibl. Aphek), city in Palestine (identity uncertain), *A.* viii. 381, 383
 Apheku, tower near Antipatris in Palestine, *B.* ii. 513
 Aphas, son of Abraham, *A.* i. 241
 Aphra (var. Ephra), city in Libya, *A.* i. 241
 Aphranes, son of Abraham, *A.* i. 241

GENERAL INDEX

- Aphthia, village in Judaea, *B.* iv. 155
- Apion, Alexandrian delegate to Emperor Gaius Caligula, *A.* xviii. 257, 259; grammarian, references to Jews in his *History of Egypt* refuted by Josephus, *Ap.* ii. 2-144; his lies, ii. 295
- Apis, Egyptian sacred animal picked up by King Amenophis in Memphis, *Ap.* i. 246; entrusted by King Amenophis to priests, i. 263
- Apollo, temple of on Palatine Hill in Rome, *B.* ii. 81; temple of at Gaza, *A.* xiii. 364; temple of on Palatine Hill in Rome, xvii. 301; worshipped by Idumaeans from Dorii, *Ap.* ii. 112; walks upon the earth, ii. 117; as lawgiver, ii. 162; depicted as beardless, (ii. 242); lute-player, devoted to archery, (ii. 243); hired as builder and as shepherd to men, (ii. 247)
- Apollodorus, historian, cited on Antiochus Epiphanes' motive in plundering temple in Jerusalem, *Ap.* ii. 84
- Apollodotus, Gazaeen general, *A.* xiii. 359-361
- Apollonia, city in Palestine, rebuilt by Gabinius, *B.* i. 166; *A.* xiii. 395
- Apollonius (1), governor of Samaria under Antiochus Epiphanes, *A.* xii. 261, 264; defeated by Judas Maccabaeus, xii. 287
- Apollonius (2) Taos (var. Daos), governor of Syria, defeated by Jonathan, *A.* xiii. 88-102
- Apollonius (3), son of Alexander, Jewish envoy sent to Rome by Hyrcanus I, *A.* xiii. 260, xiv. 248
- Apollonius (4) Molon. See Molon, Apollonius
- Aponius, Roman senator wounded by Claudius' soldiers, *A.* xix. 264
- Apophis, fourth Hycsos king of Egypt, *Ap.* i. 80
- Apphus, surname of Jonathan, son of Mattathias, *A.* xii. 266
- Appius Menas, Roman mentioned in decree of Lentulus, *A.* xiv. 239
- April, Ides of, *A.* xiv. 219
- Apsanes (Bibl. Ibsan), judge, rules Israel, *A.* v. 271-272
- Apulius (1), Lucius, father of Lucius Apulius, of Sergian tribe, *A.* xiv. 220
- Apulius (2), Lucius, Roman senator, *A.* xiv. 220
- Aquila (1), delivers death wound to Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 110
- Aquila (2), prefect of Egypt under Augustus, *A.* xix. 283
- Aquileia, city in Italy, *A.* xvi. 91
- Aquilius. See Gellius (1) and (2)
- Arabatha (1). See Arablatha
- Arabatha (2) (var. Rabatha, Barbatha, Tharabatha; Bibl. Rabbath Moab), *A.* xiv. 18
- Arabia (1) (see also Arab[s]), *B.* i. 6, 89-90, 124-125, 159, 181, 267, 274, 276, 286, 360, 365, 385, 419, 487, 583; iii. 47, 51; iv. 454, 482; v. 160; vii. 172; bequeathed to Ishmael, *A.* ii. 213; iv. 82, 85, 173; v. 82; its kings send gifts to Solomon, viii. 179; ix. 191; xii. 233; xiii. 116, 144, 179, 389; invaded by Antiochus Dionysus, xiii. 391; xiv. 15, 80, 83, 128, 362; coveted by Cleopatra, xv. 92; parts of it leased by Herod from Cleopatra, xv. 96; invaded by Herod, xv. 111; xvi. 220, 224, 275, 280; invaded by Herod, xvi. 283, 287; xvi. 297, 340; invaded by Herod, xvi. 341; becomes base of operations for brigands of Trachonitis, xvi. 347; given to Aretas, xvi. 353; xvii. 62-63; xviii. 112; conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, *Ap.* i. 133; ii. 25
- Arabia (2) Felix, *B.* ii. 385; *A.* i. 239
- Arabian Gulf, *A.* iii. 25
- Arabians. See Arab(s)
- Arablatha (var. Arabatha, Aramatha, Salabatha, Salamatha, Sabolatha; Bibl. Riblah), city in Syria, *A.* x. 135, 149, 150
- Arab(s) (Arabians; see also

GENERAL INDEX

Arabia), *B.* i. 99, 128, 131, 159, 161, 181, 363-385, 388, 440, 534, 566, 574-577; ii. 68-70, 76, 362; iii. 51, 68; archers at Jotapata, iii. 168; iii. 211, 262; v. 290, 551, 556; circumsise at age of thirteen, *A.* i. 214; origin of names of their tribes, i. 221; Joseph sold to them, ii. 32-33; iv. 82, 161; attack Israelites, v. 210; defeated by Gideon, v. 229; pay tribute to Jehoshaphat, viii. 396; join Ammanites against Jehoshaphat, ix. 7; attack Jehoram, ix. 102; subdued by Uzziah, ix. 217; Herodotus' erroneous account of Sennacherib's invasion of them, x. 18-19; warred on by Hyrcanus, xii. 229, 236; aid Timotheus, xii. 341; xiii. 10, 18, 118, 131, 360; subdued by Alexander Jannaeus, xiii. 374-375; xiii. 382, 384; slay Antiochus Dionysus, xiii. 387, 391; xiii. 414; xiv. 10, 14-15, 18, 20-21, 121-122, 227; refuse to aid Herod, xiv. 370-372; xiv. 390; attacked by and defeat Herod, xv. 107-120; attack Jews after earthquake, xv. 123, 130; cheat Jews, xv. 131-133; xv. 142; defeated by Jews, xv. 147-160; xv. 167, 172; distract Herod from aiding Antony, xv. 189; invade Herod's territory, xv. 351; spoils taken from them adorn Herod's temple, xv. 402; xvi. 225-226; war with Herod, xvi. 271-285; xvi. 284; Syllaes appeals to Augustus on their behalf, xvi. 288, 291-292; ruled by Aeneas, xvi. 294; xvi. 296; war with Herod, xvi. 337-351; provide evidence against Syllaes, xvi. 337, 339; xvii. 10; plot against Herod, xvii. 54-57; their hatred for Herod, xvii. 290; terrorized by brigand Tholomaeus, xx. 5; war with Izates and are defeated, xx. 77-79; Hycsos identified with them, *Ap.* i. 82

Aracharis (Bibl. Rab-saris), Assyrian commanding officer at siege of Jerusalem, *A.* x. 4
 Aradus, city in Syria, *A.* i. 138; xiii. 367; Jewish rights there protected by Antony, xiv. 323
 Aram. See Aramus
 Aramaeans, termed Syrians by Greeks, *A.* i. 144
 Aramaic, *A.* x. 8
 Aramatha (1) (Aramathe, Ariman; Bibl. Ramoth), city of refuge in Galadene, (Ariman) *A.* iv. 173; (Aramathe) viii. 398, 411; (Aramathe) Ahab dies there, viii. 417; (Aramathe) ix. 105-106, 112
 Aramatha (2). See Arablatha; Armatha
 Aramathe. See Aramatha (1)
 Aramathon. See Armatha
 Aram Beth-Rehob. See Syros (2)
 Aram Naharaim. See Syros (2)
 Aramus (Bibl. Aram), son of Shem, *A.* i. 144-145
 Aran (Arran; Bibl. Haran), brother of Abraham, *A.* i. 151-152, 154, 289
 Araos (Bibl. Rehob), father of Hadadezer, *A.* vii. 99
 Araphos (Bibl. Raphah), Philistine, father of Ishbi-benob, *A.* vii. 298
 Arasamos. See Erasamos
 Arases (Bibl. Rezin), king of Syria and Damascus, *A.* ix. 244-245; killed by Assyrians, ix. 253
 Araske (Bibl. Nisroch), temple of Sennacherib, *A.* x. 23
 Arauna. See Oronnas
 Arbela (1), village in Galilee, *B.* i. 305; *A.* xii. 421; xiv. 415; village where Josephus convenes meeting of Galilaeans to inform them of the confirmation of his appointment as commander in Galilee, *V.* 311
 Arbela (2), Cave of, village in Lower Galilee, fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188
 Arcadians, vaunted antiquity of, *Ap.* i. 22
 Arce (1) (Arcea, Arke), town in

GENERAL INDEX

- Lebanon, (Arcea) *B.* vii. 97; *A.* i. 138; (Arke) ix. 285
- Arce (2), city in territory of Asher, called Ecdipus, *A.* v. 85
- Arce (3), city in Arabia, later called Petra, *A.* iv. 82; called Rekeme, iv. 161
- Arcea. See Arce (1)
- Archelais, village built by Archelaus, *A.* xvii. 340; bequeathed to Julia by Salome, xviii. 31
- Archelaus (1), king of Cappadocia, *B.* i. 446-447, 456, 499, 502, 504-510, 511-513, 516-518, 523, 530, 538, 559, 561; ii. 114; restores Tigranes to throne of Armenia, *A.* xv. 105; his daughter marries Herod's son, xvi. 11; called ally of Herod's sons against Herod, xvi. 74; xvi. 97; visited by Herod, xvi. 131; xvi. 193, 206; reconciles Herod with Alexander, xvi. 261-269; reconciled with Titius by Herod, xvi. 270; xvi. 302; deceived by Eurycles, xvi. 309-310; incurs enmity of Herod, xvi. 325-334; rejected by Herod as adviser in matter of his sons, xvi. 357, 360; his daughter sent to him by Herod, xvii. 11; xvii. 16, 341, 349; xviii. 139
- Archelaus (2), son of Herod and Malthace, *B.* i. 562, 602, 646, 664, 668-670; his accession to throne, ii. 1-7; deals with sedition, ii. 8-13; departs for Rome to seek Augustus' confirmation, ii. 14-38; ii. 39-40, 74, 80-92; made ethnarch, ii. 94-98; his banishment, ii. 111-117; ii. 167; *A.* xvii. 20; denounced by Antipater to Herod, xvii. 80; Herod's hatred for him, xvii. 146; designated Herod's successor, xvii. 188-189; appointed king, xvii. 194-195; arranges Herod's funeral, xvii. 196; addresses his subjects, xvii. 200, 204; demands made upon him, xvii. 205-208; fails to pacify the malcontents, xvii. 210, 212; suppresses disturbances in temple during Passover, xvii. 215-218; sails for Rome seeking Augustus' confirmation as king, xvii. 219-228; challenged by Antipas, xvii. 224-227; charges brought against him by Antipater, xvii. 230, 235-239; defended by Nicolas, xvii. 240-243; Augustus postpones decision on him, xvii. 248-249; death of his mother, xvii. 250; captures brother of Athronges, xvii. 284; his rule objected to by Jewish delegation, xvii. 299, 301, 303, 311-313; defended by Nicolas, xvii. 316; appointed ethnarch of Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea, xvii. 317-321; his deeds as ethnarch of Judaea, xvii. 339; banished to Gaul by Augustus, xvii. 342-344; his dream, xvii. 345-348; marries his brother's wife, Glaphyra, xvii. 349-352; his territory added to Syria, xvii. 355; his estate liquidated by Quirinius, xviii. 2, 26; continues practice of storing priestly vestments in Antonia, xviii. 93; follows his father's policy in appointing high priests, xx. 249, 251; *V.* 5
- Archelaus (3), in charge of Archelaus the ethnarch's affairs at Rome, *A.* xvii. 343, 348
- Archelaus (4), Julius, son of Helcias, is to marry Mariamme, daughter of Agrippa I, *A.* xix. 355; married to Mariamme, xx. 140; xx. 147; Josephus sells him copy of *Jewish War*, he vouches for Josephus' accuracy, *Ap.* i. 51
- Archelaus (5), son of Magaddatus, Jewish deserter who joins Titus *B.* vi. 229-231
- archives, Jewish, in Jerusalem, burnt, *B.* ii. 427; vi. 354; containing pedigrees, *Ap.* i. 31, 35
- archives, of Galilee, *V.* 38
- Ard. See Arod(os)
- Ardalas, officer in forces of Simon the son of Gioras, *B.* vi. 360-361

GENERAL INDEX

- Aregetes, father of Syphas, *B.* iv. 141
- Areios (1) (Areius; var. Areus), Lacedaemonian king, sends letter to Onias, *A.* xii. 225-228; xiii. 167
- Areios (2). See Arius
- Areius. See Areios (1)
- Areli. See Arieles
- Aremantos, Babylonian commander assigned to sack of Jerusalem, *A.* x. 135
- Ares, Greek god, fights among men (*Ap.* ii. 242)
- Aretas (1), Arab king, *B.* i. 103, 124-131, 159; *A.* xiii. 360; reigns over Syria, xiii. 392; xiii. 414; persuaded by Antipater to help Hyrcanus against Aristobulus, xiv. 14-17; besieges Aristobulus in temple during Passover, xiv. 19, 21; forced by Pompey to leave siege of Jerusalem, xiv. 32; defeated by Aristobulus, xiv. 33; xiv. 81
- Aretas (2), Arab king of Petra, previously called Aeneas, *B.* i. 574; ii. 68; succeeds Obadas, *A.* xvi. 294; battles for power with Syllaesus, xvi. 295-296; accuses Syllaesus, xvi. 339; confirmed as ruler of Arabia, xvi. 353, 355; accuses Syllaesus, xvii. 54; helps Varus subdue brigands in Judaea, xvii. 287; his army dismissed by Varus, xvii. 296; quarrels with Herod the tetrarch, xviii. 109-115; expedition of Vitellius against him halted by death of Tiberius, xviii. 120, 125
- Arethusa, city in Palestine, freed by Pompey, *B.* i. 156; *A.* xiv. 75
- Areus. See Areios (1)
- Argarizin (Garizein), town in Palestine captured by John Hyrcanus, *B.* i. 63; (Garizein) *A.* xiii. 255
- Argos, city in Greece, site of statue of Hera, *B.* i. 414; Acusilaus of, *Ap.* i. 13; discrepancies among its historians, i. 17; Danaus comes to it, i. 103; flight of Danaus to it, ii. 16
- Ari (Arinus), father of Simon and Judas, (Arinus) *B.* v. 250; vi. 92, 148; vii. 215
- Aridaeans (Arvadites), their land unassigned by Joshua, *A.* v. 89
- Arieles (Bibl. Areli), son of Gad, *A.* ii. 182
- Aries, sun is there during Nisan, *A.* iii. 248
- Arinus. See Ari
- Arioch (1), Assyrian commander, *A.* i. 173
- Arioch (2). See Arioches
- Arioches (Bibl. Arioch), commander of bodyguard of King Nebuchadnezzar, *A.* x. 197-199, 202
- Arion, steward of Joseph the Tobiad, *A.* xii. 200-204
- Aristaeus. See Aristetas
- Aristeas (Aristaeus), persuades Ptolemy Philadelphus to free Jewish captives, *A.* xii. 17, 19, 24, 26; arranges to have Jewish law translated into Greek, xii. 50, 53, 86; xii. 100; bodyguard of Ptolemy Philadelphus, appointed his commissioner, *Ap.* ii. 46
- Aristeus, secretary of Sanhedrin, slain by Simon, *B.* v. 532
- Aristides, father of Memnon of Halicarnassus, *A.* xiv. 255
- Aristobulus (1), son of Amyntas, envoy from Jews to Rome, *A.* xiv. 248
- Aristobulus (2), eldest son of John Hyrcanus, besieges Sebaste, *B.* i. 64-65; establishes monarchy, i. 70; kills brother Antigonus, i. 72-77; his death, i. 81-85; *A.* xiii. 276; defeats Antiochus Cyzicenus, xiii. 277; becomes king upon death of Hyrcanus, xiii. 301; has Antigonus murdered, xiii. 304, 306, 307, 309; his remorse at killing of Antigonus, xiii. 314-315; his death, xiii. 320; xiii. 322-323; also called Judas, succeeds Hyrcanus as high priest, xx. 240-241

GENERAL INDEX

Aristobulus (3), son of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra, *B.* i. 109, 114; proclaims himself king, i. 117; i. 118-119; defeats Hyrcanus, i. 120-124; defeated by forces of Aretas, i. 126; i. 128, 130, 132; his war with Pompey, i. 133-154; taken to Rome by Pompey, i. 157; i. 160; escapes from Rome, i. 171; defeated by Romans, retreats to Machaerus, i. 172; captured by Gabinius and sent to Rome, i. 173; i. 174, 176, 180-181; freed by Caesar, i. 183; his death, i. 184; his widow, i. 186; i. 195, 241, 344, 482; v. 396, 398; vii. 171; *A.* xiii. 407; denounces his mother for supporting the Pharisees, xiii. 411, 416; xiii. 418; plots to seize power from Alexandra, xiii. 422-425, 429, 433; receives kingship from his brother Hyrcanus, xiv. 4-7; slandered by Antipater, xiv. 8-14; besieged by Aretas in temple during Passover, xiv. 19-26; gains support of Pompey, xiv. 30-32; defeats Hyrcanus, xiv. 33; sends gift to Pompey, xiv. 34, 36; brings quarrel with Hyrcanus to Pompey, xiv. 37, 41-42, 44; condemned by Pompey, xiv. 46; resists Pompey, xiv. 47; forced to yield, xiv. 48-50; arrested by Pompey, xiv. 55-57; his partisans resist Pompey, xiv. 58; xiv. 71, 73; with Hyrcanus responsible for national misfortunes, xiv. 77; taken as captive to Rome, xiv. 79; xiv. 82; escapes from Rome, xiv. 92; defeated by Gabinius, xiv. 93-94; taken captive to Rome again, xiv. 96-97; xiv. 100, 120, 122; released from prison, xiv. 123-124; xiv. 125-126; xiv. 140, 142, 297, 300, 330, 353, 387; Herod marries his granddaughter, xiv. 467; xv. 23; removes brother Hyrcanus from high

priesthood, xv. 41; his deeds recalled by the Jews, xv. 52; deprives Hyrcanus of high priesthood, xv. 180, xx. 243; xx. 245

Aristobulus (4) (Jonathan), son of Alexander and Alexandra, *B.* i. 437; *A.* xv. 23; his beauty attracts Antony, xv. 25, 29; appointed high priest by Herod, xv. 31, 34, 41; murdered by Herod, xv. 51-56; xv. 64; appointed high priest, xx. 247-248

Aristobulus (5), son of Herod and Mariamme, *B.* i. 445-446, 467, 478, 479, 496, 516, 519, 520, 528, 531, 534, 551, 552, 553, 557, 563, 565, 581, 586, 588, 599, 603; ii. 102, 108, 178, 222; brought up in Rome, *A.* xv. 342; marries Berenice, daughter of Salome, xvi. 11; named by Herod successor after his brothers, xvi. 133; xvi. 193; Salome's hatred for him, xvi. 201; plotted against by Antipater, xvi. 249; hated by his father, xvi. 311; imprisoned by Herod his father, xvi. 322; killed by strangling at command of Herod, xvi. 394; his widow married to Antipater, xvii. 9; his children, xvii. 12, 14, 18; xvii. 22; his death, xvii. 80; impersonated by pretender, xvii. 326; xvii. 334-335; father of Herodias and brother of Herod the tetrarch, xviii. 110; father of Agrippa I, xviii. 126, 131; his children, xviii. 134; xviii. 242

Aristobulus (6), son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and brother of Agrippa I, *B.* i. 552; ii. 221; *A.* (xvii. 12-13); xviii. 133; marries Jotape, xviii. 135; involves Agrippa in quarrel with Flaccus, xviii. 151-154; joins appeal to Petronius not to set up statue in temple, xviii. 273, 276

Aristobulus (7) the Younger, son of Herod king of Chalcis, *B.* ii. 221,

GENERAL INDEX

- 252; vii. 226; *A.* xviii. 134; marries Salome, xviii. 137; xx. 13, 104; given Armenia Minor by Nero, xx. 158
- Aristobulus (8), son of Agrippa and Salome, *A.* xviii. 137
- aristocracy, type of Jewish government, *B.* i. 170; *A.* iv. 223; xi. 111; xiv. 41, 91; xx. 234
- Ariston, attendant of Herod king of Chalcis, slays Silas, *A.* xix. 353
- Aristophanes, librarian, testifies to antiquity of Jews, *Ap.* i. 216
- Aristotle, Clearchus, recounts his meeting with Jew, *Ap.* i. 176-183
- arithmetic, taught by Abraham to Egyptians, *A.* i. 167-168
- Arius, Roman centurion, slain by Jews, *B.* ii. 63, 71; *A.* xvii. 282
- ark, built by Noah, *A.* i. 77-78
- Arke. See Arce (1)
- Arkite. See Arucaeus
- Arkites. See Arucaeans
- Armatha (Aramathon; var. Aramatha, Ramatha; Bibl. Ramathaim-zophim=*Ramah*), city in Palestine, *A.* v. 342; vi. 35; city where Samuel lived, vi. 47; vi. 67, 155, 220-221; burial place of Samuel, vi. 293; (Aramathon) viii. 303-304, 306
- Armathaim. See Ramathain
- Armenia (1), Armenians, *B.* i. 116, 127; vii. 18, 248; place where Noah's ark rested, *A.* i. 90; i. 92; cited in Chaldaean history of flood, i. 93; mentioned in Nicolas' account of flood, i. 95; founded by Hul, i. 145; x. 23; xiii. 419, 421; xiv. 29; Antony's expedition against it, xv. 96; seized by Antony, xv. 104-105; Vonones, the Parthian king, takes refuge there, xviii. 50; its forces side with Artabanus against Vonones, xviii. 51; given to Orodes, xviii. 52; detached from Roman empire by Artabanus, xviii. 96; recaptured from Parthians, xviii. 98; ruled by Tigranes, xviii. 139-140; loses territory to Izates, xx. 68; given to Tiridates, xx. 74; landing site of Noah's ark, *Ap.* i. 130
- Armenia (2), Greater, *B.* ii. 222
- Armenia (3), Minor (Lesser Armenia), *B.* ii. 252; ruled by Cotys, *A.* xix. 338; given to Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, xx. 158
- Arnon, river in Arabia, *A.* iv. 85-86, 95
- Arodi. See Eroides
- Arod(os) (Bibl. Ard), son of Benjamin, *A.* ii. 180
- Arophaos (Bibl. Armariah), son of Meraioth, father of Ahitub, *A.* viii. 12
- Aros (Bibl. Rosh), son of Benjamin, *A.* ii. 180
- Aroua (1). See Arura
- aroura (2), Egyptian measure of land, *Ap.* i. 86, 195
- Arous, village in Samaria, *B.* ii. 69; *A.* xvii. 289
- Arpachshad. See Arphaxad(es)
- Arpha, village in Agrippa II's kingdom, *B.* iii. 57
- Arphaxadaeans (=later Chaldaeans), *A.* i. 144
- Arphaxad(es) (Bibl. Arpachshad), son of Shem, *A.* i. 144, 146, 150
- Arran. See Aran
- Arruntius (1), Euarestus, Roman auctioneer, quiets Germans after death of Emperor Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 145-148
- Arruntius (2) (Aruntius), Paulus, accompanies Emperor Caligula, *A.* xix. 102
- Arruntius (3), Stella, *A.* xix. 102 (perhaps); quiets Germans after death of Caligula, xix. 148
- Arsaces (1), king of Parthians, *A.* xiii. 185-186, 253
- Arsaces (2) XXIII. See Bologeses
- Arsacidae, Parthian royal house, *A.* xviii. 44, 48
- Arsamus, fortress in Adiabene, *A.* xx. 80
- Arsinoe (1), queen of Egypt, daughter of Ptolemy I, wife of

GENERAL INDEX

- Ptolemy II Philadelphus, *A.* xii. 51
- Arsinoe (2), sister of Cleopatra, killed by Antony, *A.* xv. 89; slain on Cleopatra's orders, *Ap.* ii. 57
- Artabanus, Parthian king, wages civil war with Vonones, *A.* xviii. 48-52; Vitellius negotiates treaty of friendship with him, xviii. 96-104; xviii. 250; hears of outlaw band of Anilaus and Asinaeus, xviii. 317; enlists services of Anilaus and Asinaeus, xviii. 325-332; xviii. 353; receives brothers of Izates as hostages, xx. 37; seeks help from Izates, xx. 54-60; restored to his throne through Izates' help, xx. 62-66; his death, xx. 69
- Artabazes, son of Tigranes, Armenian king, taken prisoner by Antony, *B.* i. 363, *A.* xv. 104-105
- Artaxerxes (1) (Bibl. Ahasuerus), Persian king, *A.* xi. 184; extent of his kingdom, xi. 186; xi. 190-194; marries Esther, xi. 202; crucifies plotters, xi. 203; orders Haman honoured, xi. 209; presents Haman with men and money, xi. 215; his decree against Jews, xi. 216; embraces Esther, xi. 237; inquires after Mordecai's reward, xi. 250; asks Haman's advice, xi. 252; orders Haman to honour Mordecai, xi. 255; accuses Haman, xi. 265; decides to hang Haman, xi. 267; presents Haman's property to Esther, xi. 269; permits Esther to send letter throughout the kingdom, xi. 271; orders scribes to write on 'Jews' behalf, xi. 272; his letter to governors, xi. 273; xi. 290, 296; his reign as final terminus of prophetic books, *Ap.* i. 40-41
- Artaxerxes (2) II, Persian King (perhaps Artaxerxes III Ochus) Bagoses his general, *A.* xi. 297; xi. 300
- Artaxias, son of Artabazes, becomes king of Armenia, *A.* xv. 105
- Artemis, Greek goddess, her temple in Elymais in Persia, *A.* xii. 354, 358; her temple at Ephesus, xv. 89; devoted to archery (*Ap.* ii. 243)
- Artemision. See Artemisius
- Artemisios. See Artemisius
- Artemisius (Artemisios, Artemision), Macedonian month (= Hebrew Iyar), *B.* ii. 284, 315; iii. 142; v. 302, 466; vi. 296; *A.* viii. 61; (Artemision) xiv. 262
- Artemon, president of Ephesians, *A.* xiv. 225
- Artorius, Roman soldier, *B.* vi. 188-189
- Arucaens (Arkites), their land unassigned by Joshua, *A.* v. 89
- Arucaeus (Bibl. the Arkite), son of Canaan, *A.* i. 138
- Arudaens (Bibl. the Arvadite), son of Canaan, *A.* i. 138
- Arunthus. See Arruntius (2)
- Arura (Aroura; "Plowland"), place in Judaea, *A.* vi. 251; (Aroura) vi. 377
- Arvadite. See Arudaens
- Arvadites. See Aridaens
- Arydda (var. Sarydda, Rydda, Marisa), Arab city, *A.* xiv. 18
- Arza. See Osa
- Asa. See Asanos
- Asabel(os) (Bibl. Ashbel), son of Benjamin, *A.* ii. 180
- Asael (Bibl. Asahel), son of Zeruiah and Suri, brother of Joab, *A.* vii. 11, 14; killed by Abner, vii. 16-17; vii. 19, 36, 285
- Asahel. See Asael
- Asam (Bibl. Ozem), son of Jesse, brother of David, *A.* vi. 161
- Asamon, mountain in Galilee, *B.* ii. 511
- Asamonaus (Asamonaïos), priest, father of Mattathias, ancestor of Hasmonaeans, *B.* i. 16, 36; his descendants, *A.* xi. 111; father of Symeon, xii. 265; rule of his family ended by Herod, xiv. 490-491; his

GENERAL INDEX

- family builds citadel around the temple, xv. 403; Josephus descended from his relatives, xvi. 187; his descendants, xvii. 162; xx. 190; enumeration of high priests descended from him, xx. 238; xx. 247, 249; ancestor of Josephus, V. 2, 4
- Asamonaioi. See Asamonaeus
- Asamonean family. See Asamonaeus
- Asanos (Bibl. Asa), son and successor of Abijah, A. viii. 286-287; his death, viii. 288; his victory over Ethiopians, viii. 290, 292, 294, 295, 298; allies with Syrians, viii. 303-304; defeats Baasha, viii. 306-307; viii. 312; his long reign, viii. 314-315
- Asaph (1), sons of, sing in the temple, A. xi. 80
- Asaph (?) (2). See Addaioi
- Asaphon. See Asophon
- Asarachoddas (Bibl. Esarhad-don), Assyrian king, successor to Sennacherib, A. x. 23
- Asartha, Hebrew month when Pentecost takes place, A. iii. 252
- Ascalon, Ascalonites, city in Palestine, B. i. 185, 187, 422; ii. 98, 460, 477; iii. 9, 12, 23; iv. 663; city allotted to Judah, A. v. 81; captured by Judah and Simeon, v. 128; v. 177; people of, v. 294; vi. 4, 5, 8, 191; Joseph the Tobiad collects taxes there, xii. 181-182; xiii. 101, 149, 180; xiv. 10, 126, 128, 139; Caesar's decrees about Jews inscribed there, xiv. 197; xvi. 253; royal palace there given to Salome by Augustus, xvii. 321
- Aschanaxes (Bibl. Ashkenaz), son of Gomer, A. i. 126
- Aschanaxians, called Reginians by the Greeks, A. i. 126
- Aschanes (Bibl. Ashpenaz), eunuch of Nebuchadnezzar, A. x. 190-193
- Asclepiades, an Athenian, A. xiv. 149
- Asellius. See Gellius (1) and (2)
- Asenath. See Asennethis
- Asennethis (Bibl. Asenath), daughter of Pentephres, wife of Joseph, A. ii. 91
- Aser (1) (Bibl. Asher), son of Jacob, A. i. 306; his children, ii. 182-183
- Aser (2) (Bibl. Asher), tribe of, its territory, A. v. 85; pays homage to David, vii. 59
- Ashbel. See Asabel(os)
- Ashdod. See Azotus
- Asher (1). See Ake
- Asher (2). See Aser (1) and (2)
- Ashkenaz. See Aschanaxes
- Ashpenaz. See Aschanes
- Ashtoreth. See Astarte
- Asia (1), Asiatic, B. i. 242, 358-359, 366; v. 387; A. i. 122, 131; inhabited by Shem's sons, i. 143; controlled by Assyrians, i. 171; v. 220; ix. 214; x. 20, 74; xi. 3; its Jews subject to Romans, xi. 133; xi. 313, 315, 334; ruled by Antigonus, xii. 2; xii. 119; governed by Antiochus the Great, xii. 129; ruled by Seleucus, xii. 223-224; xiii. 78; ruled by Ptolemy Philometor, xiii. 113; ruled by Alexander Balas, xiii. 119; xiii. 165; xiv. 104, 110, 113, 186; its Jews granted privileges by Dolabella, xiv. 223-224; its Jews exempted from military service, xiv. 230; campaign of Antony there, xiv. 301, 309, 311-312; xvi. 12, 63; governed by Agrippa, xvi. 86; xvi. 160, 165, 167; its Jews, xvi. 172; xix. 104; dominion of Medes and Persians there, Ap. i. 64; dominated by Assyrians, i. 90; Cyrus its king, i. 145; Aristotle meets learned Jew there, i. 181; its conquerors enslave Egyptians, ii. 128; Macedonians succeed Persians as its rulers, ii. 133; changes in its rulers, ii. 228
- Asia (2), Lower, boundary of Antiochus Epiphanes' realm, A. xii. 295

GENERAL INDEX

- Asiaticus, Valerius. See Valerius (1), Asiaticus
- Asinaeus, Jew, with his brother Anilaeus organizes outlaw band in Babylonia, *A.* xviii. 314; fights on Sabbath and routs Parthians, xviii. 320, 323; makes pledge with Artabanus, xviii. 327, 331, 333, 338; his downfall, xviii. 342-343, 346, 348, 352
- Asinius Pollio, C., cited by Strabo, *A.* xiv. 138; Roman consul, xiv. 389
- Asochaenus. See Isokos
- Asochis, town in Galilee, captured by Ptolemy Lathyrus, *B.* i. 86; *A.* xiii. 337; place where delegation from Jerusalem is met by popular demonstration in favour of Josephus, *V.* 233; town where large throng condemns citizens of Tiberias as traitors, *V.* 384
- Asochis, plain of. See Plain, the Great (1) of Asochis
- Asophon (var. Asaphon; prob. Bibl. Saphon), place near Jordan River, *A.* xiii. 338
- Asor (Asora; Bibl. Hazor), city in Galilee, *A.* v. 199, 209; city built by Solomon, viii. 151; (Asora) captured by Tiglath-Pileser, ix. 235; xiii. 158
- Asora. See Asor
- asosra*, Hebrew name for trumpet, *A.* iii. 291
- Aspendius. See Antiochus (8)
- Asphaltitis (Asphaltophorus), Lake (Bituminous Lake) (=Dead Sea), *B.* i. 657; iii. 515; iv. 437-438, 453, 455-456, 474; description of, iv. 476-477; vii. 168, 281; *A.* i. 174, 203; iv. 85; (Asphaltis: read Asphaltitis) ix. 7; ix. 206; xv. 168; (Asphaltophorus) xvii. 171; (Bituminous Lake) identified by Josephus with Choerilus' "broad lake," *Ap.* i. 174
- Asphaltophorus, Lake. See Asphaltitis, Lake
- Asphar, Pool of, near Jerusalem, *A.* xiii. 8
- Asprenas (var. Ambronas, Ampronas), Roman senator, *A.* xix. 87; one of plotters against Gaius Caligula, xix. 98; killed by German bodyguard, xix. 123; his head fixed upon an altar, xix. 142, 216
- asps, imputation by Egyptians of virtue to, *Ap.* ii. 86
- ass, place of collapse of, avoided by Pythagoras, *Ap.* i. 164; its head worshipped by Jews in the temple according to Apion, ii. 80-88; fable of Jewish cult of, ii. 114, 120
- assaron* (Bibl. *omer*), Hebrew measure, *A.* iii. 29-30, 142, 252, 255, 257, 270, 320; viii. 92
- Asshur. See Assyras
- Asshurim. See Assuris
- Assis, sixth and last Hycsos king of Egypt, *Ap.* i. 81
- assistants, aid Josephus in Greek, *Ap.* i. 50; not needed by God in creation, ii. 192
- Assuris (Bibl. Asshurim), son of Dedan, *A.* i. 238
- Assyras (Bibl. Asshur), son of Shem, eponymous ancestor of Assyrians, *A.* i. 143
- Assyria. See Assyrians
- Assyrians (1), (Assyria), Greek histories of, *B.* i. 13; v. 387, 388, 404, 407-408; their descent from Assyras, *A.* i. 143; their war against Sodomites, i. 171-175; defeated by Abraham, i. 176-179, 182; origin of their name, i. 241; attack Israelites, v. 180; routed by Keniaz, v. 183; vi. 90; receive tribute from Menahem, ix. 232; exile Israelites, ix. 235; their downfall prophesied by Nahum, ix. 239; bribed by Ahaz to attack Israel, ix. 252-253; settle in Damascus, ix. 253; paid off by Ahaz, ix. 254; their gods worshipped by Ahaz, ix. 256; threaten war against Hezekiah, ix. 275; defeat and exile Israelites, ix. 277; invade Syria, ix. 283; ix. 284-285, 287; send priests to Cuthaeans, ix. 289; exact tribute from

GENERAL INDEX

- Hezekiah, *x.* 1, 4; threaten Hezekiah, *x.* 6, 11, 15-16; withdraw from Egypt, *x.* 17, 19-20; fail to capture Jerusalem, *x.* 23; their empire destroyed by Medes, *x.* 30; *x.* 68; overthrown by Medes and Babylonians, *x.* 74; exile ten tribes of Israel, *x.* 183; *xi.* 19, 85; troubled by kings of Jerusalem, *xi.* 303; *xi.* 323; *xx.* 260; attack by them foreseen by Egyptian king Salitis, *Ap.* i. 77; terrify Hycsos in Syria, i. 90; successful campaign against them by Egyptian king Sethosis (Ramesses II), i. 99; i. 142
- Assyrians (2), Camp of the, site in Jerusalem, *B.* v. 303, 504
- Astabaras. See Astaboras
- Astabarians, Greek name of Sabathenians, Ethiopian tribe, *A.* i. 134
- Astaboras (Astabaras), river in Ethiopia, *A.* ii. 249
- Astapus (Blue Nile), river in Ethiopia, *A.* ii. 249
- Astarte (Bibl. Ashtoreth), Philistine deity, *A.* vi. 374; temples built to her by Hiram, viii. 146; new shrine to her built by Hiram, *Ap.* i. 118; i. 123
- Aste (Bibl. Vashti), wife of Ahasuerus, gathers women for banquet, *A.* xi. 190; dethroned, xi. 194
- Astharymus, king of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 123
- astronomy, taught by Abraham to Egyptians, *A.* i. 167-168
- Astyages, father of Darius, *A.* x. 248
- Asueros (var. Cyrus; = Artaxerxes I), Persian king, son of Xerxes, *A.* xi. 184
- Athaliah. See Othlia
- Athanos (Bibl. Ethan), son of Mahol, wise man of Solomon's time, *A.* viii. 43
- atheism, Jews accused of it by Apollonius Molon, *Ap.* ii. 148
- Athena, daughter of Zeus, conspires against him, (*Ap.* ii. 241); weaver, (ii. 242)
- Athenians (see also Athens), *B.* i. 425; ii. 358; *A.* iv. 84; honour Hyrcanus, xiv. 149, 151, 155; their failure to keep official records of current events, *Ap.* i. 21; most pious of the Greeks, their calamities, ii. 130-131; their education, verbal not practical, ii. 172; their intolerance of religious differences, ii. 262-269
- Athenion (1), friend of Ptolemy Epiphanes, *A.* xii. 171
- Athenion (2), general of Cleopatra, *B.* i. 367, 369, 375; aids Arabs against Herod's army, *A.* xv. 115; attacks Jews to help Arabs, xv. 139
- Athens (see also Athenians), *B.* i. 309; *A.* xiv. 155; Antony domiciled there, xiv. 420; reviled by Theopompus, *Ap.* i. 221; burning of its acropolis, ii. 131; Socrates a citizen thereof, ii. 264
- Athone. See Thone
- Athrongaeus (Athronges), shepherd, pretender to Jewish throne, *B.* ii. 60-65; (Athronges) pretender to throne, *A.* xvii. 278-284
- Athronges. See Athrongaeus
- Athyri. See Thisri
- Atilius (1), Sextus, father of Sextus Atilius Serranus, of Aemilian tribe, *A.* xiv. 238
- Atilius (2) Serranus, Sextus, Roman witness to decree of Lentulus, *A.* xiv. 239
- Atlantic Ocean, *B.* ii. 382
- Atomus (var. Simon), Cyprian Jew, *A.* xx. 142
- Atratinus, L. Sempronius, praises Herod in Roman Senate, *B.* i. 284, *A.* xiv. 384
- Attides, authors of, discrepancies among, *Ap.* i. 17
- Attic (1) *choes*, a measure, *A.* iii. 197, 234
- Attic (2) *cotylae*, a measure, *A.* iii. 142
- Attic (3) drachmas, *B.* ii. 592; v. 550; vi. 198; *A.* iii. 195; xviii. 67, 157
- Attic (4) *medimni*, a measure, *A.* iii. 321; xv. 314

GENERAL INDEX

Attica, discrepancies among its historians, *Ap.* i. 17

Auaran. See Auran

Auaris, city in Egyptian nome of Sethroite, rebuilt by Hycsos king Salitis, *Ap.* i. 78; place where Hycsos were confined after defeat by Mispthag-mouthosis, i. 86; abandoned city of Hycsos, assigned to lepers by King Amenophis of Egypt, i. 237-238; Osariph undertakes to escort Hycsos there, i. 242; Hycsos arrive there, i. 243; city given to lepers and cripples by King Amenophis of Egypt, i. 260-262, 296

Augustus (1) (Octavian, Octavius, Young Caesar), *B.* i. 20, 118, 225, 242, 283, 285, 298, 386-388, 391, 393-395, 398-400, 403-404, 412, 414-415, 447, 451-452, 454, 457-459, 465, 474, 483, 510, 523, 531, 535, 538, 554, 566, 573, 575, 607, 613, 620, 623, 625, 633, 640, 645-646, 661, 669; *ii.* 2, 17, 19, 24-26, 28, 32, 34-35, 37, 39, 78-80, 82-83; divides Herod's kingdom, *ii.* 93-100; *ii.* 106, 109-111, 117, 167; his death, *ii.* 168; *ii.* 215; *v.* 562; his war with Cassius, *A.* xiv. 280; defeats Cassius at Philippi, xiv. 301; promises aid to Herod, xiv. 383; honours Herod, xiv. 388; promises aid to Herod, xiv. 407; at battle of Actium, xv. 109, 121; victor at Actium, xv. 161; his enmity to Herod, xv. 164, 167; his meeting with Herod, xv. 183, 187, 189; honours Herod, xv. 194; puts Alexas to death, xv. 197; visits Judaea, xv. 198-201; xv. 208; defeats Antony, xv. 215; meets Herod in Egypt, xv. 217; escorted by Herod, xv. 218; xv. 221; Herod establishes athletic contests in his honour, xv. 268, 272; appoints Petronius prefect of Egypt, xv. 307; receives soldiers from Herod, xv. 317;

his couch in Herod's palace in Jerusalem, xv. 318; receives flattering attention from Herod, xv. 328, 330; xv. 336; temple to him built at Caesarea, xv. 339; welcomes Herod's sons, xv. 343; gives Herod additional territory, xv. 344-348; xv. 350, 352; acquits Herod of charges of cruelty against Gadarenes, xv. 354-358; gives Herod Zenodorus' territory, xv. 360-363; Herod consecrates a temple to him, xv. 364; met by Herod in Italy, xvi. 6; xvi. 26, 74; gets good report of Antipater from Herod, xvi. 85-86; consulted by Herod about his sons, xvi. 90-100; hears Herod's sons' defence, xvi. 103-104, 106, 116, 118, 121; reconciles Herod with his sons, xvi. 121-127; exchanges gifts with Herod, xvi. 128; gives Herod the right to choose his successor, xvi. 129; xvi. 132; honoured by Herod at games at Caesarea, xvi. 138-139, 141; founder of Nicopolis, xvi. 147; honoured by Herod, xvi. 157; his decrees in favour of the Jews of Asia, xvi. 161-166; reaffirms right of Jews to send money to the temple, xvi. 171; Pontifex Maximus, xvi. 162; protects rights of Jews in Cyrene, xvi. 169; affirms right of Jews of Ephesus to send money to the temple, xvi. 172-173; xvi. 253; visited by Herod, xvi. 270; adds to Herod's territory, xvi. 271; visited by Herod, xvi. 273; xvi. 275, 277; receives appeal from Syllaesus on behalf of Arabs, xvi. 287, 289-291; becomes angry with Herod, xvi. 293-294; courted by both Syllaesus and Aretas in their struggle for power, xvi. 295-297; becomes angry with Herod, xvi. 298-299; xvi. 323; Herod appeals to him against his sons, xvi.

GENERAL INDEX

333-334; reconciled with Herod, xvi. 335, 338, 340-351; condemns Syllaëus to death, xvi. 352; confirms Aretas as ruler of Arabia, xvi. 353-355; advises Herod to convene a council concerning his sons, xvi. 356-358, 365; xvii. 10, 42; hears Antipater's charges against Syllaëus, xvii. 52, 54; xvii. 87, 93; his friendship invoked by Antipater when tried before Herod, xvii. 103; informed by Herod of Antipater's villainy, xvii. 133; xvii. 141, 142, 144; beneficiary of Herod's will, xvii. 146; his letter to Herod, xvii. 182; Herod's bequest to him, xvii. 190; xvii. 195; his confirmation of Archelaus as king awaited, xvii. 202, 208-209, 222-223; hears charges against Archelaus, xvii. 228-239; hears Nicolas' defense of Archelaus, xvii. 241-247; postpones his decision about Archelaus, xvii. 248-249; xvii. 252; punishes leaders of Jewish revolt, xvii. 297-298; receives petition from Jews to end rule of Herodians, xvii. 301-302, 312; divides Herod's kingdom among his sons, xvii. 317-320; gives royal palace at Ascalon to Salome, xvii. 321; gives gifts to Herod's unmarried daughters, xvii. 322, 324; unmasks false Alexander, xvii. 332-333, 336-337; banishes Archelaus to Gaul, xvii. 342-344, 348; sends Quirinius to Syria, xvii. 355; dispatches Quirinius to govern Judaea, xviii. 1; defeats Mark Antony, xviii. 26; xviii. 28; his death xviii. 32-33; Palatine games held in his honour, xix. 75; games at Palatine instituted by him, xix. 87; confirms rights of Jews in Alexandria, xix. 282-283; upholds rights of Jews in Alexandria, xix. 289; xix. 307, 310; Cleopatra revolts against him, *Ap.* ii. 58;

captures Alexandria, ii. 60; his letters attest services of Jews against Egyptians, ii. 61
 Augustus (2), Port of. See Sebastos
 Auletes. See Ptolemy (9)
 Aulus Furius. See Furius (2), Aulus
 Auran (Auaran), surname of Eleazar, son of Mattathias, *A.* xii. 266, 373
 Auranitis, region in Transjordan, added to Herod's realm, *B.* i. 398; given to Philip, ii. 95; given to Agrippa, ii. 215; ii. 421; given to Herod by Augustus, *A.* xv. 343, 352; given to Herod's son Philip by Augustus, xvii. 319
 auspices, taking of, interrupted by Jew Mosollamus, *Ap.* i. 202-204
 Autocratoris, name later given to Sepphoris, *A.* xviii. 27
 Auza, city in Libya, founded by Ethbaal, *A.* viii. 324
 Avitus. See Jabin
 Axioramos, Jewish high priest, *A.* x. 152
 Aza (Var. Eza, Gazara), Mount, mountain in Judaea, *A.* xii. 429
 Azaelos (Bibl. Hazael), king of Syria, *A.* viii. 352; servant of Ben-hadad, consults Elisha, ix. 88-89, 91; becomes king of Syria, ix. 92-93; ix. 159; marches on Jerusalem, ix. 170; becomes king in accordance with prophecy of Elisha, ix. 175; his death, ix. 184
 Azaraiah. See Azaros
 Azariah. See Azarias (1), (2), (3), and (4)
 Azarias (1) (Bibl. Azariah), Hebrew prophet, *A.* viii. 295
 Azarias (2) (Bibl. Azariah), high priest in reign of Uzziah, *A.* ix. 224
 Azarias (3) (Bibl. Azariah), high priest, successor to Ahimaaz, *A.* x. 152
 Azarias (4) (Bibl. Azariah), called Abdenago, *A.* x. 188-189
 Azarias (5), commander under

GENERAL INDEX

- Judas, *A.* xii. 333; defeated by Gorgias, xii. 350, 352
- Azarus, high priest, son of El-kias, *A.* x. 153
- Azau (Bibl. Hazo), son of Nahor, *A.* i. 153
- Azeka. See Azekus
- Azekah. See Azekus
- Azekus (Azeka; Bibl. Azekah), city in Judah, *A.* vi. 170; fortified by Rehoboam, viii. 246
- Azermoth (Bibl. Hazarmaveth), son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
- Azizus (1) (var. Deizus, Zizus), phylarch of Arabs, *A.* xiii. 384
- Azizus (2), king of Emesa, married to Drusilla, *A.* xx. 139, 141; his death, xx. 158
- Azotus (Bibl. Ashdod), city in Palestine, freed by Pompey, *B.* i. 156; rebuilt by Gabinius, i. 166; bequeathed by Herod to Salome, ii. 98; captured by Vespasian, iv. 130; boundary of Dan's territory, *A.* v. 87; captured by Judah and Simeon, v. 128; Philistine city, vi. 1; people of, vi. 3-5; vi. 8; xii. 308; sacked by Judas the Maccabee, xii. 353; site where Jonathan defeats Apollonius, xiii. 92-93, 99, 101; xiii. 104, 395; freed by Pompey, xiv. 75; rebuilt by Gabinius, xiv. 88; bequeathed by Herod to Salome, xvii. 189, 321
- Azrikam. See Erikam
- Azubah. See Abida
- BAAL (1), Tyrian god, his priests slain by Jehu, *A.* viii. 318; ix. 135, 136, 138; his temple razed to ground by Jehoiada, ix. 154
- Baal (2), king of Tyre, succeeds Ithobal, *Ap.* i. 156
- Baalath. See Baletb
- Baaleim (Baalimos; Bibl. Baalis) king of Ammanites, *A.* x. 160; (Baalimos) x. 164
- Baal-hazor. See Belsephon
- Baalimos. See Baaleim
- Baalis. See Baaleim
- Baal-zebub. See Fly-God
- Baal-zephon. See Beelsephon
- Baana (1). See Banaia
- Baana (2). See Banaias (1)
- Baanah (1). See Bana
- Baanah (2). See Banakates
- Baanies, sons of. See Baanites
- Baanites (sons of Baanes), defeated by Judas Maccabaeus, *A.* xii. 328
- Baaras (1), place near Machaerus, producing root *baaras*, *B.* vii. 180
- baaras* (2), root which expels demons, *B.* vii. 180-185
- Baasha. See Basanes
- Baba (var. Sabba[s]), Sons of, Herod's enmity towards them, *A.* xv. 260-266
- Babel (1), Hebrew word for confusion, *A.* i. 117
- Babel (2), Tower of, *A.* i. 114-118
- Babemasis. See Babemesis
- Babemesis (var. Babemasis), commander of the garrison of Gaza, *A.* xi. 320
- Babylon (1) (see also Babylonia, Babylonians), *B.* i. 70; ii. 86; v. 389; origin of its name, *A.* i. 117-119; i. 159; viii. 153; invites friendship of Hezekiah, x. 30, 32; exile of Jews thither foretold by Isaiah, x. 33; x. 34; its capture prophesied by Jeremiah, x. 79; Jews exiled there, x. 98; x. 106; besieges Jerusalem, x. 116-117; Zedekiah is exiled thither, x. 140-141; captives brought there, x. 150; Jehoza-dak dies there, x. 153-154; x. 156, 159; Egyptian captives taken there, x. 180; Jewish captives brought there, x. 182; x. 213, 221-222, 232; captured by Cyrus and Darius, x. 247-248; end of exile there, xi. 1, 6, 8, 10; xi. 22, 31, 58, 65; left by Jewish exiles returning to Judaea, xi. 74-75; xi. 84, 91; temple vessels taken there, xi. 100; Ezra living there, xi. 121; letter of Xerxes read to Jews there, xi. 131; Jews of Media

GENERAL INDEX

- come there, xi. 132; xi. 136; Nehemiah goes there, xi. 168; Esther found there, xi. 198; Mordecai moves from there, xi. 204; xi. 338; ruled by Seleucus after Alexander, xii. 2; xii. 355; xiii. 5, 184; xiv. 9; Hyrcanus is permitted to settle there, xv. 14; xv. 22, 385; xviii. 359; left by Jews after attacks there, xviii. 373; xx. 231, 233; care in marriages of Jewish priests there, *Ap. i.* 33; i. 131-133; Nebuchadnezzar returns there after subjugating Egypt, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, i. 136 ff.; palace constructed there by Nebuchadnezzar, i. 140-141; founded by Semiramis, according to Greek historians, i. 142; its king, Nebuchadnezzar, subduces Syria and Phoenicia, i. 143; i. 149; captured by Cyrus, i. 152; Merbal fetched from there to become king of Tyre, i. 158; Alexander there, i. 192; deportation of Jews there by Persians, according to Hecataeus of Abdera, i. 194; Demetrius II of Macedonia starts on campaign from there, i. 206
- Babylon (2), city in Egypt (= Letopolis), founded by Cambyases, *A. ii.* 315
- Babylonia (Babylonians; see also Babylon), *B. i.* 6; Babylonian tapestry, v. 212; v. 391, 411; vi. 104, 250, 268, 437, 439; Babylonian art, vii. 134; *A. i.* 119; Nimrod holds sway there, i. 135; iii. 156; x. 1 (var.); captures Manasseh, x. 40-41; attacked by Egypt, x. 74; defeat Egyptians, x. 84-86; x. 88-89; its king slays Jehoachin, x. 96-97; its king exiles Jehoachin, x. 99-101; x. 104; defeat Egypt, x. 108-109, 111-112; their defeat by Persia prophesied, x. 113; x. 114; surrender to them advised by Jeremiah, x. 124-125, 127-128; resisted by Jews, x. 131, 133; sack Jerusalem, x. 135; capture Zedekiah, x. 137; x. 141; destroy temple, x. 144, 149; x. 150; captive Jews are settled there, x. 154; withdraw from Judaea, x. 159; x. 161, 163, 169, 172, 175, 177-178; march against Egyptians, x. 180; x. 183; exile Judah, x. 184; x. 186, 188, 208; Jewish and other captives settle there, x. 223; x. 229, 231, 234; xi. 91-92, 125; some of its Jews sent to Phrygia, xii. 147, 149; xiii. 301; xv. 39; xvii. 24; its Jews come to Jerusalem to sacrifice, xvii. 26; Zamaris from there, xvii. 29; xviii. 104; massacre of Jews there, xviii. 310-311, 313; routed by Anilaus and Asinaeus, xviii. 318; xviii. 331, 337; extend honour to Asinaeus, xviii. 339; their towns ravaged by Anilaus, xviii. 368-369; attack Jews after death of Anilaus, xviii. 371-372; threaten Jews, xviii. 378; story of Jews there, xviii. 379; xx. 233, 260; care exercised by them in chronicles, *Ap. i.* 28; i. 133, 136; most suitable districts there assigned to captives by Nebuchadnezzar, i. 137-138; burning of temple by them, i. 145; i. 149; subjugated by Cyrus, i. 150-151; i. 153
- Babylonian Jews, *B. ii.* 60; iii. 11; band of them settle in Batanaea, *A. xvii.* 26; inhabitants of Bathyra, xvii. 29; in Jerusalem, *V.* 47; massacred by Varus, the viceroy of Agrippa, and the people of Trachonitis, 54 ff.; insurrection against them by people of Gamala, 177; their reinstatement in Batanaea ordered by Agrippa II, 183
- Baca, village on frontier between Upper Galilee and Tyrian territory, *B. iii.* 39
- Bacchar(is) (Bibl. Becher), son of Benjamin, *A. ii.* 180
- Bacchides (1), commander sent

GENERAL INDEX

- by Antiochus Epiphanes, slain by Mattathias, *B. i.* 35-36; sent by Demetrius against Judas, *A. xii.* 393-396, 420, 422-423; defeats Judas at Berzetho, *xii.* 426, 428; oppresses Jews after Judas' death, *xiii.* 4; seeks to slay Jonathan, *xiii.* 7, 9-10; attacks Jews on the Sabbath, *xiii.* 12, 14; fortifies cities of Judaea, *xiii.* 15; returns to Syria, *xiii.* 22; besieges Jonathan, *xiii.* 23-28, 30; makes peace with Jonathan, *xiii.* 33; *xiii.* 38, 43
- Bachor. See Choranos
- Bactria, *A. xx.* 87
- Bactrians, founded by Gether, *A. i.* 145
- Badakos (Bibl. Bidkar), commander in King Jehu's army, *A. ix.* 119
- Bagadates (var. Magadates), father of Ananus, *B. v.* 531
- Bagathoos (var. Gabathoos, Gabataios; Bibl. Bighthan, Bighthana), eunuch, plots against Ahasuerus, *A. xi.* 207; mentioned in records of King Ahasuerus, *xi.* 249
- Bagoas (1), eunuch, put to death by Herod, *A. xvii.* 44-45
- Bagoas (2). See Bagoses
- Bagoses (var. Bagoas), general of Artaxerxes II, defiles Jewish sanctuary, *A. xi.* 297; promises to obtain high priesthood for Jeshua, *xi.* 298; persecutes Jews for seven years, *xi.* 300-301; tries to enter temple, *xi.* 301
- Bahurim. See Choranos
- Balae, city in Campania in Italy, *A. xviii.* 248
- Baithoron. See Bethhoron
- Baiz. See Abaiz
- Bala (Bibl. Bezek), city in Palestine, *A. vi.* 78
- Balaam, non-Jewish diviner, *A. iv.* 104; asked to curse Israelites, *iv.* 105, 107; angel appears to him, *iv.* 108-111; angrily dismissed by Balak, *iv.* 126; *iv.* 157; his prophecies recorded by Moses, *iv.* 158
- Baladas (Bibl. Berodach-baladan, Merodach-baladan), king of Babylonia, sends gifts to Hezekiah, *A. x.* 30-31, 34
- Balaiaas (Bibl. Birsha), king of Sodom, *A. i.* 171
- Balak, king of Moabites, *A. iv.* 102; entreats Balaam to curse Israelites, *iv.* 104, 107; escorts Balaam to Israelite camp, *iv.* 112; furious with Balaam, *iv.* 118-119; *iv.* 124; dismisses Balaam, *iv.* 126
- Balanea, city in Syria, favoured by Herod, *B. i.* 428
- Balas (1) (Bibl. Bera), king of Sodom, *A. i.* 171
- Balas (2). See Alexander (2)
- Balas
- Balator, king of Tyre after period of judges, *Ap. i.* 157
- Balbazer (var. Baleazer), king of Tyre, son of Hiram, *Ap. i.* 121
- Balbus, Titus Ampius. See Ampius
- Baleazer. See Balbazer
- Baleni, (Bibl. Bela), division of Sodomites, *A. i.* 171
- Baleth (var. Beleth; Bibl. Baalath), city built by Solomon, *A. viii.* 152
- Balezor, king of Tyre, son of Ithobal, *Ap. i.* 124
- Balla (Bibl. Bilhah), handmaid of Rachel, *A. i.* 303; bears two sons to Jacob, *i.* 305; her children by Jacob, *ii.* 181
- balsam, of Jericho, *B. i.* 138, 361; *iv.* 469; opobalsamon given by Queen of Sheba to Solomon, *A. viii.* 174; balsam of Engedi, *ix.* 7; balsam of Jericho, *xiv.* 54, *xv.* 96
- Baltasares (Baltasaros; Bibl. Belshazzar), king of Babylonia, called Naboandelos, *A. x.* 231; handwriting on his wall, *x.* 233, 239, 242, 245; captured by Persians, *x.* 247
- Baltasaros (1), name given Daniel by King Nebuchadnezzar, *A. x.* 189
- Baltasaros (2). See Baltasares
- Bana (Bibl. Baanah), son of Rimmon, slayer of Ishbosheth,

GENERAL INDEX

- put to death by David, *A.* vii. 46-52
- Banaia (Baana, Banaias; Bibl. Benaiah), son of Jehoiada, commander of David's bodyguards, *A.* vii. 110; appointed chief of bodyguards, vii. 293; his exploits as one of David's warriors, vii. 315, 317; opposes Adonijah, vii. 346-347, 352; anoints Solomon king, vii. 354, 357; ordered to kill Adonijah, viii. 9; appointed commander of army, viii. 14-16; executes Shimei, viii. 20
- Banaias (1) (Bibl. Baana), son of Ahilud, governor over great plain, *A.* viii. 36
- Banaias (2). See Banaia
- Banakates (Bibl. Baanah), governor under Solomon, *A.* viii. 37
- bank, royal, of Galilee, *V.* 38
- Bannus, dwells in the wilderness, teacher of Josephus for three years, *V.* 11
- Banon. See Bnon
- Barachias (Bibl. Berechiah) noble of Samaria, *A.* ix. 250
- Barak, leads Hebrews against Sisera, *A.* v. 201-203; slays Jabin, v. 208-209; dies, v. 210
- barak*, Hebrew for "lightning," *A.* v. 201
- barbarians, *B.* i. 3; v. 17; *A.* xi. 299; tradition of keeping chronicles found among them rather than among Greeks, *Ap.* i. 58, 116, 161
- Barbatha. See Arabatha (2)
- Bares (Bibl. Beriah), son of Asher, *A.* ii. 183
- Baris (1), Armenian mountain, *A.* i. 95
- Baris (2) (see also Antonia [1]), castle in Jerusalem, later called Antonia, *B.* i. 75, 118; *A.* xv. 403-409
- Baris (3), father of Zacharias, *B.* iv. 335
- Barnabazos (var. Pharnabazos), Jew, reveals plot against king to Mordecai, *A.* xi. 207
- Bar Tabitha. See Dorcas
- Barthyra. See Bathyra
- Baruch (1), Jeremiah's scribe, *A.* x. 94-95, 158, 178-179
- Barzabanes. See Barzapharnes
- Barzapharmanes. See Barzapharnes
- Barzapharnes (Barzaphranes, Barzabanes; var. Bazaphranes, Barzapharmanes, Barzaphramanes), Parthian satrap, *B.* i. 248-249, 255-256, 433; (Barzaphranes) *A.* xiv. 330; (Barzaphranes) marches against Judaea, xiv. 332; (Barzaphranes) xiv. 341; (Barzaphranes) plots against Phasaël, xiv. 342, 346; (Barzaphranes) captures Hyrcanus, xv. 12; (Barzabanes) captures Hyrcanus, xx. 245
- Barzaphramanes. See Barzapharnes
- Barzaphranes. See Barzapharnes
- Barzetho. See Berzetho
- Barzillai. See Berzelaios
- Basa. See Basanes
- Basael (Beselel; var. Besebel; Bibl. Bezalel), son of Uri, architect of the tabernacle, *A.* iii. 105; (Beseleel) iii. 200
- Basamathe. See Basemath
- Basanes (Basa; Bibl. Baasha), king of Israel, plots against Nadab, *A.* viii. 288; his wickedness, viii. 301-302; attacked by Asa, viii. 305; viii. 306; his death, viii. 307; his family slain by Zimri, viii. 309; (Basa) ix. 109
- Basca (Bibl. Bascama), city of Galaditis, *A.* xiii. 210
- Bascama. See Basca
- Baselos (Bibl. Besor), stream in Palestine (site unknown), *A.* vi. 360
- Basemath (Basamathe; Bibl. Mahalath), daughter of Ishmael, wife of Esau, *A.* i. 277; ii. 4
- Bashan. See Batanaea
- Basima (Bibl. Basmath), daughter of Solomon, wife of Ahinadab, *A.* viii. 36
- Baslech, father of Eknibal the judge of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 157
- Basmath. See Basima

GENERAL INDEX

- Bassus, Caecilius, supporter of Pompey, kills Sextus Caesar, *B. i.* 216, 219; kills Sextus Caesar, occupies Apamea, is defeated, *A. xiv.* 268-272
- Bassus, Lucilius, Roman legate, sent to Judaea as successor to Cerealius Vetilianus, marches on Machaerus, *B. vii.* 163-164; successfully besieges Machaerus *vii.* 190-209; massacres Jews in battle of forest of Jarden, *vii.* 210-215; *vii.* 216; dies, *vii.* 252
- Batanaea (Batanaia; Batanaeans; *Bibl.* Bashan), district south-west of Trachonitis, added to Herod's realm, *B. i.* 398; *ii.* 95, 247, 421, 482; *iii.* 56; *A. iv.* 173; ravaged by Syrians, *ix.* 159; taken by Antiochus the Great, *xii.* 136; given to Herod by Augustus, *xv.* 343; settled by Babylonian Jews at urging of Herod, *xvii.* 25; bequeathed by Herod as tetrarchy to Philip, *xvii.* 189; given to Philip by Augustus, *xvii.* 319; ruled by Philip the tetrarch, *xviii.* 106; granted to Agrippa II by Emperor Claudius, *xx.* 138; joins Varus, viceroy of Agrippa, in attack on "Babylonian Jews" in Ecbatana, *V.* 54; site of colony of Babylonian Jews, reinstatement of whom is ordered by Agrippa II, 183
- Batanaia. See Batanaea
- bath, Hebraic measure, *A. viii.* 57
- Bath-sheba. See Beethsabe
- Bathuel (*Bibl.* Bethuel), son of Nahor, *A. i.* 153; father of Rebecca, *i.* 248; *i.* 289
- Bathybius, Roman praetor with senatorial rank, *A. xix.* 91
- Bathyllus, freedman of Antipater, *B. i.* 601; *A. xvii.* 79
- Bathyra (var. Barthyra), village in Batanaea, *A. xvii.* 26
- Battaia (*Bibl.* Betah), city in Syria, *A. vii.* 105
- Baux (*Bibl.* Buz), son of Nahor, *A. i.* 153
- Bazaeus, surname of Monobazus (1), king of Adiabene, *A. xx.* 18
- Bazaphranes. See Barzapharnes
- bdellium*, spicy herb, *manna* resembles it, *A. iii.* 28
- Becher. See Bacchar(is)
- Bedriacum, town in Cisalpine Gaul between Verona and Cremona, *B. iv.* 547
- Beelsephon (*Bibl.* Baal-zephon), place in Egypt near the Red Sea (site unknown), *A. ii.* 315
- Beelzemos, a Syrian, *A. xi.* 26
- Beersabe. See Beethsabe
- Beer-sheba. See Bersubai (1)
- Beersubae. See Bersabe (2)
- Beersubee. See Bersubai (1)
- Beerzelos (Berzelaios, Berzelos; *Bibl.* Barzillai), a Galadite, (Berzelaios) welcomes David at "The Camps," *A. vii.* 230; declines David's invitation to dwell with him, *vii.* 272-273, 275; (Berzelos) *vii.* 387
- Beethsabe (Bersabe; var. Beersabe; *Bibl.* Bath-sheba), wife of Uriah, *A. vii.* 180, 146; bears Solomon, *vii.* 158; warned by Nathan of Adonijah's plot and tells David, *vii.* 348-349, 353; intercedes for Adonijah in his request for Abishag, *viii.* 3, 6, 7
- Bel, Babylonian deity, *A. x.* 224; temple of in Babylon, decorated by Nebuchadnezzar, *Ap. i.* 139; temple of in Babylon, restored by Alexander the Great, *i.* 192
- Bela (1). See Baleni
- Bela (2). See Bol(os)
- Beleth. See Baleth
- Beleus, small river in Phoenicia, *B. ii.* 189
- Belgas, father of Meirus, *B. vi.* 280
- Belias. See Baal (1)
- Bellum Judaicum*. See Josephus (1), works: *Bellum Judaicum*
- Belsephon (*Bibl.* Baal-hazor), city in territory of Ephraim, *A. vii.* 174
- Belshazzar. See Baltasares
- Belzedek, village near Ascalon, *B. iii.* 25

GENERAL INDEX

- Bemeselis (Bethoma), town in Judaea, *B. i.* 96; (Bethoma), *A. xiii.* 380
- Benaiah. See Banaia
- Ben-ammi. See Amman (1)
- Ben-deker. See Diokleros
- Ben-geber. See Gabares (1)
- Ben-hadad. See Adados (1), (2), and (3)
- Ben Hur. See Ures (2)
- Benjamin (1), son of Jacob, birth of, *A. i.* 343; not sent to Egypt with his brothers, *ii.* 95; asked about by Joseph, *ii.* 99; *ii.* 104, 111-115, 117; goes to Egypt with his brothers, *ii.* 118; seen by Joseph, *ii.* 122; honoured by Joseph above his brothers, *ii.* 123; accused of stealing cup, *ii.* 124-136; *ii.* 137, 159, 167; his twelve sons, *ii.* 180
- Benjamin (2), tribe of (Benjamites), their territory, *A. v.* 82; allow Canaanites to live in peace, *v.* 129; *v.* 140; wars with rest of Israel, *v.* 155-158, 160, 162, 164; *v.* 166; wives found for them, *v.* 167, 169, 171-174; *v.* 188; one of them reports news of capture of ark, *v.* 357; tribe to which Saul belongs, *vi.* 45; *vi.* 49, 62; *vii.* 17; won over by Abner to David's support, *vii.* 29; *vii.* 47; pays homage to David, *vii.* 56; welcomes David, *vii.* 263; tribe to which Sheba belongs, *vii.* 278; uncounted in David's census, *vii.* 319; tribe to which Shimei belongs, *vii.* 388; its governor under Solomon, *viii.* 37; remains loyal to Rehoboam, *viii.* 221; fortified by Rehoboam, *viii.* 247; *viii.* 291; contributes to army of Jehoshaphat, *viii.* 397; raises army against Amalekites, *ix.* 188; its women and children carried off by Israel, *ix.* 247, 249; its cities captured by Sennacherib, *x.* 1; its leaders return to Jerusalem, *xi.* 8; returns to Judaea, *xi.* 69; *xi.* 84; gathers in Jerusalem, *xi.* 148; tribe to which Mordecai belongs, *xi.* 198
- Bera. See Balas (1)
- Berechiah. See Barachias
- Berenice (Bernice) (1), daughter of Salome and Costobar, *B. i.* 552-553; married to Aristobulus, son of Herod, *A. xvi.* 11; her children by Aristobulus, *xvii.* 12; *xviii.* 133; mother of Agrippa I, her friendship with Antonia, *xviii.* 143, 145; *xviii.* 156; her friendship with Antonia, *xviii.* 165
- Berenice (Bernice) (2), daughter of Agrippa I and Cypros, wife of Herod, *B. ii.* 217, 220-221; appeals in vain to Florus, *ii.* 310-314; *ii.* 333-334, 405, 426, 595; *A. xviii.* 132, 194; marries son of Alexander the alabarch, *xix.* 276-277; marries Herod, ruler of Chalcis, *xix.* 354; her children by Herod, ruler of Chalcis, *xx.* 104; sister of Drusilla, *xx.* 143; marries Polemo, *xx.* 145-146; is written to by Philip, son of Jacimus, *V.* 48, owns large quantity of corn stored in Besara, 119; receives letter from Philip, son of Jacimus, addressed to her and Agrippa, 180-181; successfully urges Agrippa II to commute death penalty for Justus of Tiberias to long term of imprisonment, 343; entreats Agrippa II to spare life of Justus of Tiberias, 355
- Berenice (3), daughter of Archelaus and Mariamme, *A. xx.* 140
- Berenice (4), wife of Alexander the Jew, *B. vii.* 445
- Berenicianus, son of Herod of Chalcis by Berenice, *B. ii.* 221; *A. xx.* 104
- Berenike, city near Gulf of Akabah, formerly Elath, *A. viii.* 163
- Beriah. See Bares
- Bernice. See Berenice (1) and (2)
- Berodach-baladan. See Baladas
- Beroea, city in Syria, *A. xii.* 385; *xiii.* 384; *xx.* 235

GENERAL INDEX

- Berosus, Hellenized Chaldaean priest, author of history of Babylon in three books, *A. i.* 93, 107; mentions Abraham (not by name), *i.* 158; *x.* 20; mentions Baladas, *x.* 34; *x.* 219; author of works for Greek readers on Chaldaean astronomy and philosophy, cited by Josephus for antiquity of the Jews, *Ap. i.* 129-153
- Berothe. See Meroth
- Bersabe (1). See Beethsabe
- Bersabe (2). See Bersubai (2)
- Bersabee. See Bersubai (1)
- Bersubai (1) (Bersabee, Bersubee, Bersubel, Well of Oath; Bibl. Beersheba), well over which Abraham and Abimelech swear friendship, *A. i.* 212; (Well of Oath) location of Jacob's vision, *ii.* 170; (Bersubel), *vi.* 32; (Bersubee) city to which Elijah flees, *viii.* 348; (Bersabee) birthplace of Sabia, *ix.* 157
- Bersubai (2) (Beersubae, Bersabe), town in Lower Galilee, *B. ii.* 573; *iii.* 39
- Bersubee. See Bersubai (1)
- Bersubel. See Bersubai (1)
- Beryllus, Nero's tutor, *A. xx.* 183-184.
- Berytus, Phoenician city, Roman colony, *B. i.* 422, 538; *ii.* 67, 504, 506; *iv.* 620; *vii.* 39, 96; *A. xvi.* 344; place where Herod convenes council to accuse his sons, *xvi.* 357, 361, 370; its people help Varus put down brigands in Judaea, *xvii.* 287; Agrippa I's buildings there, *xix.* 335, 338; adorned by Agrippa II, *xx.* 211; place where Agrippa II and his sister go to wait upon Cestius, *V.* 49; place where Agrippa II receives letter from Philip, son of Jacimus, 181; place where Justus is with King Agrippa II, 357
- Berzelaïos (Berzelos, Beerzelos; Bibl. Barzillai), a Galadite, friend of David, *A. vii.* 230, 272, 275; (Berzelos) his sons commended to Solomon by David, *vii.* 387
- Berzelos. See Berzelaïos
- Berzetho (var. Bethzetho, Barzetho, Bierzetho, Zetho), city in Judaea, *A. xii.* 397, 422
- Besalel. See Basael
- Besara, town twenty miles from Gaba, on borders of Ptolemais, outside which Josephus posts his troops while removing corn, *V.* 118; storage place of large quantity of corn belonging to Queen Berenice, 119
- Besebel. See Basael
- Beseleel. See Basael
- Besera (Bibl. Bor-sirah), place near Hebron in Judaea (site unknown), *A. vii.* 34
- Besimoth, village in Peraea, *B. iv.* 438
- Besor. See Baselos
- Betabris, town in Idumaea (site unknown), *B. iv.* 447
- Betah. See Battaia
- Betchora (Bibl. Beth-horon, city near Jerusalem built by Solomon, *A. viii.* 152
- Bethalaga, village in Judaea (site unknown), *A. xiii.* 26
- Betharamatha. See Betharamphtha
- Betharamphtha (Betharamatha, Ammatha, Julius; Bibl. Beth-haram), city in Peraea east of the Jordan, *B. ii.* 59; (Julias) *ii.* 168, 252; (Julias) *iv.* 438; (Ammatha) royal palace there burned by Simon, *A. xvii.* 277; city called Julius, *xviii.* 27; given to Agrippa II by Nero, *xx.* 159
- Beth-car. See Korraea.
- Beth Diblathaim. See Dabaloth
- Bethega. See Bethel(os)
- Bethela. See Bethel(os)
- Bethel(os) (Bethela; var. Beth-ega), city in Palestine, captured by Vespasian, *B. iv.* 551; consecrated by Jacob, *A. i.* 284; *i.* 342; on border of territory of Benjamin, *v.* 82; on border of Ephraim, *v.* 83; captured by Ephraim, *v.* 130; *v.* 159; *vi.* 32, 55, 95; city where

GENERAL INDEX

- Jeroboam builds a shrine, viii. 226, 228, 230; plundered by Abijah, viii. 284; fortified by Bacchides, xiii. 15
- Bethennabris (Bibl. Beth-Nimrah), village near Gadara, *B.* iv. 420
- Bethes (Bithiemes; Bibl. Bethshemesh), village of Judah, *A.* vi. 14, 16, 17; (Bithiemes) toparchy of Solomon's kingdom, viii. 35
- Bethesana. See Scythopolis
- Bethezuba ("House of Hyssop"), town of Peraea (site unknown), *B.* vi. 201
- Beth-haram. See Betharamphtha
- Beth-horon. See Betchora
- Bethhoron (Bethora, Baithoron, Bethoron, Bethsemera), town in Judaea, *B.* ii. 228, 516, 521, 546, 550; (Bethora) town where Canaanite kings are defeated, *A.* v. 60; (Bethsemera) ix. 192; (Baithoron) place where Seron is defeated by Judas the Maccabee, xii. 289; (Bethoron) xii. 408; fortified by Bacchides, xiii. 15
- Bethlehem, town of Judah, *A.* v. 136, 271, 318; Ruth and Naomi arrive there, v. 323; vi. 157, 167, 227; site where Asahel is buried, vii. 19; Philistines encamp there, vii. 312-313; fortified by Rehoboam, viii. 246
- Bethleptenpha, toparchy of Judaea, *B.* iv. 445
- Bethmaus, village in Galilee, where Josephus requests conference with Jewish leaders, *V.* 64; Josephus leaves thence for Upper Galilee, 67
- Beth-Nimrah. See Bethennabris
- Bethoma. See Bemesis
- Bethora. See Bethhoron
- Bethoron. See Bethhoron
- Bethsaida (Julias), village in Lower Gaulanitis, named after Julia, daughter of Augustus, (Julias) *B.* ii. 168; iii. 57, 515; iv. 454; *A.* xviii. 28; (Julias) scene of Philip the tetrarch's death, xviii. 108; place near which Sulla, commander of Agrippa II's troops, pitches camp, *V.* 398; (Julias) near site of entrenchment of troops of Jeremiah, commander under Josephus, 399; reinforcements from Tarichaeae reach there, 406
- Bethsan. See Scythopolis
- Bethsane. See Scythopolis
- Bethsemera. See Bethhoron
- Beth-Shan. See Scythopolis
- Beth-Shean. See Scythopolis
- Bethshemesh. See Bethes
- Bethso, unidentified place near Jerusalem, *B.* v. 145
- Bethsur (Bethsuron; Bibl. Bethzur), *B.* i. 41; city fortified by Rehoboam, *A.* viii. 246; xiii. 42; captured by Simon, *A.* xiii. 155-156
- Bethsura, village near Hebron, *A.* xii. 313; fortified by Judas, xii. 326; xii. 367, 368, 370; captured by Antiochus Eupator, xii. 375-376
- Bethsuron. See Bethsur
- Bethuel. See Bathuel
- Bethzacharia (Bethzacharias), town south-west of Jerusalem, scene of battle between Judas Maccabaeus and Antiochus V, *B.* i. 41; (Bethzacharias) *A.* xii. 369
- Bethzetho. Berzetho
- Beth-zur. See Bethsur
- Bezek (1). See Bala
- Bezek (2). See Zebeke
- Bezer. See Bosora
- Bezetha, hill occupied by the New Jerusalem, *B.* ii. 328, 530; v. 149, 151, 246
- Bible. See Scriptures, Holy
- Bichri. See Bochorios
- Bidkar. See Badakos
- Bighthan(a). See Bagathoos
- Bilhah. See Balla
- Birsha. See Balaia
- births, Jewish celebration of, *A.* ii. 204
- Birzetho. See Berzetho
- Bithiemes. See Bethes
- Bithynia, province of Asia Minor, *B.* i. 242; ii. 368; vi. 81-91; *A.* xiv. 301

GENERAL INDEX

- "Bitumen pits," area in Sodom, *A. i.* 174
- Bituminous Lake. See Asphaltitis, Lake
- "Black Norther," wind, *B. iii.* 422
- Black Sea (Euxine Sea), *B. ii.* 366; *A. ix.* 213; Scythians known to Greeks through its navigators, *Ap. i.* 64
- blasphemy, Jewish law on, *Ap. iv.* 202
- "Blessing, Valley of," site in Palestine where Jews thank God for victory over Ammonites, *A. ix.* 15
- blind, respect for, according to Jewish law, *A. iv.* 276
- Blood-libel, alleged annual murder of Greek by Jews, *Ap. ii.* 91-102
- Blue Nile. See Astapus
- Bnon (Banon), second Hycsos king of Egypt, *Ap. i.* 80
- Boaz (1). See Abaiz
- Boaz (2), husband of Ruth, *A. v.* 323; Ruth gleanes in his fields, *v.* 324-327; *v.* 328-329; marries Ruth, *v.* 332-335
- Bocchores. See Choranos
- Bocchoris, King of Egypt, exodus during reign of, *Ap. i.* 305 ff., *ii.* 16
- Bochorios (Bibl. Bichri), father of Sheba, *A. vii.* 278, 280, 290
- Boeotus, archon of Delos, *A. xiv.* 231
- Boethus (1), Alexandrian Jewish priest, father of Simon, Joazar, and Eleazar, *A. xv.* 320; *xvii.* 78, 339; *xviii.* 3
- Boethus (2), father of Simon and Matthias, *B. v.* 527; *A. xix.* 297
- Bokki (Bibl. Bukki), son of Abishua, high priest, *A. v.* 362
- Bokkias (Bibl. Bukki), son of high priest Abishua, father of Uzzi, *A. viii.* 12
- Bologeses (Vologeses I = Arsaces XXIII), King of Parthia, *B. vii.* 105, 237, 242; (Vologeses) *A. xx.* 74, 81-91
- Boi(os) (Bibl. Bela), son of Benjamin, *A. ii.* 180
- "Booths" (Bibl. Succoth), place east of the Jordan (site unknown), where Jacob pauses, *A. i.* 337
- Borcus, friend of Agrippa II, *B. ii.* 524, 526
- Borsippa, town in Babylonia whither Nabonnedus flees after defeat by Cyrus, *Ap. i.* 151-152; captured by Cyrus, *i.* 152
- Bor-sirah. See Besera
- Boscath. See Bosketh
- Bosketh (Bibl. Boscath), town of Judaea, *A. x.* 48
- Bosor, city of Galaaditis, *A. xii.* 340
- Bosora (Bibl. Bezer), city of refuge bordering Arabia, *A. iv.* 173; *xii.* 336
- Bosphorus, kingdom, *B. ii.* 366
- Bosporus, strait, *A. xvi.* 16
- Botrys, city in Phoenicia founded by Ithobalos, *A. viii.* 324
- Bracchus, Gaius Servilius. See Servilius
- Breach of Ozas (Bibl. Perez-Uzzah), place where Uzzah dies, *A. vii.* 82
- bribery of judges, punishment of, in Jewish law, *Ap. ii.* 207
- brigands, *V.* 21, 28, 46, 77-78, 105-106, 145-148, 175, 206
- Britain, subdued by Vespasian, *B. iii.* 4; *vii.* 82
- Britannicus, son of Claudius and Messalina, *B. ii.* 249; *A. xx.* 149; poisoned by Nero, *xx.* 151, 153
- Britons, *B. ii.* 363, 378; *vi.* 331
- Brixellum, town in Italy, *B. iv.* 548
- Broad Place, embankment of, laid by Hiram, King of Tyre, *Ap. i.* 118
- Broccus, envoy from Senate to Claudius, *A. xix.* 234
- Brundisium, Italian city, *B. i.* 281; *A. xiv.* 378
- Brutus, M. Junius, *B. i.* 218, 225; proconsul, *A. xiv.* 263; kills Caesar, *xiv.* 270; is defeated, *xiv.* 311; slayer of Caesar, *xix.* 184
- Bubastis (1), arm of Egyptian river, *Ap. i.* 78

GENERAL INDEX

Bubastis (2) of the Fields,
Egyptian deity, *A.* xiii. 66;
xiii. 70

"bubo," owl, its ominous role in
Agrippa I's life, *A.* xviii. 195

Buedon (var. Buelon, Butelon;
part of corrupt division of Bibl.
Shethar-boznai), prefect of
Samaria, written to by Darius,
A. xi. 118

Buelon. See Buedon

Bukki. See Bokki; Bokkias

Burrus, praetorian prefect under
Nero, *A.* xx. 152

Butelon. See Buedon

Buz. See Baux

Byblus, city of Phoenicia, pro-
vided for by generosity of
Herod, *B.* i. 422

Byzantium, city on Bosphorus, *A.*
xvi. 20

CAATH. See Kaath(os)

Caathas. See Cathlas

Cabharsaba. See Capharsaba

Cabul. See Chabalo(n)

Cadiz. See Gadeira

Cadmus (1) of Phoenicia, teaches
Greeks the alphabet, *Ap.* i. 10

Cadmus (2) of Miletus, among
first Greek historians; his
date, *Ap.* i. 13

Caecilius Bassus. See Bassus
Caecilius

Caecinna Alienus, general of
Vitellius, *B.* iv. 547; goes over
to Antonius, bound as a
traitor, finally liberated with
honour, iv. 634-644

Caesar (1), Gaius Julius, frees
Aristobulus, *B.* i. 183; i. 184,
187; is told of Antipater's
prowess, i. 192; i. 193-197,
199-202, 205, 216-217; death
of, i. 218; ii. 488; releases
Aristobulus from prison, *A.*
xiv. 123-124; assisted by
Antipater and Hyrcanus in
Egypt, xiv. 127, 129, 131-132;
commends Antipater for his
prowess in battle in Egypt,
xiv. 136-137; honours Anti-
pater and Hyrcanus despite
Antigonus' protests, xiv. 140,
143; xiv. 156, 157, 160; issues

decrees favourable to the Jews,
xiv. 185; declares Jews citi-
zens of Alexandria, xiv. 188;
confers benefits on Jews, xiv.
190, 192, 196; confers high
priesthood on Hyrcanus and
his descendants, xiv. 199;
confers benefits on Jews, xiv.
200, 202; commends loyalty
of the Jews, xiv. 211; confers
privileges on Jews of Parium,
xiv. 213, 215; his policy to-
ward Jews continued after his
death, xiv. 217, 221; death of,
xiv. 270-271, 309; aided by
Antipater, xvi. 52-54; emperor,
xvi. 162; sends Thesmusa to
Phraates as a gift, viii. 40;
destroyed Roman democracy,
xix. 173; his death recalled by
Sentius Saturninus, xix. 184;
bestows rights on Jews of
Alexandria, *Ap.* ii. 37; Cleo-
patra owes throne to him, ii.
58; loyalty of Jews to him
against the Egyptians, ii. 61

Caesar (2), Sextus, plot against,
A. xiv. 268; supported by
Antipater, xiv. 269-270

Caesar (3), Augustus. See Augus-
tus (1)

Caesar (4), Young. See Augustus
(1)

Caesar (5), Gaius, son of M.
Vipsanius Agrippa, *B.* ii. 25;
A. xvii. 229

Caesar (6). See Augustus; Ti-
berius; Gaius; Claudius; Nero;
Vespasian; Titus; Domitian

Caesarea (1), also called Sebaste,
a coastal town, once Straton's
Tower and refounded by
Herod, *B.* i. 80, 156, 414, 543,
551, 613; ii. 16, 17, 171, 219,
230, 236, 241, 266, 282, 284;
incident at synagogue there,
ii. 285-292; ii. 296, 318, 332,
407; slaughter of Jews there,
ii. 457-458; ii. 459, 507, 509,
513; iii. 66, 409, 412, 443, 446,
510; iv. 88, 130, 419, 443, 491,
501, 550, 588, 620, 663; v. 1,
40; vii. 20, 23, 36, 37, 361,
362, 363, 407; *A.* xiii. 313;
xiv. 76; name given Straton's

GENERAL INDEX

- Tower by Herod, xv. 293, 339; Herod entertains Agrippa there, xvi. 13; xvi. 62, 136, 373; xvii. 221, 222; xviii. 55, 57, 59; xix. 332; Agrippa hailed as god in theatre there, xix. 343; included in Agrippa's kingdom, xix. 351; celebrates death of Agrippa, xix. 356, 361; rebuked by Fadus, xix. 365; xx. 116; quarrel between Jews and Syrians there, xx. 173, 176, 182-184; woman taken captive there is married by Josephus, V. 414
- Caesarea (2) Philippi, once Paneion (Paneas), founded by Philip, B. ii. 168; iii. 443, 510; vii. 23; A. xviii. 28; xx. 211; its Syrian inhabitants lead Varus to hope for the throne of the Jews, V. 52; twelve of its Jews sent by Varus, Agrippa's viceroy, to "Babylonian Jews" at Ecbatana, 55; envoys slain there, 57; Philip son of Jacimus urged to lead Jews of Ecbatana against its Syrian inhabitants, 59; its Jewish inhabitants are shut up by Modius, Agrippa II's viceroy, 74; price of oil there, 75
- Caesareum, Herod's royal palace, B. i. 402
- Caesars, names of Roman emperors, A. viii. 157
- Caesennius Gallus. See Gallus (1)
- Caesius (1) (var. Casius, Cassius, Rasius, Raesius, Raecius), Quintus, father of Caesius (2), A. xiv. 229, 238
- Caesius (2) (var. Casius, Cassius, Rasius, Raesius, Raecius), Quintus, son of Quintus, legate, present at promulgation of Lentulus' decree exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service, A. xiv. 229, 238
- Caesonia, wife of Gaius, killed by Julius Lupus, A. xix. 195, 198
- Caiaphas, Joseph, son-in-law of Ananus, removed from high priesthood, A. xviii. 35, 95
- Cain, son of Adam, etymology of, A. i. 52; kills his brother Abel, i. 53-59; his character and achievements, i. 60-62; his posterity, i. 63-67
- Cainas (Bibl. Kenan), son of Enosh, A. i. 79; in genealogy of patriarchs from Adam to Noah, i. 83
- Caius. See Gaius
- Calani, name of philosophers in India, Ap. i. 179
- Caleb, spy sent by Moses into Canaan, A. iii. 308; receives tract of land, v. 126
- calendar, A. i. 81
- Caligula. See Gaius Caligula
- Calleas. See Alexas (2)
- Callias, writer on Sicilian history, contradicted by Timaeus, Ap. i. 17
- Callimandrus, general of Antiochus Cyzicenus who directs war against the Jews, A. xiii. 279-280
- Callinicus, son of Antiochus king of Commagene, B. vii. 232, (241)
- Calliphon, disciple of Pythagoras, native of Crotona, his soul accompanies Pythagoras, Ap. i. 164
- Callirrhoe, warm springs north-east of Dead Sea, visited by Herod, B. i. 657, A. xvii. 171
- Callistus, freedman of Gaius, joins conspiracy against him, A. xix. 64, 68, 69
- Calvarius, Sextus, Roman tribune, B. iii. 325
- Calvinus, Gnaeus Domitius, consul when Herod assumes royal power, A. xiv. 389
- Cambyses, Persian king, A. ii. 249; founder of Babylon in Egypt, ii. 315; son of Cyrus, xi. 21; forbids building of temple, xi. 26; his death, xi. 30-31; xi. 88; his letter cited by Samaritans, xi. 97
- Camei, father of Joseph the high priest, A. xx. 16, 103
- Camith, father of Simon the high priest, A. xviii. 34
- Camp of the Assyrians. See Assyrians, Camp of the

GENERAL INDEX

- Camp of the Jews. See Jews' Camp
- Campania, district in Italy, *A.* xviii. 249; *xix.* 5
- "Camps" (The Camps; *Bibl. Mahanaim*), unidentified city near Jordan valley, meaning of *Parembolai*, *A.* vii. 10, 18; vii. 230, 232, 235, 272, 388
- Cana (1) (var. Ana, Anna), village in Arabia, troops of Antiochus Dionysus take refuge there, *B.* i. 102
- Cana (2) (var. Isana), village north of Jerusalem, *B.* i. 334
- Cana (3), village in Galilee, headquarters of Josephus, *V.* 86
- Cana (4). See Kana (1)
- Canaan (1) (*Chananaea*), another name for Judaea, (*Chananaea*) *A.* i. 134; Abraham moves there, i. 154, 157; i. 160; in grip of famine, i. 161; Abraham returns there, i. 169; i. 186, 191, 278, 325; stricken by famine, ii. 95; ii. 111, 118, 170; destined to be land of the Jews, ii. 194; ii. 195, 200 (*bis*), 213 (*bis*), 318, 323; iii. 87; traversed by Hebrew scouts, iii. 303-305; iii. 313; iv. 67, 102, 116, 173, 189, 199-200, 305; v. 3, 62; nature of the land, v. 77; its land divided among Hebrew tribes, v. 88; v. 126, 128; viii. 61; its boundaries, ix. 207
- Canaan (2). See Chananaeus
- Canaanites, *B.* iv. 459; vi. 438, 439; prediction that they would be vanquished by Jews, *A.* i. 185; offer burial ground for Sarah, i. 237; i. 265, 277, 299, 337, 345; iii. 308; attacked by Hebrews, iv. 1-6; iv. 9-10, 167; necessity for their extermination, iv. 300; iv. 315, 325; v. 5, 12, 21-22, 49, 52, 54-56, 59, 63; almost completely destroyed, v. 63; v. 71-72, 107-108, 120; defeated by Judah and Simeon, v. 121; allowed to live in peace, v. 129; spared by Hebrews, v. 133; v. 140, 155; attack
- Danites, v. 176; v. 179; subdue Israelites, v. 198; v. 201, 205; remnant of them at peace with the Jews, vi. 30; vii. 61, 68 (*bis*); reduced to slavery by Solomon, viii. 160, 162; their customs followed by Ahaz king of Judah, ix. 243
- Canata. See Canatha
- Canatha (Canata, Kanata; var. Cana, Kana), place in Coele-Syria, *B.* i. 366-367; (Kanata; var. Kana), *A.* xv. 112
- Canenius. See Rebilus
- Caninius. See Gallus (5), Caninius
- Cantabrians, warlike Spanish people, *B.* ii. 374
- Cantheras (var. Cithaerus), surname of Simon the high priest, *A.* xix. 297; deposed as high priest by Agrippa I, xix. 313; his son appointed high priest, xix. 342; removed from high priesthood, xx. 16
- Capella. See Capellus
- Capellus (Capella), Julius, head of pro-Roman Jewish faction at Tiberius, *V.* 32; (Capella) finally agrees to demolition of palace erected by Herod the tetrarch in Tiberias, 66; (Capella) his conference with Josephus, 67; (Capella) son of Antyllus, 69; (Capella) is declared by Josephus to have spoils from confiscated royal palace at Tiberias, 296
- Capernaum. See Capharnaum (1)
- Capharabis, town in upper Idumaea besieged by Cerealius, *B.* iv. 552
- Caphareccho, village in Lower Galilee, *B.* ii. 573
- Capharnaum (1) (Capernaum), spring and village in region of Gennesareth, *B.* iii. 519; *V.* 403 (probably identical with Cepharnocus)
- Capharnaum (2). See Cephar-nocus
- Capharsaba (Cabharsaba), town in Judaea in plain of Sharon, *A.* xiii. 390; xvi. 142
- Caphartoba, village in Idumaea, *B.* iv. 447

GENERAL INDEX

- Caphethra, town in Idumaea, *B.* iv. 552
- Caphtorim. See Cephthomus
- Capito (1), Herennius. See Herennius Capito
- Capito (2), Roman centurion, *B.* ii. 298-300
- Capito (3), Lucius Paccius. See Paccius (2) Capito, Lucius
- Capitol (1), in Rome, *B.* i. 200, 235; ii. 216; iv. 495, 645, 647; vii. 218; *A.* xii. 416; xiv. 144; decrees favourable to Jews engraved there, xiv. 188; bronze tablet inscribed there with Caesar's decrees for Hyrcanus, xiv. 197; decrees concerning Jews engraved there, xiv. 266; decree proclaiming Herod king deposited there, xiv. 338; xvi. 48
- Capitol (2), temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, *B.* vii. 153; *A.* xiv. 36; audacity of Gaius Caligula there, xix. 4, 11; Gaius offers sacrifices there, xix. 71
- Cappadocia, region in Asia Minor, *B.* i. 446, 501, 530, 553; ii. 114, 368; iv. 632; vii. 18; birthplace of Strabo, *A.* xiii. 286, xiv. 35, 111, 138; xv. 9; xvi. 11, 23; Archelaus its king, xvi. 74, 131, 261, 269; xvi. 302, 309, 325, 357; xvii. 350; xviii. 139; birthplace of Strabo, *Ap.* ii. 84
- Cappadocians, later name for Meschenians, *A.* i. 125
- Capri, island near Naples, dwelling place of Emperor Tiberius, *A.* xviii. 161-162, 169, 179, 182; xviii. 205
- captivity, Jewish, lasts seventy years, *Ap.* i. 132; lasts fifty years, i. 154
- Carchemish. See Karchamissa
- Caria, region in southwestern Asia Minor, *A.* xi. 305
- Carmania, residence on the Persian Gulf given Nabonnedus by Cyrus, *Ap.* i. 153
- Carmel, Mount, in Palestine, *B.* i. 66, 250; ii. 188; iii. 35; in territory of Issachar, on border of Zebulun, *A.* v. 84 (*bis*); on border of Asher's territory, v. 85; its governor under Solomon, viii. 37; contest between Elijah and prophets of Baal held there, viii. 336, 344; xiii. 396; xiv. 334; near city of Dora, *Ap.* ii. 116
- Carmi. See Charmis(os)
- Carnaim. See Enkranai
- Carron, district probably near Armenia, containing remnants of Noah's ark, *A.* xx. 24
- Carthage, city in northern Africa, subdued by Romans, *A.* xii. 414; its foundation by Tyrians 143 years after building of the temple by Solomon, *Ap.* i. 108; its foundation dated, i. 121-126; founded by Phoenicians in seventh Olympiad, ii. 17; founded more than 150 years after King Hiram of Tyre, ii. 18
- Carthaginians, *B.* ii. 380; vi. 332
- Casian Zeus, temple of, *B.* iv. 661; see also Zeus
- Casius. See Caesius (1) and (2)
- Casluhim. See Chesloimus
- Caspian Gates, mountain-pass near Caspian Sea, opened to Roman army, *A.* xviii. 97
- Cassander, rules Macedon after Alexander the Great, *A.* xii. 2
- Cassius (1) Chaerea. See Chaerea
- Cassius (2) Longinus, C., Roman quaestor, *B.* i. 180, 182; kills Caesar, goes to Syria, i. 218; i. 220-223, i. 225, i. 230-232, i. 234-236, i. 239, i. 242, i. 280; invades Judaea, *A.* xiv. 119, 122; kills Caesar, xiv. 270; becomes master of Syria, xiv. 271; his friendship with Herod, xiv. 274; reduces Jewish cities to servitude, xiv. 275-276; xiv. 277; makes Herod governor of Coele-Syria, xiv. 280; authorizes Herod to kill Malichus, xiv. 288-290, 293; departs from Judaea, x. 94; xiv. 297; defeated at Philippi, xiv. 301; takes Jews captive, xiv. 304; his defeat by Antony at Philippi, xiv. 311; captives

GENERAL INDEX

- enslaved by him freed, *xiv.* 313; possessions he seized from Jews returned by Antony, *xiv.* 317, 320; damages Rhodes, *xiv.* 378; slayer of Caesar, *xix.* 184
- Cassius (3) Longinus, governor of Syria, orders Jews to deposit priestly robes in Antonia, *A.* *xv.* 406; appointed governor of Syria, *xx.* 1; petitioned by Jews in connexion with Roman custody of priestly vestments, *xx.* 7
- Cassius (4). See Caesius (1) and (2)
- Castor (1), Jewish impostor, *B.* *v.* 317-330
- Castor (2), dates battle of Gaza as eleven years after death of Alexander the Great, *Ap.* *i.* 184; chronicler, cited on Antiochus Epiphanes' motive in plundering the temple in Jerusalem, *ii.* 84
- castration, practised by Persians, *Ap.* *ii.* 270
- Cathlas (Thaceas, Caathas, Cathaias, Cattheas, Clathas, Acatelas, father of Simon the Idumaeen chief, (Thaceas; var. Cathlas, Clathas) *B.* *iv.* 235; (Caathas; var. Cathlas, Clathas) *iv.* 271; (var. Cattheas) *v.* 249; (Acatelas; var. Nacatelas, Cathaias, Cathlas) *vi.* 148
- Cato, Caesar's opponent, *A.* *xiv.* 185
- Catthaias. See Cathlas
- Cattheas. See Cathlas
- Catullus, governor of Libyan Pentapolis, *B.* *vii.* 439-441, 449, 451
- Cave of Arbela. See Arbela (2), Cave of
- caves, in Galilee, west of Sea of Galilee and northwest of Tiberias, near Arbela, captured by Herod, *B.* *i.* 304; remnants of Galilaeans, pursued by Herod, lurk there, *i.* 307-308; open onto mountain precipices, thus being inaccessible, *i.* 310; king lowers his men in cradles with ropes to possess cavern mouths, *i.* 311; Josephus fortifies those in Lower Galilee in area of Lake of Gennesareth with walls, *ii.* 573; those near village of Arbela conquered by Herod, *A.* *xiv.* 415; Herod unable to crush the Galilaeans who live there, *xiv.* 417; Herod's method of destroying Galilaeen brigands living there, *xiv.* 420-430; Josephus fortifies the villages of the Cave of Arbela, *V.* 188
- Ceagiras (i.e. "lame") (Agiras), nickname of Nabataeus of Adiabene, *B.* *v.* 474
- Celadus, close friend of Alexander son of Herod, *B.* *ii.* 106; freedman of Augustus, *A.* *xvii.* 332
- Celenderis, town in Cilicia, *B.* *i.* 610; *A.* *xvii.* 86
- Celer, Roman tribune, *B.* *ii.* 244, 246; *A.* *xx.* 132, 136
- Celtic, *A.* *xix.* 119
- Celts, Germanic tribes, *B.* *i.* 5
- Cendeabaeus, general of Antiochus VII Sidetes, *B.* *i.* 51; *A.* *xiii.* 225
- Cenedaeus, brave Jew, kinsman of Monobazus the king of Adiabene, *B.* *ii.* 520
- Censorinus, Gaius Marcius, Roman consul, *A.* *xvi.* 165
- Cepharnocus (probably identical with Capharnaum), village in region of Gennesareth, where Josephus is carried after his fall from a horse, *V.* 403
- Cepthomus (Bibl. Caphtorim), son of Mizraim, *A.* *i.* 137
- Cerealius (1) Vettulenus (Vetili-anus), Sextus, head of fifth legion, attacks Samaritans, *B.* *iii.* 310-315; *iv.* 552-555; *vi.* 131, 237, 242; *vii.* 163; is sent with Josephus to consider suitability of Tekoa as camp for Titus' forces, *V.* 420
- Cerealius (2) Petilius, sent by Vespasian to Germany, *B.* *vii.* 82-83
- Ceron, father of Cornelius the

GENERAL INDEX

- bearer of Claudius' letter to the Jews, *A.* xx. 14
- Cestius Gallus, Roman governor of Syria, *B.* i. 20-21; Jews complain to him, ii. 280-283; ii. 333-334, 341, 481; takes to the field, ii. 499-555; ii. 556-558, 562, 564; iii. 9, 31, 133, 414; v. 41, 267, 302; vi. 338, 422; vii. 18; looked to by Josephus to quell Jewish revolution in Palestine, *V.* 23; is defeated by Jewish revolutionaries in Palestine, 24; events after his defeat, 28; is given allegiance by Jewish inhabitants of Sepphoris, 30; holds Jews of Sepphoris as hostages, 31; waited upon by Agrippa and his sister, 49; sends Placidus to burn Galilaean villages, 214; commander-in-chief of Roman legions in Syria, garrison provided by him is admitted into Sepphoris, 347; Sepphoris requests him to take over the city, 373-374; sends large forces to aid Sepphoris, 394
- Cetis, place in Cilicia, *A.* xviii. 140
- Chalais, town in Idumaea, *B.* iii. 20
- chaanaeae*, Hellenized form of Aramaic name (*kahanya*) for Jewish priests, *A.* iii. 151
- Chabalon (= "Not Pleasing"; Chabulon; Bibl. Cabul, Kabul) Land of, region in Galilee presented by Solomon to Hiram, *A.* viii. 142; (Chabulon) *Ap.* i. 110
- Chabarsaba. See Antipatris
- Chabolo. See Chabulon (1)
- Chabulon (1) (Chabolo), city in Galilee, *B.* ii. 503; iii. 38; (Chabolo) village on frontiers of Ptolemais whither Josephus marches with his troops, *V.* 213-214; (Chabolo) Josephus keeps watch from there on Placidus, 227; (Chabolo) Josephus sets out from there with his army to Jotapata, 234
- Chabulon (2). See Chabalon
- Chaerea, Cassius, leader of a conspiracy against Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 18, 21, 23, 27; insulted by Gaius, xix. 28-31; tortures Quintilia at Gaius' orders, xix. 34-35; plots with Clemens and Papinius against Gaius, xix. 37, 40, 44-46; enlists Cornelius Sabinus in the conspiracy, xix. 46; enlists Vinicianus in the conspiracy, xix. 48, 53, 60-61; postpones attempt to assassinate Gaius, xix. 70-71, 73; resolves to assassinate Gaius at Palatine Games, xix. 78-84; his role in assassination of Gaius, xix. 91, 96, 99-100, 105-107, 111, 113; flees scene of assassination, xix. 115; xix. 153; receives watchword "liberty," xix. 186-187, 189; orders wife and daughter of Gaius slain, xix. 190, 200; opposes Claudius, xix. 254, 256, 258, 261-262; executed by Claudius, xix. 267-270; honoured by Roman people, xix. 272
- Chaeremon, author of history of Egypt, disagrees with Manetho, *Ap.* i. 288-303; challenged by Josephus, ii. 1
- Chaireas, Jewish envoy from Hyrcanus to Rome, *A.* xiv. 222
- Chalamas (Josephus' error for Biblical Helam [Helama]), king of Syria, *A.* vii. 127-128
- Chalcidice, region in either the Lebanon range or further north in Syria, *B.* vii. 226
- Chalcis, city in the Lebanon valley, *B.* i. 185; ii. 217, 221, 223, 247; *A.* xiv. 40, 126; kingdom requested by Agrippa I for his son-in-law, xix. 277; ruled by Herod, brother of Agrippa I, xix. 338; xix. 353; xx. 15, 103; taken away from Agrippa II, xx. 138; xx. 158
- Chalcol. See Chalkeos
- Chaldaeans (Chaldees, Chaldaea), Babylonian people, *B.* ii. 112; modern name for Arphaxadaeans, *A.* i. 144; (Chaldaea) place where Haran dies, i. 151-152; (Chaldaea) Abraham leaves from there, i. 154; rise up

GENERAL INDEX

- against Abraham, i. 157; mentioned by Berossus, i. 158; (Chaldees) mentioned by Nicolas of Damascus, i. 159; arithmetic and astronomy travel from them to Egypt, i. 168; (Chaldaea) captures Manasseh, x. 40; (Chaldaea) x. 183; x. 187; their wisdom mastered by Daniel, x. 194; fail to tell Nebuchadnezzar his dream, x. 195, 198-199, 203; x. 223; unable to interpret handwriting on wall, x. 234; x. 235; (Chaldaea) xi. 91; admitted even by Greeks to possess a very ancient record of the past, *Ap.* i. 8-9; teachers of first Greek philosophers, i. 14; chronicles kept by them, i. 28; original ancestors of Jews, are adduced by Josephus as witnesses of Jews' antiquity, i. 71; their evidence for antiquity of the Jews, i. 128-160, 215; their writings demonstrate antiquity of the Jews, ii. 1
- Chaldees, Ur of, *A.* i. 151
- Chalkeos (Bibl. Chalcol), Jew known for his wisdom, son of Mahol, *A.* viii. 43
- Chananaea. See Canaan (1)
- Chananaeus (Bibl. Canaan), son of Ham, *A.* i. 134, 138, 142; v. 88-89
- Chapsaios, father of Judas (a commander of Jonathan's army), *A.* xiii. 161
- Charada. See Garada
- Charax Spasini. See Spasini
- Charax
- Chares, leader of Gamala, *B.* iv. 18, 68; kinsman of Philip, *V.* 177; slain by followers of Josephus, the midwife's son, 186
- Chariots, Cities of, cities where Solomon kept his chariots, *A.* viii. 183
- Charmis(os) (Bibl. Carmi), son of Reuben, *A.* ii. 178
- Charon, ferryman over River Styx in Hades, *A.* xix. 358
- Charran (var. Karran), city in Mesopotamia, *A.* i. 152; (var. Karran) Rebecca's residence there, i. 244; Jacob arrives there, i. 285
- Chasleu. See Chasleus
- Chasleus (Chasleu; var. Xelios, Xenios; Heb. Kislew), ninth month in Hebrew calendar, approximately December, gathering in Jerusalem on twentieth day thereof, *A.* xi. 148; (Chasleu) xii. 248; (Chasleu) month when the temple is rededicated, xii. 319
- Chasphomake (var. Chasthomaki, Chasphomakei), city in Galaaditis in Palestine, *A.* xii. 340
- Chasphomakei. See Chasphomake
- Chasthomaki. See Chasphomake
- Chazam, son of Nahor, *A.* i. 153
- Chebron (1), Egyptian king, son of Tethmosis (Thoummosis), *Ap.* i. 94
- Chebron (2). See Ibron
- Chedorlaomer. See Chodolamor
- Cheesemakers, Valley of (Tyropoeon), between two hills on which Jerusalem is built, *B.* i. 140; (v. 136)
- Cheidon (Bibl. Chidon, Nachon), threshing-floor of, place in Palestine where Uzzah met his death, *A.* vii. 81
- Cheirosomos (Bibl. Hiram), Tyrian craftsman who helped build the temple, *A.* viii. 76-77, 88
- Chelbes, son of Abdaeus, judge of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 157
- Chelcias (1). See Helcias (1)
- Chelcias (2) (var. Chelicas), father of Judes (member of Eleazar's faction), *B.* v. 6
- Chelicas. See Chelcias (2)
- Chelkias, son of Onias, general of Cleopatra, *A.* xiii. 285, 287, 349; his death, xiii. 351
- Chellion (Bibl. Chilion), son of Elimelech and Naomi, marries Orpah, *A.* v. 318-319
- Chephirah. See Kephrites
- Cherubim (Cherubs), angels placed upon the ark as a covering, *A.* iii. 137; vii. 378; viii. 72-73, 103
- Chesloimus (Bibl. Casluhim), son of Mizraim, *A.* i. 137

GENERAL INDEX

- Chethim*, name given by Hebrews to all islands and to most maritime countries, *A. i.* 128
- Chethima*, island, modern Cyprus, *A. i.* 128
- Chethimos* (Kittion; Bibl. Kittim), son of Javan, inhabits Chethima (Cyprus), *A. i.* 128
- Chettaeus* (Bibl. Heth), son of Canaan, *A. i.* 139
- Chians*, inhabitants of Chios in Aegean Sea, *A. xvi.* 26
- Chidon*. See *Cheidon*
- childbirth, impurity of women in, according to Jewish law, *A. iii.* 269
- children, rebellious, Jewish law on, *A. iv.* 260-265
- Chilion*. See *Chellion*
- Chimham*. See *Achimanos*
- Chios*, island in Aegean Sea, its portico rebuilt by Herod, *A. xvi.* 18
- Chobari*, father of Ezechias (member of Eleazar's faction), *B. v.* 6
- Chodam* (Bibl. Hadad), son of Ishmael, *A. i.* 220
- Chodolamor* (Bibl. Chedorlaomer), Assyrian commander, *A. i.* 173
- choeis*. See *choes*
- Choerilus*, Greek poet, cites Jews as participating in Xerxes' expedition, *Ap. i.* 172-175; five lines of his poem quoted, *i.* 173
- choes* (*choeis*), Attic measure, *A. iii.* 197, 234; (*choeis*) *viii.* 85
- Choramos*. See *Choranos*
- Choranos* (Bocchores, Bachor; var. *Choramos*; Bibl. Bahurim), village near Jerusalem, *A. vii.* 207; (*Bocchores*) *vii.* 225
- choristers. See hymns, singers of
- Chosbia* (Bibl. Cozbi), Midianite, daughter of Zur, Zimri consorts with her, *A. iv.* 141; killed by Phinehas, *iv.* 153
- Christ*. See *Jesus* (9)
- Christians*, *A. xviii.* 64
- Chus*. See *Chusaeus*
- Chusaeans*, another name for Ethiopians, *A. i.* 131
- Chusaeus* (*Chus*; Bibl. Cush), son of Ham, *A. i.* 131; (*Chus*) *i.* 134
- Chusarsathus* (Bibl. Cushan-rishathaim), king of Assyrians, *A. v.* 180, 183
- Chusis* (Bibl. Hushai), friend of David, *A. vii.* 203-204; persuades Absalom to reject Ahitophel's advice, *vii.* 216-221; reports Absalom's plans to David, *vii.* 222; *vii.* 246-247; reports Absalom's death to David, *vii.* 251
- Chutha*. See *Chuthos*
- Chuthaeans*. See *Cuthaeans*
- Chuthaiol*. See *Cuthaeans*
- Chuthia*. See *Cuthia*
- Chuthos* (*Chutha*; Bibl. *Cuthah*), region in Persia, *A. ix.* 279; (*Chutha*) *ix.* 288
- Cicero*, Marcus Tullius, Roman consul, *A. xiv.* 66
- Cilicia* (Cilicians), region in Asia Minor, *B. i.* 88, 157, 428, 456, 610; *ii.* 368; *vii.* 234, 238; its people formerly called Tharsians, *A. i.* 127; *ix.* 208 *xi.* 314 (*bis*); *xiii.* 86, 112, 116, 145, 368, 374; *xiv.* 79; meeting of Antony and Cleopatra there, *xiv.* 324; *xvi.* 131, 332; *xvii.* 85-86; *xviii.* 140; portion of it given to Antiochus IV by Claudius, *xix.* 276; *xx.* 145
- Cilicians*, Valley of the, in Decapolis, *A. xiii.* 397
- Cinnamus*, Parthian king, invites Artabanus to resume kingship, *A. xx.* 63-65
- Cinyras* (1), title of play presented before Emperor Gaius Caligula, *A. xix.* 94
- Cinyras* (2), hero of play *Cinyras*, *A. xix.* 94
- circumcision, on eighth day among Jews, in thirteenth year among Arabs, *A. i.* 214; undergone by many non-Jews after death of Haman for fear of Jews, *xi.* 285; enforced on aliens by Jews, *V.* 113; practice of cited by Herodotus, *Ap. i.* 169-171; derided by Apion, *ii.* 137; practised by

GENERAL INDEX

- Egyptian priests, *ii.* 141; taught to others by Egyptians, according to Herodotus, *ii.* 142
- Cithærus. See Cantheras
- Cition, city in Cyprus, Hellenized equivalent of Chethimos, *A. i.* 128
- citizenship, honorary, ruled out, according to Apion, *Ap. ii.* 41; denied to foreigners by Spartans, *ii.* 260
- Civilis, leader, with Classicus, of German and Gallic rebellion against Roman domination in the reign of Vespasian, *B. vii.* 80
- Classicus, leader, with Civilis, of German and Gallic rebellion against Roman domination in the reign of Vespasian, *B. vii.* 80
- Clathas. See Cathlas
- Claudius (1) Caesar, Tiberius, Roman Emperor, his accession, *B. ii.* 204-214; makes Agrippa I king of Judaea, *ii.* 215-217; *ii.* 220; makes Agrippa king of Chalcis, *ii.* 223; *ii.* 244; his death, *ii.* 248; sends Felix as procurator of Judaea, *ii.* 247; *iii.* 5; *v.* 152; *A. iii.* 320; allows Jews to keep possession of priestly robes, *xv.* 407; son of Antonia, friend of Agrippa, *xviii.* 164-165; *xix.* 13; courted by Callistus, *xix.* 66-69; uncle of Gaius Caligula, *xix.* 102-103; chosen emperor to succeed Gaius, *xix.* 162, 164, 166; found hiding by Gratus, *xix.* 212, 216, 218; declared emperor by soldiers, *xix.* 221-223, 225-226, 228; opposed by senate, *xix.* 229, 234, 236; urged by Agrippa to become emperor, *xix.* 238-239, 243-245; his reply to the senate, *xix.* 246-247; his rivals for the empire, *xix.* 250, 252; opposed by Chaerea, *xix.* 258-262; spares Quintus Pompeius, *xix.* 263; urged by Agrippa I to spare the senators, *xix.* 265-266; *xix.* 267-268; releases Sabinus, *xix.* 273; confirms Agrippa in his kingdom and adds to it, *xix.* 274-275; requested by Agrippa to give Chalcis to his son-in-law, *xix.* 277; *xix.* 279; his edict to Alexandria and Syria on behalf of the Jews, *xix.* 280; his edict to the rest of the world, *xix.* 287-292; his image set up in synagogue at Dora, *xix.* 300; his authority invoked by Publius Petronius in rebuking men of Dora, *xix.* 303-305, 310; orders Agrippa to desist from fortifying walls of Jerusalem, *xix.* 326-327; Agrippa celebrates spectacles in his honour, *xix.* 343; *xix.* 351; appoints Fadus as procurator of Judaea since Agrippa II is still a minor, *xix.* 360-361; *xix.* 366; appoints Cassius Longinus as governor of Syria, *xx.* 1; allows Jews to keep high priest's vestments, *xx.* 7, 9-11; gives Herod of Chalcis right to select high priest, *xx.* 15; receives brothers of Izates as hostages, *xx.* 37; *xx.* 104; his slave robbed, *xx.* 113; hears quarrel between Jews and Samaritans, *xx.* 131, 135-136; appoints Felix procurator of Judaea, *xx.* 137; his death, *xx.* 148-149; killed by Agrippina, *xx.* 151; *xx.* 222
- Claudius (2) Felix, procurator of Judaea sent by Emperor Claudius, *A. xx.* 137 (var.)
- Clazomenae, city in western Asia Minor, *A. xx.* 252; birth-place of Anaxagoras, *Ap. ii.* 265
- Cleanthes, philosopher, mentioned as genius by Apion, *Ap. ii.* 135
- Clearchus, disciple of Aristotle, his book on sleep cited, *Ap. i.* 176-183; his allusion to the Jews parenthetical, *i.* 183
- Cleitus, opponent of Josephus at Tiberias, prime mover of revolt, *B. ii.* 642-644; ring-leader of sedition against

GENERAL INDEX

- Josephus at Tiberias, is told by Josephus to cut off one of his hands, *V.* 170-173
- Clemens, Roman pretorian prefect, partakes in conspiracy with Chaerea against Emperor Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 37-39, 41, 44, 47; releases Vinicianus, xix. 154; xix. 191
- Cleodemus, prophet, also called Malchus, author of a history of the Jews, *A.* i. 240
- Cleopatra (1), daughter of Antiochus the Great, wife of Ptolemy Epiphanes, *A.* xii. 154, 167; her good will sought by Joseph the Tobiad, xii. 185; informed of Hyrcanus' punishment of Arion, xii. 204; receives lavish gifts from Hyrcanus, xii. 217
- Cleopatra (2), queen of Ptolemy VI Philometor, *A.* xii. 388; xiii. 63, 65, 69-70; xx. 236; *Ap.* ii. 49-52
- Cleopatra (3), daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometor, *A.* xiii. 80, 82, 109, 116, 120; former wife of Alexander Balas, later wife of Demetrius II, xiii. 221-222, 268, 271
- Cleopatra (4), mother of Ptolemy Lathyrus, *B.* i. 86; aids Jewish communities in Egypt, xiii. 285-287; xiii. 328, 331; her aid sought by Alexander Jannaeus, xiii. 334, 336; forces Ptolemy Lathyrus to leave Syria, xiii. 348, 351; is dissuaded from invading Judaea, xiii. 352-353, 355; xiii. 358; xiv. 112
- Cleopatra (5) Selene, daughter of Ptolemy Physcon, *B.* i. 116; *A.* xiii. 420
- Cleopatra (6), Antony's spouse, last queen of Alexandria, *B.* i. 243, 279, 359-363, 365, 367, 389-391; her death, i. 396-397; i. 440; vii. 300-301; meets Antony, *A.* xiv. 324; detains Herod in Alexandria, xiv. 375-376; her aid invoked by Alexandra, xv. 24, 28, 32; her aid invoked by Alexandra again, xv. 45-46, 48; urges Antony to avenge murder of Aristobulus, xv. 62-63, 65; fails to rouse Antony against Herod, xv. 75-77, 79; receives parts of Syria from Antony, xv. 88-95; kills her brother and sister, xv. 89; attempts to seduce Herod, xv. 96-103; receives Artabazes as gift from Antony, xv. 104; Herod pays tribute to her, xv. 106; tells Antony of Malchus' disloyalty, xv. 110; her general, Athenion, aids Arabs against Herod, xv. 116; tries to subjugate Arabs, xv. 131-132; Herod advises Antony to do away with her, xv. 191; her death, xv. 215; her bodyguards given to Herod by Octavian, xv. 217; Costobarus offers his services to her, xv. 256-257; crimes committed by her, *Ap.* ii. 56-59; her suicide, ii. 60; refuses to give corn to Jews in famine, ii. 60; ii. 61
- Cleopatra (7) of Jerusalem, wife of Herod, *B.* i. 562; *A.* xvii. 21
- Cleopatra (8), wife of Gessius Florus, *A.* xx. 252
- Cleopatrides, an Alexandrian, father of Dositheus, *A.* xiv. 236
- clothes, forbidden, according to Jewish law, *A.* iv. 208
- Clusius (1) Publius, father of Clusius (2) Gallus, Publius, *A.* xiv. 229, 238
- Clusius (2) Gallus, Publius, Roman of Veturian tribe, present at promulgation of decree of Lentulus exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service, *A.* xiv. 229, 238
- Clusoth, father of Idumaeen general Phineas, *B.* iv. 235
- Cluvius, Roman consul, *A.* xix. 91-92
- Cnidus, Greek city in southwestern Asia Minor, *A.* xii. 5; xiii. 370
- Coele-Syria (see also Syria), *B.* i. 103, 155, 213, 366; in relation to Damascus, *A.* i.

GENERAL INDEX

- 145; peopled by Ammanites and Moabites, *i.* 206; conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, *x.* 181; *x.* 220; mentioned in letter to Cambyses, *xi.* 25, 27; *xi.* 61; its eparchs receive Xerxes' letter, *xi.* 138; its people hear of building of walls of Jerusalem, *xi.* 174; troubles Assyrians, *xi.* 303; its inhabitants suffer during war between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy, *xii.* 129; attacked by Ptolemy (under generalship of Scopas), *xii.* 131, 133; given to Cleopatra as dowry, *xii.* 154; *xii.* 175; governed by Seron, *xii.* 288; *xiii.* 65, 88; roused by Jonathan against Demetrius, *xiii.* 149; *xiii.* 209, 351, 355-356; ruled by Aretas, *xiii.* 392; *xiv.* 34, 40, 74; given to Seaurus, *xiv.* 79; Herod made its governor, *xiv.* 180, 280; given to Cleopatra by Antony, *xv.* 79; scene of Herod's defeat by Arabs, *xv.* 112; pillaged by bandits from Trachonitis, *xvi.* 275; its satrap rebels against Nabopalassar, king of Babylon, *Ap.* *i.* 135; a Jew from there impresses Aristotle, *i.* 179
- Colchians, people settled on the east and south-east of the Black Sea, *B.* *ii.* 366; their practice of circumcision mentioned by Herodotus, *Ap.* *i.* 168-170
- Collega, Gnaeus Pompeius, Roman consul, deputy-governor of Syria, *B.* *vii.* 58, 60
- Colline, Roman tribe, *A.* *xiv.* 145, 239
- colonists, always take name of founders, *Ap.* *ii.* 38-42
- Comitium, place where senate meets, *A.* *xiii.* 260 (conjecture for corrupt readings of MSS.)
- Commagene, petty kingdom between Cilicia and Armenia, *B.* *v.* 461; *vii.* 219, 224-225; *A.* *xviii.* 53, 140; given to Antiochus IV by Claudius, *xix.* 276; ruled by Antiochus, *xix.* 338; *xix.* 355
- Commandments, Ten. See Decalogue
- Commentaries* (1) of Vespasian, relate how inhabitants of Decapolis were attacked by Justus of Tiberias and how they pressed Vespasian to punish him, *V.* 342
- Commentaries* (2) of Titus, not seen by Justus of Tiberias, *V.* 358
- Commentaries* (3) of the Imperial commanders (*i.e.* Vespasian and Titus), *Ap.* *i.* 56
- "Companions," body of Macedonian cavalry, *A.* *xix.* 95
- Compsus (1), father of Compsus (2) and of Crispus, prefect under Agrippa I, *V.* 33
- Compsus (2), son of Compsus, leader of pro-Roman Jewish faction at Tiberias in 66, *V.* 33
- Concord, Temple of, in Rome, meeting place of Senate, *A.* *xiv.* 145; Julius Caesar's policies toward Jews ratified by Senate there, *xiv.* 219; *xiv.* 222
- Conon, Greek historian, testifies to antiquity of Jews, *Ap.* *i.* 216
- Constitution, Jewish, attempt to prove its late origin from silence of Greek historians, *Ap.* *i.* 58; *ii.* 145 ff.
- constitutions, various forms of, *Ap.* *ii.* 164
- consul, Caesar's title, *A.* *xiv.* 196, 199-200, 211, 213
- Contra Apionem.* See Josephus (1), works
- Cophen (Bibl. Havilah), river in India, *A.* *i.* 147
- Coponius (1), procurator of Judaea, *B.* *ii.* 117-118; equestrian, accompanies Quirinius to Judaea, *A.* *xviii.* 2; *xviii.* 29, 31
- Coponius (2), Lucius, father of Lucius Coponius of Colline tribe, *A.* *xiv.* 145
- Coponius (3), Lucius, son of Lucius, of Colline tribe, present when Roman Senate enacts

GENERAL INDEX

- decree honouring Antipater and Hyrcanus, *A.* xiv. 145
- Coptus, city on Nile River, *B.* iv. 608
- coracin*, a fish, *B.* iii. 520
- Corban, a Jewish sacrificial offering, *B.* iv. 73; Jewish oath, meaning "God's gift," *Ap.* i. 167
- Corbonas*, Jewish sacred treasure, used for construction of an aqueduct by Pontius Pilate, *B.* ii. 175
- Corcyra, island off western coast of Greece, *B.* vii. 22
- Cordova, city in Spain, *A.* xix. 17
- Cordyaeans, their mountain in Armenia is said to have portion of Noah's ark, *A.* i. 93
- Corea. See Coreae
- Coreae (Corea), city on border of Judaea, *B.* i. 134; iv. 449; *A.* xiv. 49, 83
- Corinthian gate of temple, made of bronze, *B.* v. 201, 204; style of architecture in Solomon's palace, *A.* viii. 133; columns of the temple ornamented in this style, xv. 414; candelabra in palace of Herod the tetrarch at Tiberias, *V.* 68
- Corinthus, one of Augustus' bodyguard, *B.* i. 576-577; bodyguard of Herod, *A.* xvii. 55-57
- Cornelian, Roman tribe, *A.* xiv. 238
- Cornelius (1) Sabinus, conspirator against Emperor Gaius Caligula, joins Chaerea's plot, *A.* xix. 46, 48; aids in assassination of Gaius, xix. 110; opposes Claudius, xix. 261; xix. 267; released by Claudius, xix. 273
- Cornelius (2) Lentulus, *L.* See Lentulus, Cornelius
- Cornelius (3), brother of Longus, Roman hero, *B.* vi. 187
- Cornelius (4), Quintus, Roman quaestor, *A.* xiv. 219
- Cornelius (5), son of Ceron, bearer of Claudius' letter to the Jews, *A.* xx. 14
- Cornelius (6), Faustus. See Faustus, Cornelius
- corn-stores in Galilee, *V.* 71 ff., 118-119
- cors*, Hebrew measure of grain, *A.* iii. 321; xiv. 201; xv. 314
- Corvinus. See Messala
- Cos, Greek island in Aegean Sea, *B.* i. 423, 532; *A.* xiii. 349; xiv. 112-113; affords privileges to Jews, xiv. 233; xvi. 17, 312
- Costobar (1), brother of Saul, with whom he is sent to Agrippa to seek military reinforcements, *B.* ii. 418, 556; *A.* xx. 214
- Costobar (2). See Costobar(us)
- Costobar(us), second husband of Salome, *B.* i. 486; killed by Herod, *A.* xv. 252; governor of Idumaea, marries Salome, xv. 253-255; offers his services to Cleopatra but is pardoned by Herod, xv. 256-258; divorced by Salome, xv. 259-266; xvi. 227; xviii. 133
- Cotardes, King of Parthians, brother of Vardanes, succeeds him, *A.* xx. 73
- Cotulas. See Zeno (2)
- cotylae*, Attic measure, *A.* iii. 142
- Cotylas. See Zeno (2)
- Cotys, king of Armenia Minor, entertained by Agrippa at Tiberias, *A.* xix. 338
- Council. See Sanhedrin
- Counsel. See Hebel
- Cozbi. See Chosbia
- Crassus, Licinius, governor of Syria, *B.* i. 179-180; succeeds Gabinius as governor of Judaea, *A.* xiv. 104; plunders the temple, xiv. 105, 107, 109; killed in Parthia, xiv. 119; occupies the temple in Jerusalem, *Ap.* ii. 82
- Cratippus, a prytanis in Pergamum, *A.* xiv. 247
- creation of the world, *A.* i. 27-33
- Cremona, town in northern Italy, *B.* iv. 634, 642
- Crete (Cretans), island south of Greece, *B.* ii. 103; *A.* xiii. 86, 129; its Jews welcome false Alexander, xvii. 327; Josephus' wife from there, *V.* 427;

GENERAL INDEX

- (Cretans) employ practical, not verbal, training, *Ap.* ii. 172
- Creticus, surname of Quintus Metellus, Roman consul, *A.* xiv. 4; see also Metellus (1), Quintus
- Crispus of Tiberias, son of Compsus, prefect under Agrippa I, absent beyond Jordan when Jewish revolt against Romans begins, *V.* 33; groom of Agrippa II's bedchamber, conveys letter from Agrippa to councillors of Tiberias, 382; kept prisoner by Josephus, instructed by Josephus to escape, 388-389; overture sent through him to King Agrippa II by Justus, 393
- crocodiles, imputation by Egyptians of virtue to them, *Ap.* ii. 86
- Croesus, King of Lydia, renowned for piety, his calamities, *Ap.* ii. 131
- Crotona, city in southern Italy, birthplace of Calliphron, *Ap.* i. 164
- crucifixion of Jewish prisoners by Romans, *V.* 420
- Crustumian, Roman tribe, *A.* xiv. 229, 238
- Ctesiphon, city near Seleucia on the Tigris River, *A.* xviii. 49; Greek city, xviii. 377
- Ctilion Cition (var.), his wife wooed by Anilaus, *A.* xviii. 343
- Ctistae, Dacian tribe, resemble Essenes, *A.* xviii. 22
- Cumanus, procurator in Judaea, his handling of incident with Roman soldier, *B.* ii. 223-227; his handling of incident with profanation of Scripture, ii. 228-231; his handling of incident of Galilaeans and Samaritans, ii. 232-244; his trial at Rome and banishment, ii. 245-246; appointed procurator, *A.* xx. 103; quells riot during Passover, xx. 105-106, 108-109; executes a soldier for destroying a copy of the Law, xx. 114, 116-117; fails to act in quarrel between Jews and Samaritans, xx. 119, 121-122, 127, 129; gives Emperor Claudius an account of quarrel between Jews and Samaritans, xx. 132, 134-135; condemned to exile, xx. 136
- Curtus, cognomen of Matthias the son of Matthias, *V.* 4
- Cush. See Chusaeus
- Cushan-rishathaim. See Chusarsathus
- Cuspius Fadus. See Fadus, Cuspius
- "Customs and Causes," projected treatise by Josephus, *A.* iv. 198
- Cuthaeans. See Cuthia
- Cuthah. See Chuthos
- Cuthia (Cuthaeans) (Chuthia, Chuthaeans, Chuthaioi), defeated by John Hyrcanus, *B.* i. 63; (Chuthaioi) transported to Samaria, *A.* ix. 288; (Chuthaioi, Cuthim, Samaritans) their conversion by Israelite priests, ix. 290; (Chuthaeans) settle in Israel, x. 184; (Chuthaeans) warn Persians against the Jews, xi. 19-20; (Chuthia) origin of Cuthaeans, xi. 85; (Chuthaeans) again denounce the Jews, xi. 88; (Cuthaeans race) Samaritans descended from, xi. 302; (Cuthaeans nation) captured by Hyrcanus, xiii. 255; see also Samaritans
- Cyanean Rocks, at entrance to Black Sea, *A.* xvi. 20
- Cydasa (Kedasa, Kadasa, Kedese, Kydisa; Bibl. Kedes), village of the Tyrians in Galilee, (Kedasa) ii. 459; iv. 104-105; (Kedese) *A.* v. 63; (Kedese) declared city of refuge, v. 91; (Kydisa) captured by Tiglath-Pileser, ix. 235; (Kedasa) xiii. 154, 162
- Cyprians. See Kitieis
- Cypros (1) (Cyprus), wife of Antipater, *B.* i. 181; *A.* xiv. 121; mother of Herod, placed in Masada, xv. 184
- Cypros (2), wife of Agrippa I, *B.* ii. 220; daughter of Phasaël

GENERAL INDEX

- and Salampsio, *A.* xviii. 131; married to Agrippa, xviii. 131; her children by Agrippa, xviii. 132; deters Agrippa from committing suicide, xviii. 148; aids her husband, xviii. 159-160
- Cypros (3), daughter of Cypros and Antipater, married to Alexas, *A.* xviii. 138
- Cypros (4), daughter of Cypros and Alexas, *A.* xviii. 138
- Cypros (5), daughter of Herod and Mariamme, spurned by Pheroras, becomes wife of Antipater, *A.* xvi. 196; xviii. 130; mother of Cypros, xviii. 138
- Cypros (6), fortress built by Herod, *B.* i. 407; i. 417; ii. 484; built by Herod, *A.* xvi. 143
- Cyprus (1). See Cypros (1)
- Cyprus (2), island in Eastern Mediterranean, *B.* ii. 108; *A.* i. 128; Jewish community there flourishes under Cleopatra, xiii. 284; xiii. 287; ruled by Ptolemy Lathyrus, xiii. 328; xiii. 331; Ptolemy Lathyrus withdraws to it, xiii. 359; revenue from its copper mines given to Herod by Augustus, xvi. 128; xvii. 335; xviii. 131; xx. 51, 142; successful campaign against it by Egyptian king Sethosis (Ramesses II), *Ap.* i. 99
- Cyrenaean Libya. See Cyrene
- Cyrene (Cyrenaean Libya, Cyrenians), city on northern coast of Africa, *B.* ii. 381; vi. 114; vii. 437, 439; its Jewish population, *A.* xiv. 114-116, 118; (Cyrenaean Libya) xvi. 160; ordered to respect rights of Jews, xvi. 169; ship from there rescues Josephus after shipwreck in *c.* 61, *V.* 15; insurrection of Jews there, 424; Jews settled there by Ptolemy Lagus, *Ap.* ii. 44; left by Ptolemy Physcon, intending to usurp Egyptian throne, ii. 51
- Cyrus (1), Persian king, *B.* v. 389; vi. 270; marches against Babylonia, *A.* x. 232, 247; x. 248; allows Jews to return to Judaea, xi. 1, 3, 5-6, 8, 10, 12; his death, xi. 20-21; xi. 63, 78, 86, 88, 92-93; orders building of the temple, xi. 99; archives of, xi. 104; consents to building of the temple, xi. 106; xi. 113; prescribes dimensions of the Second Temple, xv. 386; permits Jews to return to their land, xx. 233; ends Babylonian captivity of the Jews, *Ap.* i. 132; re-erection of the temple begins under him, i. 145; captures Babylon, i. 150-152; treats Nabonnedus humanely, i. 153; foundations of the temple laid in second year of his reign, i. 154; becomes monarch of Persia in reign of Hiram, king of Tyre, i. 158-159
- Cyrus (2). See Asueros
- Cyzicenus. See Antiochus (9)
- Cyzicus, city in northwestern Asia Minor, *A.* xiii. 270-271
- DABALOTH (var. Nabaloth, Naballos; prob. Bibl. Beth Diblathaim), Arab city near Libba, *A.* xiv. 18
- Dabaritta. See Dabarittha
- Dabarittha (Dabaritta; Bibl. Daberath), village under western slopes of Mt. Tabor, *B.* ii. 595; (Dabaritta), its highwaymen plunder baggage of wife of Ptolemy, Agrippa II's overseer, *V.* 126 ff.; reached by Jonathan's party on way from Tiberias to Jerusalem, 318
- Daberath. See Dabarittha
- Dabora (Bibl. Deborah), prophetess, *A.* v. 200; leads Hebrews to battle against Sisera, v. 202, 204; v. 209; her death, v. 210
- Dacians, inhabitants of modern Rumania, *B.* ii. 369; *A.* xviii. 22
- Dacles (Bibl. Diklah), son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
- Dadan(es) (Bibl. Dedan), son of Shuah, *A.* i. 238
- Daesius (Daisios), Jewish month

GENERAL INDEX

- (June-July), *B.* iii. 282, 306, 315; iv. 449, 450; Pergamene month, xiv. 247
- Dagon (1), god of Philistines, *B.* v. 384; *A.* vi. 1-2; his temple in Azotus destroyed by Jonathan, xiii. 99-100; temple burnt, xiii. 104
- Dagon (2), fortress above Jericho, *B.* i. 56; *A.* xiii. 230
- Dahae, Scythian tribe, *A.* xviii. 100; xx. 91
- daimonion*, spirit that sent communications to Socrates, *Ap.* ii. 263
- Daisios. See Daesius
- Dalaeus, father of Jewish hero Josephus, *B.* vi. 280
- Dalala (Bibl. Delilah), Philistine harlot, beloved by Samson, *A.* v. 306, 308; delivers Samson to his enemies, v. 312
- Dalmatia, region in modern Yugoslavia, *B.* ii. 369-370
- damages, Jewish law of, *A.* iv. 277-284
- Damascus (Damascenes), city in Syria, *B.* i. 103; invaded by Alexandra, i. 115; i. 127, 129, 131, 212, 236, 362, 398, 422; massacre of its Jews, ii. 559-560; vii. 368; founded by Uz, *A.* i. 145; i. 159-160, 178; v. 86; its king defeated by David, vii. 100-101, 104; allies with Asa, viii. 304; capital city of Syria, viii. 352; viii. 363; opened to the Israelites for travel, viii. 387; Ben-hadad escapes there, ix. 87-88; ix. 89; adorned by Ben-hadad and Hazael, ix. 93; ix. 175, 245; (Damascenes) defeated by Tiglath-Pileser, ix. 252; ix. 253; (Damascenes) transported to Media, ix. 253; site of Cambyses' death, xi. 30; xii. 126; xiii. 153, 179, 370, 387-389, 392, 418; xiv. 29, 33-34, 38, 40, 48, 178, 295; xv. 96; pillaged by inhabitants of Trachonitis, xv. 344; xvi. 299; xvii. 99; quarrels with Sidon, xviii. 153; (Damascenes) bribe Agrippa to urge their case before Flaccus, xviii. 153-154; its Jews massacred by natives, V. 27; Nicolas from, *Ap.* ii. 84
- Damnaeus, father of Jesus the high priest, *A.* xx. 203, 213
- Dan (1), son of Jacob and Bilhah, (= Greek "Theocritus"), *A.* i. 305; his children, ii. 181
- Dan (2) (Danites), tribe of, *A.* iii. 105; (Danites) territory of tribe, v. 87; Dan(ites) attacked by Canaanites and forced to flee, v. 175, 177; (Danites) tribe of Manohah, v. 276; pay homage to David, vii. 59
- Dan (3) (formerly Laish), source of Jordan, where Abraham defeats Assyrians, *A.* i. 177; (v. 178); place where Jeroboam builds shrine, viii. 226, 228; ravaged by Asa, viii. 305
- Dan(a), city founded by Danites, *A.* v. 178
- Danaus, another name of Harmais, according to Manetho, *Ap.* i. 102; comes to Argos, i. 103; name assumed by Hermaeus, i. 231; his flight to Argos, ii. 16
- Daniel (1), son of David and Abigail, *A.* vii. 21
- Daniel (2), Jewish youth at Nebuchadnezzar's court, called Baltasaros (Bibl. Belteshazzar), *A.* x. 188-189; observes dietary laws, x. 190, 193-194; describes and interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream, x. 197, 199-201, 203, 210-211; saved from fire, x. 214; interprets Nebuchadnezzar's second dream, x. 217; interprets handwriting on wall, x. 237, 239-241, 245-246; taken by Darius to Media, x. 249; thrown to lions, x. 250, 252, 254-256, 258-262; honoured by Darius, x. 263-264; as prophet, x. 266-268; his vision at Susa, x. 269-272; prophesies about Greek and Roman rule over Jews, x. 276-277, 280; xi. 337; his prophecy fulfilled, xii. 322

GENERAL INDEX

- Daniel (3), Book of, *A.* x. 210
 Danites. See Dan (2)
 Daos. See Apollonius (2) Taos
 Daphne (1), place near Antioch,
B. i. 243, 328; *A.* xiv. 325,
 451; xvii. 24
 Daphne (2), source of Jordan, *B.*
 iv. 3
 Darda. See Dardanos
 Dardanos (Bibl. Darda), son of
 Mahol, known for his cleverness
 in Solomon's time, *A.* viii. 43
 Darius (1), Agrippa II's cavalry
 commander, *B.* ii. 421
 Darius (2), Persian king, son of
 Hystaspes, ancestor of Gla-
 phyra, *B.* i. 476; *A.* xi. 30;
 appointed king of Persia, xi.
 31-32; the contest of his
 guards, xi. 33-34; commands
 restoration of the temple, xi.
 63-64, 67; xi. 78, 87, 94;
 written to by Tatnai, xi. 95;
 written to by Samaritans, xi.
 97; hears restoration of
 Jerusalem is a danger to his
 government, xi. 98; writes to
 Tatnai, xi. 104; consents to
 building of the temple, xi.
 106; xi. 107, 113; sends
 letter to eparchs, xi. 118; his
 death, xi. 120; prescribes
 dimensions of second temple,
 xv. 386; completion of the
 temple in second year of his
 reign, *Ap.* i. 154
 Darius (3), king of Media, *A.* x.
 232; captures Babylon, x. 248-
 249; favours Daniel, x. 250-251,
 253; yields to enemies of Da-
 niel, x. 257-258, 262; honours
 Daniel, x. 263
 Darius (4) III, Persian king,
 sends Sanballat to Samaria,
A. xi. 302; xi. 305, 311,
 313-318, 321, 335; xii. 8
 Darius (5), son of Parthian king
 Artabanus, sent as hostage to
 Emperor Tiberius, *A.* xviii. 103
 Dassion, special friend of Agrippa
 II, secretly sent by Josephus
 to return stolen goods to
 Agrippa, *V.* 131
 Datham (var. Dathames; Bibl.
 Dathan), elder of tribe of
 Reuben, *A.* iv. 19, 37-39, 47
 perishes, iv. 53
 Dathames. See Datham
 Dathan. See Datham
 David, Jewish king, his tomb,
B. i. 61; v. 137, 143; vi. 439;
 builds temple on Mount Moriah,
A. i. 227; son of Jesse, v.
 336-337; vi. 163; anointed
 king by Samuel, vi. 164-165;
 taken by Saul as musician, vi.
 166-167, 169; fights and kills
 Goliath, vi. 175, 177, 179, 181,
 185-186, 188, 190, 192; arouses
 envy of Saul, vi. 193-194;
 loved by Saul's daughter, vi.
 196; wins Saul's daughter as
 wife, vi. 197, 199-200, 203-204;
 warned of Saul's plot against
 his life, vi. 205-208; vi. 209;
 restored to Saul's favour, vi.
 212; attacked by Saul, vi.
 213-214; aided by Michal in
 his escape from Saul, vi. 215,
 217; sheltered by Samuel, vi.
 220-223; secures aid of Jona-
 than, vi. 224-226, 229, 232,
 234; defended by Jonathan,
 vi. 235-238; bids Jonathan
 farewell, vi. 239-240; receives
 help from high priest Abi-
 melech, vi. 242-244; feigns
 madness, vi. 245-246; seeks
 aid of Moabite king, vi. 248;
 vi. 249-250, 253-254, 256, 258,
 269; saves the Killanians,
 vi. 271; flees from Keilah,
 vi. 273-274; meets Jonathan
 again, vi. 275; betrayed by
 Ziphites, vi. 277-280; vi. 281;
 spares Saul's life, vi. 282-283,
 285; reconciled with Saul, vi.
 290-291; sends greetings to
 Nabal, vi. 295, 297; refused
 aid by Nabal, vi. 298-299;
 appeased by Nabal's wife, vi.
 300-302, 305; marries Abigail,
 vi. 307-308; his wives, vi. 309;
 spares Saul's life a second
 time, vi. 310-312, 314, 317-319;
 dwells in Ziklag, vi. 321-322,
 324; promises to help Achish
 in fight against Israelites, vi.
 325-326; vi. 335; dismissed
 from Achish's army, vi. 351-

GENERAL INDEX

354, 356; his wives captured by Amalekites, vi. 357; pursues Amalekites, captures and divides booty, vi. 362, 364, 366-367; learns of Saul's death, vii. 1-2, 4; composes laments on death of Saul and Jonathan, vii. 6; vii. 10; his soldiers go to fight Abner, vii. 11; sends Joab to fight Abner, vii. 11 (*bis*); vii. 19 (*bis*); engaged in civil war with Saul's son, vii. 20; his children, vii. 21; receives allegiance of Abner, vii. 23-25; recovers his wife Michal, vii. 26; supported by Abner, vii. 27-30; vii. 31-33, 36; grieves at death of Abner, vii. 39; gives Abner magnificent burial, vii. 44, 47; punishes murderers of Ishbosheth, vii. 49; receives homage of tribal leaders, vii. 53-60; captures Jerusalem from Jebusites, vii. 61, 65; Jerusalem called "City of David" by him, vii. 65; builds wall around Jerusalem, vii. 66; names city for himself, vii. 67; captures Jerusalem 515 years after Joshua apportioned it to the Hebrews, vii. 68; spares Arauna the Jebusite, vii. 69; marries more wives, vii. 69; defeats Philistines, vii. 71, 73, 75, 77; brings ark to Jerusalem, vii. 78; brings ark to house of Obed-Edom, vii. 83; brings ark to Jerusalem and dances before it, vii. 86; vii. 89; not permitted to build the temple, vii. 92; vii. 94; defeats king of Damascus and Syria, vii. 100-101, 104; vii. 105; makes alliance with king of Hamath named Toi, vii. 107-108; his army captures Idumaea, vii. 109; his kindness to Jonathan's son, vii. 112-115, 117; vii. 118-119; defeats Ammanites, vii. 122; defeats Mesopotamians, vii. 129; sins with Bath-sheba, vii. 130; incurs anger of God,

vii. 147; vii. 150, 154; begets Solomon, vii. 158; takes crown of Ammanite king, vii. 161; vii. 163, 167, 173, 175, 181; forgives Absalom, vii. 193; allows Absalom to go to Hebron, vii. 196; hears of Absalom's plot, vii. 197-198; vii. 201; hears of Ahitophel's alliance with Absalom, vii. 202, 204; met by Ziba, vii. 205-206; stoned by Shimei, vii. 207-208; vii. 211, 214-216; informed of Absalom's plans, vii. 222-224, 227; vii. 228-229, 230; sends his army against Absalom, vii. 232-238, 240; learns of Absalom's death, vii. 245, 248-252, 257; forgives the rebels, vii. 258-263, 265, 267-268, 271; invites Barzillai to live with him and is refused, vii. 272-275; vii. 276, 278-279, 291; avenges the Gibeonites, vii. 294; vii. 301; defeats Philistines, vii. 302, 304; composes hymns, vii. 305, 311; numbers the people, vii. 318; punished for conducting census, vii. 321-322; goes to threshing floor of Araunah, vii. 329-331; buys threshing floor of Araunah as site for temple, vii. 334; instructs Solomon on building the temple, vii. 342; in old age, vii. 343; father of Adonijah, vii. 345; supported by Shimei, vii. 346; told of Adonijah's plot by Bath-sheba and Nathan, vii. 348, 351; vii. 360; apportions tasks to priests and Levites, vii. 362-364, 366; donates from his wealth to the temple, vii. 378; offers prayer for Solomon, vii. 380; thanked by the people, vii. 381; his dying charge to Solomon, vii. 383; his death, vii. 389; his tomb, vii. 393; viii. 1, 12; friend of Hiram, King of Tyre, viii. 50; viii. 59, 109-110, 113, 197-198, 200, 202, 207-208, 219, 221, 232, 259, 270, 276, 315; ix. 44, 96; his line almost

GENERAL INDEX

- wiped out by Athaliah, ix. 140; his line continued in Joash, ix. 145; ix. 148, 155, 166, 196, 269, 280, 282; x. 49, 67; end of his royal line, x. 143; xi. 73, 80, 112; xiii. 249; his tomb opened by Herod, xvi. 179, 181, 188; subjugates many nations, *Ap.* ii. 132
- Day of Fast. See Fast, Day of
- Dead Sea. See Asphaltitis, Lake
- Deborah. See Dabora
- Decalogue (ten commandments), *A.* iii. 91-92
- Decapolis, district in Syria, *B.* iii. 446; fought against by Justus of Tiberias, its inhabitants press Emperor Vespasian to punish Justus, *V.* 341-342; its leaders present remonstrances against Justus to Vespasian at Ptolemais for setting fire to their village, 410
- December, Ides of, *A.* xiv. 145
- Decius Mundus. See Mundus
- Dedan (1). See Dadan(es)
- Dedan (2). See Judadas
- Deilum. See Dium
- Deimos (Terror), deified by Greeks, *Ap.* ii. 248
- Deinaeus (Dinaeus), father of Eleazar (leader of brigands), *B.* ii. 235; *A.* xx. 121, 161
- Deity, *passim*
- Deizus. See Azizus (1)
- Deleastartus, father of Methu-sastartus the king of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 122
- Delians. See Delos
- Delilah. See Dalala
- Dellius, Antony's emissary, *B.* i. 290; *A.* xiv. 394; commends Alexandra's children to Antony xv. 25-27
- Delos (Délians), island in Aegean Sea, its Jews granted special privileges, *A.* xiv. 213; (Deli-ans) exempt Jews from military service, xiv. 231
- Delphi, site of oracle in Greece, its table compared with that of tabernacle, *A.* iii. 139; burning of its temple, *Ap.* ii. 131; its oracle as lawgiver, ii. 162
- Delta (1) of Nile River, *B.* i. 190; *A.* xiv. 133
- Delta (2) quarter in Alexandria, *B.* ii. 495
- Demaenetus, influences people of Ptolemais to risk a contest with Jews, *A.* xiii. 330
- Demetrius (1) of Phalerum, librarian of Ptolemy Philadelphus, *A.* xii. 12, 16; presents a memorial of the proposed translation of the Jewish Laws, xii. 34, 36; xii. 103, 107-108; explains why Jewish Law is unknown to Greeks, xii. 110-111, 113-114; praised for accuracy, *Ap.* i. 218; "the most learned man of his time," appointed commissioner by Ptolemy Philadelphus, ii. 46
- Demetrius (2) I Poliorcetes, king of Macedonia, son of Antigonus, defeated by Ptolemy son of Lagus, *Ap.* i. 184-185, 200; is deserted by his wife Stratonice, who starts unsuccessful revolution against him, i. 206-207
- Demetrius (3) I, son of Seleucus, becomes king of Syria, *A.* xii. 389; kills King Antiochus V Eupator, xii. 390; sends Bacchides against Judas, xii. 393; xii. 397; appealed to by Alcimus, xii. 400; sends Nicanor against Judas, xii. 402-403; xii. 415; sends Bacchides against Judas, xii. 420; sends Bacchides to capture Jonathan, xiii. 23; seeks alliance with Jonathan, xiii. 35, 37, 39; tries to win support of Jonathan, xiii. 43-44, 47-48; his death, xiii. 58-61; xiii. 80; father of Demetrius II, xiii. 86
- Demetrius (4) II (Nicator), son of Demetrius (3) I, father of Antiochus the Pious, *A.* vii. 393; opposes Alexander Balas, xiii. 86-87; allies himself with Ptolemy Philometor, xiii. 109-115; aids Ptolemy Philometor against Alexander Balas, xiii. 116; son-in-law of Ptolemy Philometor, ascends to power,

GENERAL INDEX

- xiii. 120; orders Jonathan to appear before him, xiii. 122-125; his letter to Jonathan, xiii. 126; dismisses his army, xiii. 129; incurs hostility of his soldiers, xiii. 131; asks Jonathan for assistance, xiii. 133-134; subdues Antiochians with aid of Jews, xiii. 135-141; overcome by Antiochus VI, xiii. 144-145; Jonathan agrees to fight against him, xiii. 147; Jonathan provokes hostilities against him, xiii. 148-154; his garrison captured by Simon, xiii. 154-157; defeated by Jonathan in Galilee, xiii. 159-160; defeated by Jonathan, xiii. 174, 177; xiii. 180; captured by Parthians, xiii. 184, 187, 218-219; xiii. 221-222; brother of Antiochus VII, succeeds to throne of Syria, xiii. 253; his death, xiii. 267-269; xiii. 271
- Demetrius (5) III Akairos, the Unready (Ill-timed), fights with Alexander Jannaeus, *B. i.* 92-95; *i.* 99; *A. xiii.* 370-371; defeats Alexander Jannaeus, xiii. 376-378; xiii. 379; exiled to Parthia, xiii. 384-386
- Demetrius (6), commander of Gamala, *B. i.* 105; *A. xiii.* 394
- Demetrius (7), a Gadarene, freedman of Pompey, *B. i.* 155; *A. xiv.* 75
- Demetrius (8), son of Andromachus, close friend of Alexander son of Herod, *A. xvi.* 243
- Demetrius (9), Alexandrian Jew, married Mariamme, *A. xx.* 147
- Demos, temple of, in Athens, *A. xiv.* 153
- Demoteles, courier of Areios the king of Sparta, *A. xii.* 227; xiii. 167
- deposits, Jewish law of, *A. iv.* 285-287; *Ap. ii.* 208, 216
- Destiny (Heimarmene), *Ap. ii.* 245
- Diadochi, Alexander's successors, history of by Hieronymus, *Ap. i.* 213
- Diagoras of Melos, condemned by Athenians, *Ap. ii.* 266
- Diaspora (dispersion), the Jewish, *Ap. i.* 32-33, 194
- Diathema, fortress twenty miles east of the Jordan, *A. xii.* 330
- Dicaearchia, Greek name for Puteoli, port in Italy, *B. ii.* 104; *A. xvii.* 328; xviii. 160; (Puteoli) xviii. 161; xviii. 248-249; bridge built there by Emperor Gaius Caligula, *xix.* 5; (Puteoli) Josephus lands there in *c.* 61, *V.* 16
- Dictator, Caesar's title, *A. xiv.* 190, 192, 199, 210-211
- Didius, Quintus, governor of Syria, *B. i.* 392; *A. xv.* 195
- Dido, flees Tyre, founds Carthage, (*Ap. i.* 125)
- Didorus, son of Heracles, *A. i.* 241
- dietary (food) laws of Jews, *A. iii.* 259-260; completely prescribed by Moses, *Ap. ii.* 173-174; *ii.* 234; adopted by non-Jews, *ii.* 282
- Diglath, another name for Tigris River, Aramaic equivalent of Hebrew Hiddekel, *A. i.* 39
- Diklah. See Dacles
- Dinaeus. See Deinaeus
- Dinah, daughter of Jacob and Leah, *A. i.* 308; ravished by Shechem, *i.* 337; *ii.* 179
- Diocles, author of history of Persia, *A. x.* 228
- Diodorus (1), son of Jason, envoy of Hyrcanus to Rome, *A. xiii.* 260
- Diodorus (2) (var. Theodorus), an Athenian, father of Theodotus, *A. xiv.* 152
- Diodotus. See Trypho (2)
- Diogenes, friend of Alexander Jannaeus, his death, *B. i.* 113; *A. xiii.* 410
- Diokleros (Bibl. Ben-deker), Solomon's governor for Bethshemesh, *A. viii.* 35
- Dion. See Dium
- Dionysian festival, *A. xiv.* 153
- Dionysius (1), Athenian, father of Dionysius (2), *A. xiv.* 150
- Dionysius (2), Athenian, son of Dionysius, presents motion

GENERAL INDEX

- honouring Hyrcanus, *A.* xiv. 150
- Dionysius (3), son of Asclepiades, president and priest in Athens, *A.* xiv. 149
- Dionysius (4) of Tripolis, relative of Ptolemy son of Mennaeus, beheaded, *A.* xiv. 39
- Dionysius (5). See Theodotus (1)
- Dionysus. See Antiochus (12)
- Diophantus, secretary of Herod, *B.* i. 529; forges letter that incriminates Alexander son of Herod, *A.* xvi. 319
- Dios (Dius), author of history of Phoenicia, *A.* viii. 147, 149; (Dius) cited as evidence for Solomon's riddles, *Ap.* i. 112-115
- Diospolis. See Dium
- Dispersion. See Diaspora
- Dium (Dion, Diospolis; var. Deilum), city of the Decapolis in Coele-Syria, *B.* i. 132; (Diospolis) i. 366; *A.* xiii. 393; xiv. 47, 75; (Diospolis) xv. 111
- Dius (1). See Dios
- Dius (2), Macedonian month (November), *B.* ii. 555; month in which flood occurred, *A.* i. 80
- Dodeios (Bibl. Dodo), father of Eleazar (one of David's chief warriors), *A.* vii. 308
- Dodo. See Dodeios
- Doeg, Syrian slave of Saul, keeper of king's mules, *A.* vi. 244, 254; kills Abimelech, vi. 259; vi. 270
- Doetus (var. Dortus, Doitus), Jewish leader, instigates revolution against Romans, *A.* xx. 130
- dog, Egyptian worship of, *Ap.* ii. 85
- Doitus. See Doetus
- Dolabella, Publius, Roman consul, continues Caesar's policy toward Jews, *A.* xiv. 217; confers privileges on Jews, xiv. 221; grants privileges to Jews of Asia, xiv. 223-225, 228; his privileges to Jews reaffirmed, xiv. 313
- Dolesus, leading man in Gadara, *B.* iv. 416
- Domitia, Domitian's wife, confers constant favours upon Josephus, *V.* 429
- Domitian Caesar, Roman emperor, *B.* iv. 646, 649, 654; vii. 85-88, 152; *A.* xx. 267; succeeds Titus, adds to Josephus' honours, punishes his Jewish accusers, *V.* 429
- Domitius (1) Ahenobarbus, husband of Agrippina before Claudius, *A.* xx. 148-149
- Domitius (2) Sabinus, Roman tribune, enters Jotapata with Titus, *B.* iii. 324; brave warrior against second wall of Jerusalem, v. 340
- Domitius (3), son of Domitius Ahenobarbarus, called Nero, *A.* xx. 149
- Dor (1) (Bibl. Endor), city in Palestine, *A.* vi. 330
- Dor (2). See Dora
- Dora (Dor), city of Phoenicia on Mediterranean, *B.* i. 50; freed by Pompey, i. 156; i. 409; on frontier of territory of tribe of Manasseh, *A.* v. 83; on boundary of Dan's territory, v. 87; (Dor) its governor under Solomon, viii. 35; fortress, xiii. 223-224; xiii. 324; xiv. 76; xv. 333; emperor's statue placed in synagogue there, xix. 300-303; Cestius holds Jews of Sepphoris there as hostages, *V.* 31; Zabidus steals ass's head and goes there, according to Mnaseas, ii. 114; ii. 116
- Doras, native of Jerusalem, murders Jonathan the high priest, his friend, *A.* xx. 163
- Dorcas (*i.e.* "Gazelle"; in Aramaic, Bar Tabitha), father of John the assassin, *B.* iv. 145
- Dorians, Greek people, legs of their couches compared with those of table in the temple, *A.* iii. 139
- Dorii, Idumaeen city (non-existent, according to Josephus), an inhabitant of which, according to Mnaseas, dresses as Apollo and steals ass's head,

GENERAL INDEX

- Ap.* ii. 112; confused with Dora, according to Josephus, (ii. 116)
- Doris, first wife of Herod, *B.* i. 241, 432-433, 443, (451), 562, 590; *A.* xiv. 300; mother of Antipater, xvii. 68
- Dorotheus (1), steward of Ptolemy Philadelphus, *A.* xii. 94-95, 97; takes care of translators, *A.* xii. 105
- Dorotheus (2), father of Alexander the Jewish envoy to the Romans, *A.* xiv. 146
- Dorotheus (3), Athenian of Erchian deme, *A.* xiv. 150
- Dorotheus (4), son of Nathanael, one of bearers of letter from Emperor Claudius to Jews of Jerusalem, *A.* xx. 14
- Dortus. See Doetus
- Dorymenes, father of Ptolemy (one of Lysias' generals), *A.* xii. 298
- Dositheus (1), father of Simon the envoy of Hyrcanus, *A.* xiii. 260
- Dositheus (2), son of Cleopatriides, the Alexandrian, *A.* xiv. 236
- Dositheus (3), betrays Hyrcanus to Herod, *A.* xv. 168-172; killed by Herod, xv. 252; accused by Salome of plotting against Herod, xv. 260 (perhaps same as [2])
- Dositheus (4), Jewish general in army of Ptolemy Philometor, *Ap.* ii. 49-50
- Dothaeim. See Dothaein
- Dothaein (var. Dothaeim; Bibl. Dothan), city in Palestine on southern end of plain of Esdraelon, *A.* ix. 54
- Dothan. See Dothaein
- drachmas (drachms), Attic coins, *B.* ii. 592; v. 550; vi. 198; *A.* iii. 195; xviii. 67, 157
- Dracon, Athenian lawgiver, his laws on homicide, *Ap.* i. 21
- dream, of Josephus, *V.* 208-209; stops Stratonice, Queen of Macedonia, from escaping, *Ap.* i. 207; i. 211; of Amenophis, i. 289
- drinking, excessive, forbidden to Jews at birth of children, *Ap.* ii. 204
- Druma, Gideon's concubine, *A.* v. 233
- Drusilla, daughter of Agrippa I and Cypros, *B.* ii. 220; *A.* xviii. 132; xix. 354-355; married to Azizus, xx. 139; xx. 141
- Drusion (Drusus), a tower in Caesarea, *B.* i. 412; (Drusus) *A.* xv. 336
- Drusus (1) the Elder, stepson of Augustus, *A.* xv. 336; brother of Emperor Tiberius, xviii. 143; husband of Antonia, xviii. 180
- Drusus (2), son of Emperor Tiberius, *A.* xviii. 143; xviii. 188; his death, xviii. 206
- Drusus (3), son of Agrippa I and Cypros, *A.* xviii. 132
- Drusus (4). See Drusion
- Drymoi. See Drymus
- Drymus (Drymoi), "oak-cop-pice," place in Jerusalem, *B.* i. 250; (Drymoi), "the Grove," *A.* xiv. 334
- Dumah. See Idum(as)
- Dystros (Dystrus), Macedonian month (March), *B.* iv. 413; *A.* iv. 327; xi. 107, 286, 290; xii. 412
- Dystrus. See Dystros
- EAST, prayer-houses erected by Moses in Heliopolis face there, *Ap.* ii. 10
- Ebal (1) (Bibl. Obal), son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
- Ebal (2). See Hebel
- Eben-ezer. See "Strong(stone)"
- Eber. See Heber (2)
- Ebias. See Abira
- Ebidas (Bibl. Abida), son of Meddan, *A.* i. 238
- Ebyathar. See Abiathar
- Ecbatana (1), place in Media, Daniel builds fortress there, *A.* x. 264; letter found there, xi. 99
- Ecbatana (2), city in Batanaea, residence of "Babylonian Jews" massacred by Varus, viceroy of Agrippa, and by the people of Trachonitis, *V.* 54 ff.
- Ecdippa. See Ekdippa

GENERAL INDEX

Ecdipus. See Ekdippa
 Ednaïos (Bibl. Adnah), commander of army under Jehoshaphat, *A.* viii. 397
 Edom. See Adom
 Edomites, Palestinian tribe, defeated by Amaziah, *A.* ix. 188
 Edoram (Bibl. Hadoram), son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
 education, pride of Jews in, *Ap.* i. 60; two systems of, ii. 171 ff.; prescribed by Jewish law, ii. 204
 Eglah. See Aigla
 Eglaim. See Agalain
 Eglisaros. See Neriglisar
 Eglon, king of Moab, *A.* v. 186, 189; killed Ehud, v. 191; v. 195
 Egypt (1) (Egypti ns) *B.* i. 17, 24-25, 86, 157, 175, , 187; Jews of, i. 190; i. 11-192, 194, 196, 277, 283, 327, 34, 396, 409, 439, 592, 598; false prophet from, ii. 261-263; ii. 309, 362, 384-387, 487, 488; iii. 416; iv. 176, 402, 530-531; secured by Vespasian, general description of the country, iv. 605-616; v. 1, 45, 99, 379, 381-383; vi. 341, 418, 436; vii. 19, 111, 116, 149, 300, 369, 409, 416, 422, 424, 432; *A.* i. 39, 80, 81; originally colonized by descendants of Ham, i. 132; boundary for Mizraim's descendants, i. 136; Abraham goes among them, i. 161-168; i. 170; divine prediction that Jews would be slaves there, i. 185; i. 191, 259; ii. 8, 32, 39, 75, 85, 86; their grain rationed, ii. 88; gripped by famine, ii. 93; ii. 95; Joseph's brothers arrive there, ii. 96; ii. 111, 115, 119; Jacob's sons reach there, ii. 120; ii. 132, 168, 170, 171, 174, 176, 177, 186; gripped by famine, ii. 189; ii. 193, 194, 198-200; enslave the Hebrews, ii. 201-204; predict the birth of Moses, ii. 205; ii. 206, 214-216, 228, 234-235, 237-239; invaded by Ethiopians, ii. 240; select Moses to be their general, ii. 241; ii.

243; defeat Ethiopians, ii. 248; ii. 252-253; plot to kill Moses, ii. 254-255; ii. 268-269, ii. 275-276; Moses returns there, ii. 277; ii. 278, 282, 284; their magicians show their skill to Moses, ii. 285-287; ii. 288, 292; ten plagues descend on them, ii. 293-314; subjugated by Persian king Cambyses, ii. 315; ii. 316; date of Jewish exodus from there, ii. 318; pursue the Hebrews, ii. 320-328; ii. 333-334, 336; drown in Red Sea, ii. 340-344; their armour retrieved by the Hebrews from the Red Sea, ii. 349; iii. 16-17, 40, 61-62, 86-87, 201, 248, 265, 294, 303, 305, 307; iv. 3, 43-44, 78, 147, 212, 239, 242; v. 34, 72, 82, 261; vi. 32, 86, 89 (*bis*), 132, 140, 360-361; vii. 102, 105, 315; viii. 21; boundary of Solomon's kingdom, viii. 39; surpassed in wisdom by Solomon, viii. 42; dating of temple from exodus therefrom, viii. 61; why kings thereof are named Pharaohs, viii. 155; its kings, viii. 157, 159; their books agree with Jewish accounts in many respects, viii. 159; gulf of, viii. 163; queen of visits Solomon, viii. 165; queen of departs from Solomon, viii. 175; sells horses to Solomon, viii. 189; Solomon marries princess from there, viii. 193; viii. 200, 202; Jeroboam flees there from Solomon, viii. 210; Jeroboam summoned from there, viii. 212; invade Rehoboam's kingdom, viii. 253; defeat Rehoboam, viii. 257, 261; viii. 262; ix. 77, 217, 218; makes alliance with Israel, ix. 277; ix. 280; attacked by Sennacherib, x. 4; x. 6; Sennacherib's defeat by them foretold by Isaiah, x. 14; spared attack of Sennacherib, x. 17; aided by Ethiopia

GENERAL INDEX

against Assyrians, x. 17; spared attack of Sennacherib, x. 18, 20-21; makes war on Medes and Babylonians, x. 74; one of them slays Josiah, x. 76; enslaves Jehoahaz, x. 82-83; defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 84; trusted by Jehoikim, x. 88-89; x. 103-104; their alliance with Zedekiah and defeat by Babylonia, x. 108, 110, 112; x. 147, 175; Jeremiah taken there, x. 177; conquered by Babylonia, x. 180 (*bis*); conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 182; x. 195, 220, 222; conquered by Cambyses, xi. 30; xi. 345; falls to Ptolemy after Alexander the Great's death, xii. 2; Jews brought there by Ptolemy, xii. 7, 9; ruled by Ptolemy Philadelphus, xii. 11; xii. 29, 45 (*bis*); defeated by Antiochus the Great, xii. 138; visited by Joseph the Tobiad, xii. 166-167; xii. 179, 235; attacked by Antiochus Epiphanes, xii. 242-243; repels Antiochus, xii. 244, 246; boundary of Antiochus' realm, xii. 295; xii. 387; temple built there by Onias, xiii. 63-64; xiii. 66; temple built there, xiii. 67-68; xiii. 81; ruled by Ptolemy Philometor, xiii. 113, 115; xiii. 146, 274, 278; Jewish community flourishes there under Cleopatra, xiii. 284; xiii. 328, 330, 343, 351-352, 358; xiv. 21, 34-35, 79, 98-100; its Jewish community, xiv. 116-118; xiv. 127, 134, 138; Herod flees there, xiv. 374; xiv. 383, 447; Alexandra plans to flee there, xv. 45-46; xv. 95; Artabazes sent there as prisoner, xv. 104; xv. 196; invaded by Octavian, xv. 198, 201; secured by Octavian, xv. 215, 217; Herod buys provisions from there, xv. 307; xv. 333; xvi. 52, 141; xvii. 70, 73, 134; exodus therefrom commemorated by Passover, xvii. 213;

Emperor Gaius Caligula plans to inspect it, xix. 81; xix. 82, 205, 279; xx. 101, 169; false prophet from there, xx. 171-172; xx. 230; Onias founds temple there at Heliopolis, xx. 236-237; xx. 259; admitted even by Greeks to possess a very ancient record of the past, *Ap. i.* 8-9; teachers of first Greek philosophers, i. 14; care exercised by them in chronicles, i. 28; priests of, i. 28; care in marriages of Jewish priests of, i. 33; contact with Greeks by commerce, i. 61; became known to Greeks through transportation of their merchandise by Phoenicians, i. 63; bitterest enemies of Jews, adduced by Josephus as witnesses of Jews' antiquity, i. 70, 73-105; Jews not originally from there, according to Manetho, i. 75, 104, 252, 278; language of, i. 83; treaty whereby Hycsos are to leave, i. 88-89; sacred books of, describe Hycsos as captives, i. 91; king of, permits Joseph to bring brethren into Egypt, i. 92; conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, i. 133; satrap of, rebels against Nabopalassar, king of Babylon, i. 135; taken prisoner by Nebuchadnezzar and conducted to Babylonia, i. 137; practice of circumcision by them mentioned by Herodotus, i. 169-170; taught circumcision to Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine, i. 169-170; Syrians accompany Ptolemy son of Lagus there, i. 186; Jews migrate there after Alexander the Great's death, i. 194; records of establish antiquity of Jews, i. 215; circumstances of entry of Jews there and departure therefrom falsified by Egyptian writers, i. 223; originators of libels against Jews, i. 223 ff.; reasons for their hatred of Jews, i. 224-

GENERAL INDEX

- 226; worship of animals by, i. 225; Jews' entrance into and expulsion from, according to Manetho, i. 228-250; sacred books of, i. 228; history of, by Manetho, i. 228; expedition against, prepared by Osariph, i. 241; Jews not indigenous to, according to Manetho, i. 252; conquered by Jerusalemites, i. 262-264; story of Jerusalemite occupation of, ridiculed by Josephus, i. 272, 275; i. 279, 286; history of, by Chaeremon, i. 288; i. 289, 291, 296-298, 305, 312, 314, 317; writings of, demonstrate antiquity of Jews, ii. 1; Apion on Jewish exodus therefrom, ii. 6, 8, 10, 16, 19, 21; Mt. Sinai between Arabia and it, ii. 25; as origin of Jewish race, ii. 28; departure of Jews therefrom, ii. 28; low opinion of, by Apion, ii. 29-30; feign to be kinsmen of the Jews, ii. 31; refused citizenship by Romans, ii. 41; fortresses of, entrusted to Jews by Ptolemy son of Lagus, ii. 44; Ptolemy Euergetes does not sacrifice to gods thereof, ii. 48; Jews support Julius Caesar against them, ii. 61; swell numbers of Greeks and Macedonians in Alexandria, ii. 69; evil habits of, ii. 70; lack citizen rights, ii. 72; ii. 81, 86; conflict of Jewish laws with, ii. 99; ii. 122; have never been free, ii. 128; disasters of, ii. 132; were slaves of Persians and Macedonians, ii. 133; birthplace of Apion, ii. 138; their worship of animals, ii. 139; circumcision of their priests, ii. 141; wisdom of their priests, ii. 140-141; Jewish exodus therefrom, under Moses' generalship, ii. 157-158; Jews migrate there, ii. 289; Jews not descended from them, ii. 289; ii. 290
- Egypt (2), Lower, tribute exacted by King Salitis from, *Ap.* i. 77
- Egypt (3), Upper, tribute exacted by King Salitis from, *Ap.* i. 77
- Ehi. See Ies
- Ehud. See Judes (1)
- Eilos. See Seidos
- Eioubes (Bibl. Ishvi), son of Asher, *A.* ii. 183
- Eipan (Bibl. Gath), city in Palestine fortified by Rehoboam, *A.* viii. 246
- Eiromos. See Hirom (1)
- Ekdippa (Ecdipus, Ecdippa; Bibl. Achzib), city between Tyre and Carmel, *B.* i. 257; (Ecdipus), another name for city of Arce, *A.* v. 85; (Ecdippa) xiv. 343
- Eknibal, son of Baslech, judge of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 157
- Ekron. See Akkaron
- Elaeusa, island off coast of Cilicia, *B.* i. 456; now called Sebaste, *A.* xvi. 131; xvi. 332
- Elah. See Elanos
- Elam (1). See Elymais
- Elam (2). See Elymus
- Elanos (Bibl. Elah), son and successor of Baasha, *A.* viii. 307; slain, viii. 309
- Elath. See Ailane
- Elathus. See Ailane
- Elchanan. See Ephan
- Eldaah. See Eldas
- Eldas (Bibl. Eldaah), son of Medan, *A.* i. 238
- Eleazar (1), son of Moses, *A.* ii. 277; meaning of his name, ii. 278
- Eleazar (2), son of Aaron, *A.* iii. 192; iv. 57; high priesthood descends on him after death of Aaron, iv. 83, 152; receives spoils of Midianites, iv. 164; iv. 171, 186; accompanies Moses before his death, iv. 324; iv. 326; v. 15, 43; makes pact with Gibeonites, v. 55, 57; allots land with Joshua to tribes, v. 80; v. 103-104; his death, v. 119; v. 350, 361-362, 365
- Eleazar (3), son of Dodo, one of David's warriors, *A.* vii. 308-309
- Eleazar (4), countryman of

GENERAL INDEX

- Josephus, can exorcize demons, *A.* viii. 46-48
- Eleazar (5), high priest, grants Ptolemy II right to translate Law, *A.* i. 11; translates Law for Ptolemy, xii. 42, 44-45, 51, 57; receives gifts from Ptolemy, xii. 85; sends elders to Alexandria, xii. 88; receives gifts from Ptolemy, xii. 117; his death, xii. 157-158
- Eleazar (6), father of Jason the friend of Judas, *A.* xii. 415, 419
- Eleazar (7), son of Mattathias, brother of Judas Maccabaeus, *B.* i. 42 ff.; nicknamed Auran, *A.* xii. 266; his death, xii. 373-374
- Eleazar (8), Pharisee, criticizes Hyrcanus and asks him to give up high priesthood, *A.* xiii. 290; xiii. 293-294
- Eleazar (9), priest, guardian of temple money, gives gold as ransom to Crassus, *A.* xiv. 106, 108
- Eleazar (10), son of Boethus, appointed high priest by Archelaus, *A.* xvii. 339, 341
- Eleazar (11), son of Ananus, appointed high priest, *A.* xviii. 34
- Eleazar (12), a Jew, called the Giant, gift of Artabanus the Parthian king to Emperor Tiberius, *A.* xviii. 103
- Eleazar (13), Jewish leader of Peraean revolt, *A.* xx. 4
- Eleazar (14), Jew, urges Izates to be circumcised, *A.* xx. 43
- Eleazar (15), son of Deinaeus, leader of brigands, *B.* ii. 235-236, 253; *A.* xx. 121; captured by Felix, xx. 161
- Eleazar (16), son of Ananias, high priest, cessation of sacrifices by, *B.* ii. 409-410; ii. 424, 443, 445, 450, 453; *A.* xx. 208; see also Eleazar (18), son of Neus
- Eleazar (17), son of Simon (Gion), leader of Zealots, *B.* ii. 564-565; (Eleazar son of Gion) iv. 225; v. 5, 10, 12, 21, 99, 250
- Eleazar (18), son of high priest Neus, *B.* ii. 566 (perhaps to be identified with Eleazar [16] son of Ananias)
- Eleazar (19), nephew of the tyrant Simon, *B.* vi. 227 (identified by Niese with Eleazar [20])
- Eleazar (20), comrade of Simon son of Gioras, *B.* iv. 518 (identified by Niese with Eleazar [19])
- Eleazar (21), son of Sameas, Jewish hero in fighting against Romans, *B.* iii. 229
- Eleazar (22), son of Jairus, relative of Menahem, despot of Masada, *B.* ii. 447; vii. 253, 275, 297; his speech recommending self-destruction, vii. 320-336; vii. 337, 339; renews his appeal for self-destruction, vii. 341-388; vii. 399
- Eleazar (23), father of Mary who devoured her child, *B.* vi. 201
- Eleazar (24) of Machaerus, brave Jewish youth, captured by Romans, *B.* vii. 196-209
- Elephantine, city on Nile River, *B.* iv. 611
- elephants, set upon Jews of Alexandria by Ptolemy Physcon, *Ap.* ii. 53-54
- Eleusinian, Athenian festival, *A.* xiv. 153
- Eleutherus, river north of Tyre, *B.* i. 361; *A.* xiii. 105, 179; xv. 95
- Elhanan. See Ephan
- Eli, high priest, *A.* v. 318, 338, 340-341, 345; receives Samuel into the sanctuary, v. 347; v. 349-351; his death, 358; v. 361-362; vi. 107, 261, 294; grandfather of Ebyathar, viii. 11; first of family of Ithamar to receive high priesthood, viii. 12
- Eliab (1). See Elibaz
- Eliab (2), son of Jesse, *A.* vi. 161, 178
- Eliakeimos. See Joakelmos (1)
- Eliakias (1) (Bibl. Eliakim), sent by King Hezekiah to talk with Assyrians, *A.* x. 5, 8

GENERAL INDEX

- Eliakias (2) (Bibl. Hilkiyah), high priest, *A.* x. 55; discovers book of Moses' law in the temple, x. 57-59
- Eliakim (1). See Joakeimos (1)
- Eliakim (2). See Eliakias (1)
- Eliashib. See Eliasib
- Eliasib (Bibl. Eliashib), father of Johanan, *A.* xi. 147; succeeds to high priesthood, xi. 158; his death, xi. 297
- Eliab (Elibaz; Bibl. Oholiab), *A.* iii. 200
- Elibaz (Bibl. Oholiab), architect of the tabernacle, son of Ahisamach, *A.* iii. 105
- Eliel(os) (Bibl. Jahzeel), son of Naphtali, *A.* ii. 181
- Elies (Bibl. Elishua), son of David, *A.* vii. 70
- Elijah, Hebrew prophet, *B.* iv. 460; comes to Ahab, *A.* (viii. 319); at the house of the widow (viii. 320-323); revives widow's son (viii. 325-327); sought by Ahab, viii. 329, 331-333, 334; appears before Ahab, viii. 335; his contest with prophets of Baal, viii. 337-339, 343-345; flees from Jezebel, viii. 347-348; chooses Elisha as successor, viii. 353-354; prophesies against Ahab's family, viii. 360-362; viii. 407; his prophecy fulfilled, viii. 417; foretells Ahaziah's death, ix. 20-27; his disappearance, ix. 28; ix. 33; prophesies Jehoram's fall, ix. 99, 101; his prophecy to Ahab fulfilled, ix. 119-120; his prophecy concerning Jezebel fulfilled, ix. 124; his prophecy about Ahab's line fulfilled, ix. 129
- Elikan (Bibl. Elkanah), officer of Judah, *A.* ix. 247
- Elim: See Elis (2)
- Elimelech. See Abimelech (3)
- Elionaeus, son of Cantheras, appointed high priest, *A.* xix. 342
- Eliphale (Bibl. Eliphelet), son of David, *A.* vii. 70
- Eliphaz. See Aliphaz(es)
- Eliphelet. See Eliphale
- Elis (1), region in Greece, *B.* i. 426; its people declare Herod perpetual president of Olympic games, *A.* xvi. 149; homosexuality rampant there, *Ap.* ii. 273
- Elis (2) (Bibl. Elim), a place in Sinai Desert, *A.* iii. 9
- Elisha (1), Hebrew prophet, *B.* iv. 460-461; appointed to succeed Elijah, *A.* viii. 352; disciple of Elijah, son of Shaphat, viii. 353-354, ix. 28; consulted by Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, ix. 33; replenishes the widow's jar of oil, ix. 47-50; warns Jehoram of Syrian plot, ix. 51; hunted by Ben-hadad, ix. 53-59; Jehoram seeks his death, ix. 67-69, 71; promises Jehoram relief from famine, ix. 71-74; his prophecy fulfilled, ix. 85-86; consulted by Ben-hadad, ix. 88; foretells Ben-hadad's death, ix. 89-90; sends disciple to anoint Jehu king, ix. 106-107; his prophecy fulfilled, ix. 175; foretells victory of Joash over Syrians, ix. 178, 180; his death, ix. 183; prophecy about Syria fulfilled, ix. 184
- Elisha (2). See Elissaeus
- Elishah. See Halisas
- Elishua. See Elies
- Elissaeus (Heb. Elisha), one of the seventy elders sent to Alexandria, *A.* xii. 97
- Elkanah (1). See Alkanes
- Elkanah (2). See Elikan
- Elkias, high priest, son of Salomos, *A.* x. 153
- Ellemus, father of Joseph the priest, *A.* xvii. 166
- Elmodad (Bibl. Almodad), son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
- Elom (Bibl. Aijalon), city north of Jerusalem, *A.* viii. 246
- Elon (1), son of Zebulun, *A.* ii. 179
- Elon (2), of tribe of Zebulun, leads Israelites, *A.* v. 272-273
- Elon (3) (Bibl. Hillel), of tribe of Ephraim, father of Abdon, *A.* v. 273
- Elon (4). See Helon

GENERAL INDEX

- Elos (Bibl. Agee), father of Shammah, *A.* vii. 309
- Eloth. See Ailane
- Elpis, wife of Herod, *B.* i. 563, *A.* xvii. 21
- Elthemus, general of Arabs, *B.* i. 381
- Elulaios, king of Tyre, known as Pyas, *A.* ix. 283-284
- Elymaeans, descendants of Elam, ancestors of Persians, *A.* i. 143
- Elymais (Bibl. Elam), city in Persia, *A.* xii. 354-355
- Elymus (Bibl. Elam), son of Shem, *A.* i. 143
- Emaselmé (Bibl. Meshullemeth), mother of Amon, *A.* x. 46
- Emesa, city in Syria, *B.* vii. 226; *A.* xviii. 135; ruled by Sampsigeramus, xix. 338; xx. 139, 158
- Emman, city in Judaea, *A.* vi. 295
- Emmaus (1) (Ammaus; var. Amathus), city north-west of Jerusalem, *B.* i. 222, 319; ii. 63, 71, 567; iii. 55; (Ammaus) iv. 444-445, 449; v. 42, 67, 532; vi. 229; *A.* xii. 298; place where Judas defeats Gorgias' army, xii. 306-307; fortified by Bacchides, xiii. 15; xiv. 275, 436; xvii. 282; burned by Varus, xvii. 291
- Emmaus (2), village northwest of Jerusalem, *B.* vii. 217
- Emmor (Bibl. Hamor), father of Shechem, asks for Dinah, daughter of Jacob, as wife for Shechem, is killed by Simeon and Levi, *A.* i. 338-339
- Emphraeans, people of Emphron, destroyed by Judas the Macabee, *A.* xii. 347
- Emphron, city near Jordan River, *A.* xii. 346
- Endor. See Dor (1)
- Engaddi (Engade, Engedene, Engedon; Bibl. Engedi), city and district of Judaea, *B.* iii. 55; iv. 402; (Engedon) *A.* vi. 274; (Engedene) vi. 282; (Engade) ix. 7, 11
- Engade. See Engaddi
- Engedene. See Engaddi
- Engedi. See Engaddi
- Engedon. See Engaddi
- Eniachin, high priestly clan, *B.* iv. 155
- Enkarnain. See Enkranai
- Enkranai (var. Enkarnain; Bibl. Carnaim), city near Ashtaroth, *A.* xii. 344
- Enner (Bibl. Aner), Abraham's comrade in arms, *A.* i. 182
- Enoch (1). See Anoch (1)
- Enoch (2). See Anoch (2)
- Enoch (3). See Anocha
- Enosh. See Anos
- En-rogel. See Eroge
- Enyalius ("the Warlike"), epithet applied to Zeus, *A.* i. 119
- Eophren (Bibl. Ephraim), son of Medan, *A.* i. 238-239
- Epaphroditus, urges Josephus to write his history, *A.* i. 8; Josephus' *Antiquities* dedicated to him, *V.* 430; dedication of *Contra Apionem* to him, *Ap.* i. 1; Book ii of *Contra Apionem* addressed to him, ii. 1; a Jew, dedication of *Contra Apionem* to him, ii. 296
- eparchs, Persian provincial administrators, aid Samaritans, *A.* xi. 115; those of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia receive Xerxes' letter, xi. 138
- Ephaeus, said to be father of Matthias (son of Simon Psellus), *V.* 4
- Ephah. See Ephas
- Ephan (Bibl. Elchanan), warrior, relative of King David, *A.* vii. 302
- Ephas (Bibl. Ephah), son of Medan, *A.* i. 238
- Epher. See Eophren
- Ephes-dammim. See Erasamos
- Ephesus, Jews of, exempted from military service, *A.* xiv. 224-225, 228, 230, 234, 240; xiv. 262, 304; Antony petitioned by Jews there, xiv. 307, 314; Arsinoe killed there, xv. 89; xvi. 23; ordered by Agrippa to respect rights of Jews, xvi. 167; its people ordered to allow Jews to send money to Jerusalem, xvi. 172;

GENERAL INDEX

- birthplace of Menander the historian, *Ap.* i. 116; Jews there given citizenship by Alexander's successors, ii. 39; burning of its temple, ii. 131
- ephod*, vestment of Jewish high priest, resembling the Greek *epômis*, *A.* iii. 162, 164
- Ephorus, Greek historian, *A.* i. 108; exposes mendacity of Hellanicus, his own mendacity exposed by Timaeus, *Ap.* i. 16; reputed to be among the most exact of historians; his ignorance of Iberians, i. 67
- Ephra (1). See Aphra
- Ephra (2) (Bibl. Ophrah), home of Gideon, *A.* v. 229; Gideon buried there, v. 232
- Ephraim (1), small town north-east of Bethel, *B.* iv. 551
- Ephraim (2) (Bibl. Ephron), sells burial ground for Sarah to Abraham, *A.* i. 237
- Ephraim (3), son of Joseph, *A.* ii. 92, 180, 195
- Ephraim (4), tribe of, Joshua stems from it, *A.* iii. 49; iii. 288, 308; territory of tribe, v. 83; Shechem belongs to it, v. 91; where Timnath-serah is, v. 119; captures Bethel, v. 130; v. 136, 141-142; aggrieved at Gideon's success, v. 230; wars with Jephthah, v. 267; tribe of Abdon, v. 273; Elkanah's tribe, v. 342; vi. 118; pays homage to David, vii. 57; vii. 174; its governor under Solomon, viii. 35; garrisons established there by Jehoshaphat, viii. 393; xi. 341
- Ephratene (Bibl. Ephrath), site of Rachel's death, *A.* i. 343
- Ephrath. See Ephratene
- Ephron. See Ephraim (2)
- Epicrates, left by Antiochus Cyzicenus to fight Hyrcanus, *A.* xiii. 279-280
- Epicurean(s), *A.* x. 277; xix. 32
- Epimygdonia, surname of Antioch, *A.* xx. 68
- Epiphaneia, Macedonian name for Amathe, Syrian city, *A.* i. 138
- Epiphanes (1). See Antiochus (4), (11), and (16)
- Epiphanes (2). See Ptolemy (5)
- epômis*, Greek word for the upper part of a woman's tunic (see *ephod*), *A.* iii. 162, 165
- Epsiba (var. Aichiba, Achiba; Bibl. Hephzibah), mother of Manasseh, *A.* x. 37
- Erasamos (Arasamos; Bibl. Pasdammim or Ephes-dammim), place where David kills Goliath, *A.* vii. 308
- Erchian deme, in Athens, *A.* xiv. 150
- Eremmon (Bibl. Rimmon), father of Baanah and Rechab, *A.* vii. 46
- Eri. See Irenes
- Erikam (Bibl. Azrikam), governor of Judah, *A.* ix. 247
- Eroge (Bibl. possibly En-rogel), place southeast of Jerusalem, *A.* ix. 225
- Eroides (Bibl. Arodi), son of Gad, *A.* ii. 182
- erôn*, Hebrew name for the sacred ark, *A.* iii. 134
- Erucius (1), Lucius, father of Lucius Erucius of Steletinian tribe, *A.* xiv. 220
- Erucius (2), Lucius, Roman of Steletinian tribe, present at promulgation of senate's decree confirming Julius Caesar's decisions regarding the Jews, *A.* xiv. 220
- Erythraean Sea. See Red Sea
- Esaias. See Isaiah
- Esarhaddon. See Asarachoddas
- Esau, son of Isaac and Rebecca, origin of name, *A.* i. 258; marries, i. 265; receives father's blessing, i. 267-275; takes third wife, i. 277; i. 295; encounters Jacob on return from Canaan, i. 326-336; sells birthright to Jacob, ii. 1-3; his sons, ii. 4-5; forefather of Idumaeans, xii. 328
- ésauron*, Hebrew word for shaggy hair (see Esau), *A.* i. 258
- Esbonitis. See Heshbon (1)

GENERAL INDEX

- Eschon (Bibl. Eshcol), comrade in arms of Abraham, *A. i.* 182
- Esdraelon. See Plain (2), the Great
- Esdras. See Ezra
- Esebonitis. See Heshbon
- Esek. See Eskos
- Esermoth (Bibl. Hazeroth), place where Hebrews revolt again, *A. iii.* 295
- Eshcol. See Eschon
- Eskos (Bibl. Esek), well dug by Isaac, *A. i.* 262
- Esrion (1), father of Simon (who joins the new faction of Eleazar the son of Simon), *B. v.* 6
- Esrion (2) (Bibl. Hezron), son of Perez, *A. ii.* 178
- Essa (1). See Gerasa
- essa (2), Hebrew word for "woman" (= *ishah*), *A. i.* 36
- Essaron (Bibl. Hezron), son of Reuben, *A. ii.* 178
- Essebon. See Heshbon
- Essebonites. See Heshbon
- essên, part of the *ephod*, means *logion* ("oracle") in Greek, *A. iii.* 163, 166, 170-171, 185, 217-218
- Essenes, *B. i.* 78; *ii.* 119; description of, *ii.* 120-161; John the Essene, *ii.* 567; *iii.* 11; *v.* 145; one of the three Jewish schools of thought, *A. xiii.* 171; their attitude towards Fate, *xiii.* 171; *xiii.* 298; Judas the Essene, *xiii.* 311; follow way of life taught by Pythagoras, *xv.* 371; honoured by Herod, *xv.* 372; Manaemus the Essene, *xv.* 373; honoured by Herod, *xv.* 378; Simon the Essene, *xvii.* 346; *xviii.* 11; their doctrines, *xviii.* 18-22; *V.* 10; Josephus submits to hard training for this sect (11)
- Esther, beauty of, *A. xi.* 199; Persian king Ahasuerus marries her, *xi.* 202; enters palace, is crowned, *xi.* 203; aids in exposing plotters, *xi.* 208; sends men to dress Mordecai, *xi.* 222; inquires after Mordecai's dress, *xi.* 223; copy of decree sent to her, *xi.* 225; sends answer to Mordecai, *xi.* 226; instructs Mordecai to lead fasting, *xi.* 228; prays to God, *xi.* 231; goes to king, *xi.* 234; requests attendance of king and Haman at banquet, *xi.* 242, 244; her eunuchs, *xi.* 261; accuses Haman, *xi.* 264; receives Haman's property, *xi.* 269; reveals to Ahasuerus her relation to Mordecai, *xi.* 269; gives Mordecai Haman's possessions, *xi.* 270; *xi.* 278; informed of number of their enemies killed by Jews of Susa, *xi.* 289; begs king to permit Jews to slay their remaining enemies, *xi.* 289
- Etam (1). See Aeta
- Etam (2). See Etame
- Etame (probably same as Aeta, Etan), city in Judah fortified by Rehoboam, *A. viii.* 246
- Etan, city in Judah (probably same as Etame), *A. viii.* 186
- Ethaïos. See Ethis
- Ethan. See Athanos
- Ethbaal. See Ithobalos (1)
- Ethiopians (Ethiopia, Aethiopians, Aethiopia), *B. ii.* 382, 385, *iv.* 608; called Chusaeans, *A. i.* 131; *i.* 135; Ethiopian war, *i.* 137; invade Egypt, *ii.* 239-240; defeated by Egyptian army with Moses as general, *ii.* 248-249; *ii.* 252, 253, 282; *viii.* 159; their queen visits Solomon, *viii.* 165; their queen departs from Solomon, *viii.* 175; brought to Solomon, *viii.* 181; mercenaries of Shishak, *viii.* 254; *viii.* 262; attacks Asa, *viii.* 292; defeated by Asa, *viii.* 293-294; *ix.* 102; attacked by Sennacherib, *x.* 4; aids Egypt against Assyria, *x.* 17; rescues Jeremiah, *x.* 122-123; *xi.* 33; ruled by Ahasuerus, *xi.* 186, 216; *xi.* 272; practice of circumcision among them mentioned by Herodotus, *Ap. i.* 169; their originality in practice of circumcision dis-

GENERAL INDEX

cussed by Herodotus, i. 170 ; King Amenophis of Egypt welcomed there, i. 246-248 ; King Amenophis of Egypt advances from there with army and defeats Hycsos, i. 251 ; Amenophis, king of Egypt, flees thither upon attack by Jerusalemites, i. 263 ; King Amenophis advances from there and defeats Hycsos and lepers, i. 266 ; passes between it and Egypt not fortified by Jerusalemites, i. 277 ; Amenophis flees to it upon attack by afflicted Egyptians, is brought home by his son Ramesses, i. 292 ; i. 297 ; Ramesses flees to it with his father King Amenophis of Egypt, i. 300

Ethis (Ethaios ; Bibl. Ittai), the Gittite, comrade of David, A. vii. 201 ; (Ethaios) vii. 233

Euaeus (Bibl. Hiv[v]ite), son of Canaan, A. i. 139

Euaratus. See Euarestus (1)

Euarestus (1) (Euaratus) of Cos, friend of Herod, B. i. 532 ; (Euaratus) A. xvi. 312

Euarestus (2), Arruntius. See Arruntius (1), Euarestus

Eucles, son of Xenander, Athenian scribe, A. xiv. 150

Euergetes. See Ptolemy (3)

Euhemerus, Greek writer, testifies to antiquity of Jews, *Ap.* i. 216

eunuchs, Jewish law on, A. iv. 290-291

Euonymus (var. Menollus), priest of Halicarnassus, A. xiv. 256

Eupator (1). See Antiochus (5)

Eupator (2). See Mithridates (3)

Euphemus, father of Nicanor of Ephesus, A. xiv. 262 (omitted in translation)

Euphrates, river in Mesopotamia, B. i. 5, 6, 157, 175, 179, 182, 321, 362, 433-434 ; ii. 363, 388 ; iii. 107 ; v. 44, 252 ; vi. 343 ; vii. 17, 105, 224, 236 ; origin of name, A. i. 39 ;

boundary of land occupied by Shem's sons, i. 143 ; i. 221 ; iii. 318 ; iv. 104, 126 ; v. 183 ; vii. 99-100 ; David defeats king of Damascus there, vii. 101, 127 ; border of Solomon's kingdom, viii. 39 ; viii. 153, 189, 271, 363 ; x. 74, 75, 84, 86, 183 ; ten tribes dwell beyond it, xi. 133 ; Ezra tarries beyond it for three days, xi. 134 ; Jews set out from it, xi. 135 ; xi. 314 ; boundary of Antiochus Epiphanes' realm, xii. 295, 297 ; xiv. 79, 98, 122, 439 ; xv. 15, 39, 96, 178, xvii. 24 ; treaty made there between Vitellius and Artabanus, xviii. 101 ; protects Nearda, xviii. 311 ; boundary of Parthia, xx. 87 ; xx. 245

Eupolemus (1), son of Joannes, A. xii. 415 ; signs treaty with Rome, xii. 415

Eupolemus (2), Greek writer, praised for accuracy, *Ap.* i. 218
Europe, B. ii. 358 ; iv. 598 ; A. i. 122 ; its Jews subject to Romans, xi. 133 ; xiii. 165 ; xiv. 110, 186 ; its inland nations for the most part unknown to historians, *Ap.* i. 66 ; its conquerors have enslaved Egyptians, ii. 128

Eurychoros (Broad Place), embankment set up by Hiram, king of Tyre, A. viii. 145

Eurycles the Lacedemonian, B. i. 513-532 ; assists Antipater in his intrigues against Alexander, A. xvi. 301, 306, 308-310

Eusebeon (Bibl. Zibeon), a Canaanite chieftain, father of Oholibamah, A. i. 265

Eusebes. See Antiochus (7) and (10)

Eutyclus (1), freedman of Agrippa, A. xviii. 168, 179 ; accuses Agrippa to Tiberius, xviii. 183-186

Eutyclus (2), charioteer, Chaerea awaits password from him, A. xix. 257

GENERAL INDEX

- Euxine Sea. See Black Sea
- Eve (Bibl. Havvah) creation of, origin of her name, *A. i.* 36; is punished, *i.* 49, 51
- Evi. See Ochus
- Evil Genius (*δαίμων*), thwarts Josephus after he routs Agrippa II's troops, *V.* 402
- Evila (Bibl. Havila), son of Joktan, *A. i.* 147
- Evilaeans, people founded by Evilas (Havilah), *A. i.* 134
- Evilas (Bibl. Havilah), son of Cush, *A. i.* 134
- Evilmaraduch. See Abilmathadachos.
- Evilmerodach. See Abilmathadachos
- Evodus, freedman of Tiberius, *A. xviii.* 205, 211, 213
- Exaloth. See Xaloth
- Exoche* ("Prominence"), ascent between Jerusalem and Engedi, *A. ix.* 11
- Exodus, from Egypt, distorted accounts of it, *Ap. i.* 223, 229 ff., *ii.* 6 ff.; date of, according to Manetho, Lysimachus, and Apollonius Molon, *ii.* 15-16; Apion's date of, disputed by Josephus, *ii.* 17-19; Apion's account of, *ii.* 28; under Moses' generalship, *ii.* 157-158; refutation of false assertions concerning it, *ii.* 289
- Eza. See Aza
- Ezbon. See Zabron
- Ezechias (1), brother of Ananias the high priest, *B. ii.* 429; death of, *ii.* 441
- Ezechias (2), a chief priest of the Jews, accompanies Ptolemy son of Lagus to Egypt, *Ap. i.* 187-189
- Ezechias (3), son of Chobari, joins faction of Eleazar son of Simon, *B. iii.* 6
- Ezekias (1), brigand-chief, *B. i.* 204, 256; *A. xiv.* 159, 167; *xvii.* 271
- Ezekias (2). See Hezekiah
- Ezekiel (var. Jezekielos), prophet, predicts capture of Jerusalem and of Babylon, *A. x.* 79; his exile, *x.* 98; warns Zedekiah, *x.* 106; his prophecy to Zedekiah fulfilled, *x.* 141
- Ezele(os) (Bibl. Zerah), son of Judas, *A. ii.* 178
- Ezion-geber. See Gasiongabel
- Ezra (Gr. Esdras), righteous man in Babylon, *A. xi.* 121; letter of Xerxes written to him, *xi.* 123; his orders to be fulfilled, *xi.* 127; ordered to appoint judges, *xi.* 129; receives letter of Xerxes, *xi.* 131; turns over sacred property to treasurers, *xi.* 136; sacrifices to God, *xi.* 137; prays for God's forgiveness for people, *xi.* 143; orders foreign wives and children sent away, *xi.* 146; Shechaniah speaks to him, *xi.* 145; accuses Jews of foreign marriages, *xi.* 148; purifies marriage practice, *xi.* 153; asked to read laws of Moses, *xi.* 154; sends people home, *xi.* 156; thanked by people, *xi.* 157-158
- FABATUS, Augustus' treasurer, *B. i.* 575-576; slave of Augustus, *A. xvii.* 54-55
- Fabius (1), Roman centurion, *B. i.* 149; *A. xiv.* 69
- Fabius (2), Roman general, *B. i.* 236, 239; governor of Damascus, *A. xiv.* 295; his favour sought by Antigonius, *xiv.* 297
- fable of flies. See flies, fable of
- Fadus, Cuspius, procurator in Judaea, *B. ii.* 220; *A. xv.* 406; appointed procurator of Judaea, *xix.* 363; rebukes inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste, *xix.* 364; arrives as procurator of Judaea, *xx.* 2; punishes Jews of Peraea, *xx.* 3; purges Judaea of robber-bands, *xx.* 5; orders high priest's vestments returned to Roman custody, *xx.* 7-9; ordered by Claudius to allow Jews to keep high priest's vestments, *xx.* 13; executes false prophet Theudas, *xx.* 97-99; his successor, *xx.* 100

GENERAL INDEX

- Falernian tribe, in Rome, *A.* xiii. 260
- false prophet. See prophet, false
- Fannius (1), Marcus, father of Fannius the praetor, *A.* xiii. 260
- Fannius (2), Roman praetor, son of Marcus, *A.* xiii. 260; xiii. 265-266
- Fannius (3), Roman propraetor, *A.* xiv. 230
- Fannius (4), Gaius, father of Gaius Fannius (5)
- Fannius (5), Gaius, Roman proconsular praetor, writes letter to people of Cos, *A.* xiv. 233 (perhaps to be identified with Fannius [3])
- Fast Day (Day of the Fast), Jerusalem captured thereon by Pompey, *A.* xiv. 66; Jerusalem captured thereon by Herod, xiv. 487
- fasts, Jewish, announcement of, *V.* 290; adoption of by non-Jews, *Ap.* ii. 282
- Fate, attitudes of the three Jewish schools of thought toward, *A.* xiii. 172-173; Zeus at mercy of, *Ap.* ii. 245
- Faustus Cornelius, son of Sulla, fights bravely under Pompey at siege of Jerusalem, *B.* i. 149, 154; *A.* xiv. 69, 73
- Faves. See Phabes
- Fear. See Phobos
- Feast, of Alexandrian Jews, commemorating deliverance from Ptolemy Physcon's elephants, *Ap.* ii. 55
- Feast of Wood-carrying. See Wood-carrying, Feast of
- feasts. See also festivals
- February, month of, *A.* xiii. 260; xiv. 222; xvi. 172
- Felix (1), brother of Pallas, Roman procurator of Judaea, *B.* ii. 247, 252-253, 260, 263, 270; appointed procurator, *A.* xx. 137; induces Drusilla to marry him, xx. 142-143; puts down brigands and impostors in Judaea, xx. 161, 168, 171; has high priest Jonathan murdered, xx. 162-163; puts down quarrel between Jews and Syrians in Caesarea, xx. 177-178; accused before Nero by Jews of Caesarea, xx. 181; sends Jewish priests in bonds to Nero, *V.* 13; 37
- Felix (2), Claudius. See Claudius Felix
- Festival of Dionysus. See Dionysian Festival
- Festival of Lights (Hanukkah), Jewish holiday celebrating the restoration of sacrifices in the temple, observed since the time of Judas the Maccabee, *A.* xii. 325
- Festival of Unleavened Bread. See Passover
- Festivals (pilgrimages), Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 203-204
- Festus, Porcius, Roman procurator in Judaea, *B.* ii. 271-272; succeeds Felix as procurator, *A.* xx. 182; attempts to put down *sicarii*, xx. 185, 188; xx. 193-194; his death, xx. 197, 200
- Finasus. See Phanassus
- Flaccus (1), Gaius Norbanus, Roman consul, *A.* xvi. 166; orders people of Sardis to stop interfering with collection of holy monies for the temple, xvi. 171
- Flaccus (2), Roman proconsul, governor of Syria, his quarrel with Agrippa I, *A.* xviii. 150-154
- Flavius (1) Sabinus. See Sabinus (2)
- Flavius (2), praetor of Libya, *A.* xvi. 169
- Flavius (3), Lucius, father of Flavius, of Lemonian tribe in Rome, *A.* xiv. 220
- Flavius (4), son of Lucius, Roman senator, *A.* xiv. 220
- Flavius (5) Silva. See Silva
- fleet, a sham, used by Josephus as a ruse to quell revolt, *V.* 165 ff.
- flies, fable of, told by Emperor Tiberius, *A.* xviii. 174-175
- Flood, description of, by Berosus,

GENERAL INDEX

- Chaldaean writer, agrees with that of Moses, *Ap.* i. 130
- Florus, Gessius, Roman procurator in Judaea, his excesses, *B.* ii. 277-279; Jews complain about him to Gallus, governor of Syria, ii. 280-283; his duplicity in affair of synagogue at Caesarea, ii. 287-292; pillages the temple, leaves Jerusalem, ii. 293-343; Jews' outcry against him, ii. 402-404; ii. 406-407, 418, 420, 457, 531, 558; *A.* xviii. 25; xix. 366; succeeds Albinus as procurator, xx. 215; his outrageous administration as procurator, xx. 252, 254, 257
- flute-players, hired by mourners in Jerusalem at news of fall of Jotapata, *B.* iii. 437
- Fly-God (Muia) of Akkaron (Bibl. Baal-zebub), Ahaziah sends to, *A.* ix. 19
- Foavis. See Phabes
- Fonteius Agrippa, proconsular governor of the province of Asia, *B.* vii. 91
- food laws of Jews. See dietary laws
- foreign cults, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 207
- foreigners, prevented by Plato from mixing with citizens at random, *Ap.* ii. 257; expulsion of, by Spartans, ii. 259
- Fortunatus, freedman of Agrippa I, dispatched to Rome, *A.* xviii. 247
- Fortune, grants reprieve to Emperor Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 77
- Forum, scene of assembly of Roman people to investigate murderers of Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 158; scene of celebration of treaty between Claudius and Agrippa I, xix. 275
- Fountain, Valley of the. See Siloam
- "Freemen," Parthian soldiers, *B.* i. 255; *A.* xiv. 342
- Frenzy. See Lyssa
- Friend, First, Jonathan inscribed as, *A.* xiii. 85; Jonathan called by Antiochus VI, xiii. 146
- Friends, order of military aristocracy in Macedonia, *A.* xii. 134, 298, 366, 402; xiii. 43-44, 75-76, 225
- friendship, absolute confidence in, according to Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 207
- Fronto (1) Haterius, prefect of the two Alexandrian legions under Titus, *B.* vi. 238; vi. 242
- Fronto (2), friend of Titus Caesar, *B.* vi. 416, 149 (perhaps to be identified with Fronto [1] Haterius)
- Fuller's tomb, monument in Jerusalem, *B.* v. 147
- Fulvia, Jewish proselyte, tricked by Jewish embezzlers in Rome, *A.* xviii. 82-83
- funerals, Jewish, regulations concerning, *Ap.* ii. 205
- Furius (1), centurion, one of first Romans to come into the temple when Pompey captured it, *B.* i. 149; *A.* xiv. 69
- Furius (2) Aulus (var. Paulus), father of Aulus Furius Tertius, *A.* xiv. 239
- Furius (3) Tertius, Aulus, Roman present at promulgation of Lentulus' decree exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service, *A.* xiv. 239
- future life, *Ap.* ii. 218-219
- GAAL. See Gual
- Gaba (1), town in Galilee built by Herod the Great for his veteran cavalry, *B.* ii. 459; iii. 36; *A.* xv. 294; its inhabitants serve as auxiliaries in army of Aebutius, *V.* 115; town to which Aebutius withdraws when his troops are halted by Josephus, 117-118
- Gaba (2) (Gabath Saul, Gabaon, Gebela, Gabatha; Bibl. Gibeah) (Gabaenians), city in tribe of Benjamin, (Gabath Saul) *B.* v. 51; (Gabatha) site of Eleazar's burial, *A.* v. 119; v. 140-141; v. 143; v. 150; (Gabaenians) v. 152; v. 154-155, 157, 164; (Gabatha) vi. 56;

GENERAL INDEX

birthplace of Saul, vi. 67; vi. 156

Gabaa (Gabaon; Bibl. Geba [of Benjamin]), city in Benjamin, A. viii. 306

Gabadan. See Nabatha

Gabaenians. See Gaba (2)

Gabalīs. See Gobolitis

Gabalites. See Gobolitis

Gabao. See Gabaon (1)

Gabaon (1) (Gabao; Bibl. Gibeon) (Gabaonites; Bibl. Gibeonites), place near Jerusalem, (Gabao) B. ii. 516, 544; A. vii. 11, 283; (Gabaonites) make pact with Joshua by trickery, v. 49, 51, 54, 56; appeal to Joshua for aid against league of kings, v. 58; v. 62; avenged by David, vii. 294-297; viii. 22 (Gibron is a corruption for Bibl. Gibeon)

Gabaon (2). See Gabaa

Gabara (Gabaroth), city in Galilee, B. ii. 629; its destruction, iii. 132-133; its Jews capture Gischala in 66, are then defeated by John of Gischala, V. 44-45; captured by Josephus, 82; one of three chief cities of Galilee, joins John of Gischala, 123-125; orders issued to it by deputies to send assistance to John of Gischala, 203; (Gabaroth) village where Josephus is charged by delegation from Jerusalem to meet them for hearing of his charges against John of Gischala, 229; place where John of Gischala meets deputation from Jerusalem, 233; in league with John of Gischala, Josephus refuses to meet deputation from Jerusalem there, 235; routes from there into Galilee guarded by Josephus' men, 240; demonstrations there in favour of Josephus, 242 ff.; distance of Sogane therefrom, 265; its leading men summoned to meeting by embassy from Jerusalem, 313

Gabares (1) (Bibl. Ben-geber),

governor under Solomon, A. viii. 36

Gabares (2) (Bibl. Geber), governor under Solomon, A. viii. 37

Gabaroṭh. See Gabara

Gabath Saul. See Gaba (2)

Gabatha. See Gaba (2)

Gabathaios. See Bagathoos

Gabathon (Bibl. Gibbethon), Philistine city, A. viii. 288, 308, 310

Gabathoos. See Bagathoos

Gabinius, governor of Syria, B. i. 140; succeeds Scaurus as governor of Syria and marches against Alexander the son of Aristobulus, i. 160; defeats Alexander, i. 162-167; demolishes Alexandreion, i. 168; reinstates Hyrcanus, i. 169; divides Jewish nation into five unions, i. 170; defeats Aristobulus, i. 171-174; i. 175-178, 244; vii. 171; A. xiv. 37, 55, 56; defeats Alexander the son of Aristobulus, xiv. 82, 84-85; rebuilds ruined cities in Judaea, xiv. 86-88; demolishes Alexandreion, xiv. 89; defeats Aristobulus again, xiv. 92, 96; releases Aristobulus' children from captivity, xiv. 97; assisted by Hyrcanus and Antipater in his Egyptian campaign, xiv. 98-100; defeats Alexander son of Aristobulus a second time, xiv. 101-102; returns to Rome, xiv. 103-104; xiv. 326

Gad (1) (Gad[as]), son of Jacob and Zilpah, his birth, A. i. 306; his children, ii. 182

Gad (2) (Gadites), tribe of, awarded its land, A. v. 3; erects altar, v. 100; as territory, vi. 99; (viii. 58-59); their land ravaged by Syria, ix. 159

Gad (3) prophet, A. vii. 321, 329

Gadalias (Bibl. Gedaliah), governor of Judaea, son of Ahikam, A. x. 155, 157; reassures those who remain in Judaea, x. 159, 161; is murdered, x. 163-173, 175

GENERAL INDEX

Gadam (Bibl. Gaham), son of Nahor, *A. i.* 153

Gadara (Gadarenes), city of Decapolis annexed to Herod's kingdom, *B. i.* 86, 155, 170, 396; *ii.* 97, 459, 478; *iii.* 37, 542; *iv.* 413-419, 428; taken by Antiochus the Great, *A. xii.* 136; captured by Alexander Jannaeus, *xiii.* 356; *xiii.* 396; rebuilt by Pompey, *xiv.* 75, 91; added to Herod's realm, *xv.* 217; (Gadarenes) bring charges against Herod, *xv.* 351, 354; (Gadarenes) accuse Herod of cruelty, *xv.* 356, 358; detached from Archelaus' kingdom and added to Syria, *xvii.* 320; set on fire by Justus of Tiberias and his followers, *V.* 42; its Jews capture Gischala in 66, are then defeated by John of Gischala, 44-45; sixty furlongs from Tiberias, 349

Gad(as). See Gad (1)

Gaddes. See John (1)

Gaddis. See John (1)

Gadeira (Gades), city in Spain, *B. ii.* 363; furthest point in Europe where sons of Japheth settled, *A. i.* 122

Gades. See Gadeira

Gadia. See Antipater (7)

Gaetulians, formerly called Evi-laeans, founded by Havilah, *A. i.* 134

Gaham. See Gadam

Gaius Caligula (Caesar), Emperor, son of Germanicus, *B. ii.* 178-179; ascends throne and makes Agrippa I king over Philip's tetrarchy, *ii.* 181-183; *ii.* 184, 199; his death, *ii.* 203; *ii.* 208; his accession, *A. xviii.* 105; successor to Tiberius, *xviii.* 124; courted by Agrippa, *xviii.* 166-168, 187-188; *xviii.* 192, 194, 206; the gods' choice to succeed Tiberius, *xviii.* 214; appointed successor to Tiberius, *xviii.* 219, 223-224; assumes office of emperor upon death of Tiberius, *xviii.* 234, 236;

releases Agrippa from prison, *xviii.* 236-237; *xviii.* 238; Agrippa accuses Herod the tetrarch to him, *xviii.* 247-248, 250; banishes Herod and gives his tetrarchy to Agrippa, *xviii.* 252-256; receives delegations of Greeks and Jews of Alexandria, *xviii.* 257; hears Apion revile Jews, *xviii.* 258-259; refuses to hear Philo, *xviii.* 260; (Caesar) *xviii.* 265, 271; orders his statue set up in the temple, *xviii.* 261-262, 266, 268-269, 274-275; appealed to by Petronius to rescind his order, *xviii.* 277-278, 281-282, 287; offers to grant Agrippa any request, *xviii.* 289-291, 294-295; grants Agrippa's request that he desist from setting up his statue, *xviii.* 296, 298-299, 302; his death, *xviii.* 305-306, 308; his insolence and madness, *xix.* 1, 10-11, 13; the conspiracies against him, *xix.* 17-18, 20-23; his savagery to petitioners at the chariot races, *xix.* 25, 27; insults Chaerea, *xix.* 28-31; has Quintilia tortured, *xix.* 33-36; plotted against by Chaerea, Clemens, Papinius, and others, *xix.* 37, 40-43, 49-51, 57, 62, 64-66, 68-69; plot against him postponed by Chaerea, *xix.* 71-74; assassinated at Palatine games, *xix.* 78-83, 86-88, 91, 93, 96-98, 100-101, 105-107, 109, 113; his death, *xix.* 114-117; avenged by German bodyguard, *xix.* 119, 121-122, 125; news of his death reaches populace, *xix.* 127-128, 130, 133-137, 144, 146-149, 152; reactions to his death, *xix.* 156, 158, 160-161; assailed by Sen-tius Saturninus, *xix.* 175; *xix.* 185; his wife and daughter murdered, *xix.* 190, 192-193, 195, 197-198; his character and achievements, *xix.* 201-211; confusion after his death, *xix.* 212, 214, 218-219, 221, 230, 232; his corpse attended

GENERAL INDEX

- to by Agrippa, xix. 237; xix. 251-252, 255; his charioteers, xix. 257; xix. 261; his assassins killed by Claudius, xix. 267; xix. 270; presents kingdom to Agrippa, xix. 274; imprisons Alexander the alabarch, xix. 276; xix. 278; his humiliation of Alexandrian Jews, xix. 284-285; gives golden chain to Agrippa, xix. 294; xix. 351; emperor when Josephus is born, V. 5
- Gaius (2), friend of Varus, B. ii. 68
- Gaius (3), Julius. See Julius (7)
- Gaius
- Galaad. See Galaaditis
- Galaadenians. See Samenians
- Galaaditis. See Gaulanis
- Galaaditis (Galadene, Galaad, Galaad, Galaditis; Bibl. Gilead) (Galadite, Galadenians), district in Judaea, (Galaad) B. i. 89; (Galadene) A. i. 324, ii. 32, iv. 96, 173; (Gilead) v. 164; (Gileadite) Jair the, v. 254; (Gilead) v. 254; (Gilead) invaded by Ammanites, v. 257; v. 260; (Gilead) v. 269, 270; (Galadenians) attacked by Ammanites, vi. 71-73; vi. 375; vii. 8, 230; (Galadite) Barzillai the, vii. 230; vii. 232; (Galadite) Barzillai the, vii. 272, 387; its governor under Solomon, viii. 36; viii. 319; (Galadene) viii. 398; viii. 411; ix. 105; ravaged by Syria, ix. 159; (Galadene) subdued by Tiglath-Pileser, ix. 235; xii. 330, 333, 336, 340, 345; scene of Maccabaeon struggle, xii. 350; invaded by Tryphon, xiii. 209; subdued by Alexander Janneus, xiii. 374; xiii. 382
- Galadene. See Galaaditis
- Galadenians. See Galaaditis
- Galades (Bibl. Galeed), hill where Jacob and Laban swear a pact of friendship, A. i. 324
- Galadite. See Galaaditis
- Galaditis. See Galaaditis
- Galatia, either territory of Gauls in Asia Minor or Cisalpine Gaul, subdued by Romans, A. xii. 414
- Galatians, formerly Gomarites (probably the Cimmerians), A. i. 123
- Galba, Roman Emperor, B. iv. 494, 498-499; his death, iv. 546; A. xviii. 216
- Galbouth (Bibl. Naioth), place in Palestine, A. vi. 221
- Galeed. See Galades
- Galestes. See Palaestes
- Galgala (Bibl. Gilgal), place where Joshua establishes a camp, A. v. 34; v. 48, 62, 68; vi. 57, 83, 98, 103, 134, 145, 155; David at, vii. 275-276
- Galiene. See Samenians
- Galilaean. See Samenians
- Galilee (1) (Upper, Lower) (Galilaean), region in northern Palestine, B. i. 21-22, 76, 170, 203, 210, 221, 238, 256, 290-291, 302-303, 307, 315, 326, 329, 400; ii. 43, 56, 68, 95, 118, 168, 188, 193, 232-244, 247, 252, 503, 510-511, 513, 568; fortified by Josephus, ii. 569-576; ii. 585, 589, 592-593, 622, 629, 647; iii. 30, 34; description of, iii. 35-43; iii. 44, 48, 61, 63, 110, 115, 127, 199, 229, 233, 293, 301, 306, 344; iv. 1, 84, 96, 105, 120, 127, 249, 558; v. 408, 474; vi. 339; A. v. 63; upper part allotted to Naphtali, v. 86; where Kedesh is, v. 91; its governor under Solomon, viii. 36-37; portions of it presented by Solomon to Hiram, viii. 142; captured by Tiglath-Pileser, ix. 235; xii. 331; invaded by Simon, xii. 332, 334; scene of Maccabaeon struggle, xii. 350; xii. 421; xiii. 50, 125, 154; Demetrius II defeated there by Jonathan, xiii. 158; xiii. 191-192, 322, 337; xiv. 91; governed by Herod, xiv. 158, 169; xiv. 274; invaded by Marion, xiv. 298; site of battle between Phasaël and Parthians, xiv. 342; goes over to side of Herod, xiv. 394-395; joins

GENERAL INDEX

- Herod against Antigonos, xiv. 411; Herod's conquests there, xiv. 413-417; further victories of Herod there, xiv. 433; (Galilaeans) rebel against Herod, xiv. 450; xiv. 452; fortified by Herod, xv. 294; on border of Zenodorus' territory, xv. 360; bequeathed by Herod as tetrarchy to Antipas, xvii. 188; (Galilaeans) join revolt of Jews against Romans, xvii. 254; terrorized by Judas son of Ezekiel, xvii. 271; (Galilaeans) defeated by Varus, xvii. 288; given to Antipas by Augustus, xvii. 318; xviii. 23, 27; site of Tiberias, xviii. 36; (Galilaeans) inhabitants of Tiberias, xviii. 37; xviii. 136; tetrarchy of Herod, xviii. 240; xix. 338; xx. 43; (Galilaeans) slain by Samaritans on way to Jerusalem, xx. 118-120; portion of it given to Agrippa II, xx. 159; (Galilaeans) *passim* in *V.* as supporters of Josephus; (Galilaeans) Josephus in command of them during Jewish War, *Ap.* i. 48, 110
- Galilee (2), Sea of. See Gennesar, Lake of
- Gallicanus, Roman tribune, *B.* iii. 344
- Gallim. See Gethla
- Gallus (1), Caesennius, commander of twelfth legion, sent to Galilee by Cestius, governor of Syria, *B.* ii. 510-512; ii. 513; iii. 31
- Gallus (2), Roman centurion, *B.* iv. 37
- Gallus (3), Aelius, leader of an unsuccessful expedition against the Sabaeans of Arabia Felix, *A.* xv. 317
- Gallus (4), Publius Clusius. See Clusius (2) Gallus, Publius
- Gallus (5), Caninius, Roman consul, *A.* xiv. 487
- Gamala, city east of Sea of Galilee, *B.* i. 105; rebuilt by Gabinius, i. 166; ii. 568, 574; iii. 56; iv. 2; description of, iv. 4-8; besieged by Vespasian, iv. 11-54; captured by Romans, iv. 62-83; *A.* xiii. 394, 396; xviii. 4; loyal to Rome in 66, *V.* 46; fortress whither Philip son of Jacimus escapes, 47; Jews of Ecbatana with draw there awaiting Varus Agrippa's viceroy, 58; held by Philip son of Jacimus, 61; destruction of its fortress ordered by Agrippa II, 114; its people slay Chares, Philip's kinsman, and murder his brother Jesus in insurrection against the Babylonians, 177; its fortress left by Philip son of Jacimus, 179; Agrippa II orders Philip son of Jacimus to return thither, 183; its magistrates assaulted by Josephus, the midwife's son, and his followers, 185; roads leading to it are patrolled by pickets posted by Sulla, Agrippa II's commander, 398
- Gamalas, father of Jesus the high priest (a friend of Josephus), *B.* iv. 160; *V.* 193, 204
- Gamaliel, father of Symeon (Simon), who is instructed to remove Josephus from command of Galilee, and Jesus the high priest, *B.* iv. 159; *A.* xx. 213, 223; *V.* 190, 390
- Gamalus, father of Herod, leader of pro-Roman Jewish faction at Tiberias in 66, *V.* 33
- Gamini. See Samenians
- Ganges, Greek name for river Pishon in India, *A.* i. 38
- Garada (var. Charada; perhaps identical with Gadara), village east of Sea of Galilee, *A.* xiii. 376
- Garden, Hanging, of Babylon, *A.* x. 226; *Ap.* i. 141
- Garis, village near Sepphoris, *B.* iii. 129; v. 474; (var., viii. 330); Josephus entrenches himself there, *V.* 395; Josephus first engages Vespasian in battle there, 412
- Garizaeon, Mt. See Gerizim, Mt.
- Garizein (1). See Argarizin
- Garizein (2), Mt. See Gerizim, Mt.

GENERAL INDEX

Garizim, Mt. See Gerizim, Mt.
 Garizin, Mt. See Gerizim, Mt.
 Gasiongabel (Bibl. Ezion-geber),
 place on Red Sea near Eloth,
A. viii. 163

Gatam. See Jotham(os) (5)

Gath (1). See Eipan

Gath (2). See Gitta

Gaul (Gauls), *B.* i. 5, 397, 437,
 672; *ii.* 111, 364, 371-373;
iv. 440, 494, 547, 634; *vii.* 76,
 88; presented to Herod by
 Octavian, *A.* xv. 217; at
 Herod's funeral, xvii. 198;
 Archelaus banished thither by
 Augustus, xvii. 344; Herod
 the tetrarch banished thither
 by Gaius Caligula, xviii. 252;
 ignorance of even the most
 exact historians concerning
 them, *Ap.* i. 67-68

Gaulan, Upper and Lower, parts
 of Gaulanitis, *B.* iv. 2

Gaulana (Gaulane; Bibl. Golan),
 city in Batanaea in Palestine,
 (Gaulane) *B.* i. 90, 105; city
 of refuge, *A.* iv. 173; xiii. 393

Gaulane. See Gaulana

Gaulanis (var. Iudanis, Galaade-
 tis), village east of Sea of
 Galilee, *A.* xiii. 375

Gaulanite, Judas the, *A.* xviii. 4

Gaulanitis (Gaulonitis), district
 east of Sea of Galilee, *B.* ii.
 168, 247, 459, 574; *iii.* 37, 56,
 542; *iv.* 2; *A.* iv. 96; its
 governor under Solomon, viii.
 36; xiii. 396; (Gaulonitis)
 bequeathed by Herod as
 tetrarchy to Philip, xvii. 189;
 ruled by Philip the tetrarch,
 xviii. 106; revolts against
 Agrippa II, *V.* 187

Gaulonitis. See Gaulanitis

Gaza (Gazites, Gazaeans), city in
 southern Palestine near Medi-
 terranean, *B.* i. 87; freed by
 Pompey, i. 156; annexed to
 Herod's kingdom, i. 396; *ii.*
 97, 460; *iv.* 662; boundary of
 Mizraim's descendants, *A.* i.
 136; allotted to Judah, v. 81;
 withstands capture, v. 128;
 v. 304; (Gazites) v. 304;
 Philistine city, vi. 8; ix. 275;

xi. 320, 325; overrun by
 Jonathan, xiii. 150-151; xiii.
 324, 329, 334; held by Ptolemy
 Lathyrus, xiii. 348; xiii. 351;
 destroyed by Alexander Jan-
 naeus, xiii. 358; (Gazaeans)
 their city destroyed by Alex-
 ander Jannaeus, xiii. 359-360,
 362; xiii. 395; (Gazaeans)
 xiv. 10; xiv. 76, 88; added
 to Herod's realm, xv. 217;
 governed by Costobarus, xv.
 254; detached from Archelaus'
 kingdom and added to Syria,
A. xvii. 320; near site of
 battle in which Ptolemy defeats
 Demetrius Poliorcetes eleven
 years after Alexander the
 Great's death, *Ap.* i. 184-186;
 Idumaea in latitude of, ii. 116

Gazaeans. See Gaza

Gazaga. See Zarasa

Gazara (1). See Aza

Gazara (2) (Bibl. Gezer), town in
 central Palestine, captured by
 Simon, *B.* i. 50; on border of
 territory of Benjamin, *A.* v.
 83; on border of Philistine
 country, vii. 77; vii. 301;
 built up by Solomon, viii. 151;
 xii. 308; fortified by Bacchides,
 xiii. 15; subdued by Simon,
 xiii. 215; restored to Jews by
 Rome, xiii. 261

Gazasa. See Zarasa

Gazites. See Gaza

Geba. See Gabaa

Gebala (Gabaon; Bibl. Gibeath
 Benjamin), city in Palestine,
 location uncertain, *A.* vi. 95
 (perhaps to be identified with
 Gaba [2]); (Gabaon) vi. 105

Gebelos. See Hebel

Geber. See Gabares

Gedaliah. See Gadalias

Gedeon (Bibl. Gideon), son of
 Joash, Jewish leader, *A.* v.
 213; gathers his army, v. 215,
 217; gains courage, v. 218-219,
 221-222; leads army against
 Midianites, v. 223, 225, 227-
 228; returns home, v. 229;
 pacifies Ephraim, v. 230; as
 judge, v. 232; v. 239-240; vi.
 90; vii. 142

GENERAL INDEX

- Gejon (Bibl. Gihon), fountain in Jerusalem, *A.* vii. 355
- geision*, Hebrew word for parapet (see *thrinkos*), *A.* viii. 95
- Gelas (Bibl. Gera), son of Benjamin, *A.* ii. 180
- Gelboue (Bibl. Gilboa), mountain in Samaria near Scythopolis, *A.* vi. 328, 372
- Gellius (1) (var. Sellius, Asellius, Sasellius, Aquilius), Marcus, father of Marcus Gellius the Roman senator, *A.* xiv. 220
- Gellius (2) (var. Sellius, Asellius, Sasellius, Aquilius), Marcus, Roman senator, *A.* xiv. 220
- Gelmon (Bibl. Giloh), city in Palestine, perhaps near Hebron, *A.* vii. 228
- Gelmonite, Ahithophel the, *A.* vii. 197
- Gema. See Ginaea
- Gemellus (1), friend of Herod, dismissed by him, *A.* xvi. 242-243
- Gemellus (2). See Tiberius (4), Gemellus
- genealogies, in histories of Hellenicus and Acusilaus, *Ap.* i. 16
- general, Moses' excellence as, *Ap.* ii. 158
- Genesar. See Gennesar
- Gennath, gate in first wall of Jerusalem, *B.* v. 146
- Gennesar (Genesar, Gennesaret, Gennesaritis, Tiberias), Lake of, *B.* ii. 573; (Tiberias) iii. 57; iii. 463; description of, iii. 506-521; (Tiberias) iv. 456; boundary of Zebulun's territory, *A.* v. 84; xiii. 158; (Gennesaritis) xviii. 28; (Gennesaritis) site of Tiberias, xviii. 36; (Gennesaret) *V.* 96, 153, 165 ff., 304, 327, 349
- Gennesaret. See Gennesar
- Gennesaritis. See Gennesar
- Geon (Bibl. Gihon), Biblical name for Nile River, *A.* i. 39
- Gephthaeus (Gypthaeus; var. Tephthaeus), soldier in John's army, *B.* v. 474; (Gypthaeus) vi. 92; vi. 148
- Gera (1). See Gelas
- Gera (2), father of Ehud, *A.* v. 188
- Gera (3), father of Shimei, *A.* vii. 207, 263, 388
- Gerar. See Gerara
- Gerara (Bibl. Gerar), city in Philistia, *A.* i. 207, 259-260; viii. 294
- Gerasa (Essa), city in Galaaditis, *B.* i. 104; ii. 458, 480; iii. 47; iv. 487, 503; (Essa) *A.* xiii. 393
- Gerasenes, people of Gerasa, *A.* xiii. 398
- Gerastratus, son of Abdelimus, judge of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 157
- Gergesaeus (Bibl. Gergashite), son of Canaan, *A.* i. 139
- Gerizim (Garizaeon, Garizein, Garizim, Garizin), Mt., mountain in central Palestine, *B.* iii. 307, 311; (Garizaeon Mountain) *A.* iv. 305; (Garizin) iv. 306, v. 69, 235; (Garizein) xi. 310, 340, 346; (Garizein) Jews taken from there by Ptolemy and brought to Egypt, xii. 7; (Garizein) Samaritans send their sacrifices there, xii. 10; (Garizein) xii. 257, 259; xiii. 74, 78, 255; xiv. 100; xviii. 85
- Germanicus (1), father of Gaius Caligula, *B.* ii. 178; his death, *A.* xviii. 54; son of Antonia, xviii. 164; his popularity, xviii. 206; xix. 117; brother of Claudius, his popularity, xix. 223; father of Agrippina, xx. 148; distributes corn to inhabitants of Alexandria, *Ap.* ii. 63
- Germanicus (2), family name of Claudius, *A.* xix. 217, 280, 287; xx. 11
- Germans, Herod's guards, *B.* i. 672; ii. 364, 376-377; iii. 4; vi. 331; vii. 75-89; at Herod's funeral, *A.* xvii. 198; one of them prophesies Agrippa I's future greatness, xviii. 196-202; bodyguard of Emperor Gaius Caligula, avenge his death, xix. 119-126; spare the Roman populace, xix. 138, 148-149, 152; avenge Gaius, xix. 153, 215

GENERAL INDEX

Germany, Roman legions in, *B.* iv. 495, 546, 586, 595, 647-648; vii. 82

Gershom. See Gersos

Gershon. See Golgom(es)

Gersos (Bibl. Gershom), son of Moses, *A.* ii. 277; meaning of his name, ii. 278

Geshur. See Gessura

Geshurite. See Serrites

Gesserites. See Gessura

Gessura (Gesserites) (Bibl. Geshur), Aramaic kingdom east of Sea of Galilee, (Gesserites) *A.* vii. 21; vii. 180, 187

Gessius Florus. See Florus, Gessius

Gether. See Getheres

Getheres (Bibl. Gether), son of Aram, *A.* i. 145

Gethersas. See Jethroas

Gethla (Bibl. Gallim), city in Palestine, *A.* vi. 309

Gezer. See Gazara (2)

Giant, cognomen of Eleazar, *A.* xviii. 103

Giants (1) (Bibl. Rephaim), Assyrians subdue their descendants, *A.* i. 174; Ishbi-benob descended from them, vii. 299; their reputed descendants slain by Sibbechai, vii. 301; one of their reputed descendants slain by Jonathan, David's nephew, vii. 304

Giants (2), Valley of (Bibl. Rephaim, Valley of), near Jerusalem, captured by Philistines, *A.* vii. 71

Gibalu. See Hebel

Gibbethon. See Gabathon

Gibeah. See Gaba (2)

Gibeath Benjamin. See Gebala

Gibeon (1). See Gabaon (1)

Gibeon (2). See Ibron

Gibeonites. See Gabaon (1)

Gibron (Bibl. Hebron), either a slip for or a corruption of Gabaon (1) (Bibl. Gibeon), *A.* viii. 22

Gideon. See Gedeon

Gihon (1). See Geion

Gihon (2). See Geon

Gilboa. See Gelboue

Gilead. See Galaaditis

Gilgal. See Galgala

Giloh. See Gelmon

Ginae. See Ginaea

Ginaea (Gema, Ginae), village on northern boundary of province of Samaria, (Gema) *B.* ii. 232; iii. 48; (Ginae) *A.* xx. 118

Ginnabris. See Sennabris

Gion (var. Simon), father of Eleazar the Zealot leader, *B.* iv. 225

Gioras, father of Simon the Jewish military leader against the Romans, *B.* ii. 521, 652; iv. 503; v. 11; vi. 114; vii. 25, 154, 265

Girgashite. See Gergesaeus

Gischala, city in Galilee, *B.* ii. 575, 585, 621, 629, 632; iv. 1, 84, 86; taken by Titus,

iv. 92-120; its surrender justified by fugitives from there, iv. 123-124; Titus moves from there to Caesarea, iv. 130; John's escape from there, iv. 208; led by John, son of Levi,

in 66, *V.* 43-45; meeting there between Josephus and John of Gischala, 70; price of oil there, 75; Josephus allows his colleagues to leave thence

and to return to Jerusalem, 77; place where John returns after unsuccessful plot against Josephus at Tiberias, 101; its extermination requested by Galilaeans, 102; place where

John, son of Levi, is stationed, 122; fortified by John of Gischala, 189; 217; Josephus refuses to meet deputation from Jerusalem there, 235;

John returns there, 271; John returns there after failing to slay Josephus, 308; John returns there from Tiberias, 317

Gitta (Gittites) (Bibl. Gath), royal city of the Philistines on border of Judah, *A.* v. 87; vi. 8, 30, 171, 191, 245, 247,

319-320, 325, 354, 356; (Gittite) Ethis the, vii. 201; vii. 233, 303; viii. 18; subdued by Hazael, ix. 170; captured by Uzziah, ix. 217; ix. 275

Gittha, fortress in Idumaea, *B.*

GENERAL INDEX

- i. 326; fortified by Machaeras, *A.* xiv. 450
- Gizrite. See Serrites
- Glaphyra, wife of Alexander son of Herod, *B.* i. 476-478, (500), (508), 552-553; history of, ii. 114-116; daughter of Archelaus, married to Alexander son of Herod, *A.* xvi. 11; incurs Salome's wrath, xvi. 193; xvi. 206, 303; involved in charge of conspiracy against Herod, xvi. 329-332; her children, xvii. 12; married to Archelaus, xvii. 341; her dream, xvii. 349-353
- glosses in text of Josephus, *Ap.* i. 83, 92, 98, 134; ii. 195, 198, 253-254
- Gobolis. See Gobolitis
- Gobolitis (Gabalis, Gobolis) (Gabalites), region in Idumaea, former name of Amalekitis, *A.* ii. 6; land of the Amalekites iii. 40; (Gabalites) defeated by Amaziah, ix. 188; (Gobolis) xiv. 18; (Gabalis) xviii. 113
- God, *passim*
- "God's camp," name given to Canaan by Jacob on his return there, *A.* i. 325
- god(s) of Egyptians, displeasure of, breaks upon Egyptians, according to Manetho, *Ap.* i. 75; King Amenophis did not desire to see them, according to Josephus, i. 254-255; Jewish refusal to worship them, ii. 65-67; ridiculed by Josephus, ii. 128-129; slaughtered by Persian invaders, ii. 129
- gods of Greeks, Antiochus' respect for them appealed to by Greek in the temple, *Ap.* ii. 96; Jews do not deride or blaspheme them, ii. 237; criticism of by Josephus, ii. 238-249; Protagoras' views of, ii. 266
- Golan. See Gaulana
- gold, coins of swallowed by Jews in desertion to Titus, *B.* v. 421; Syrian picks gold coins from his excrements, v. 550; standard of, depreciated throughout Syria, vi. 317
- Gold, Land of, in or near India, formerly called Sopheir (Bibl. Ophir), Solomon sends expedition there, *A.* viii. 164; precious stones and pine wood brought from there to Solomon, viii. 176
- Golgom(es) (Bibl. Gershon), son of Levi, *A.* ii. 178
- Goliath, Philistine giant, challenges Israelites to battle, *A.* vi. 171-177; slain by David, vi. 185-191; sword of, dedicated to God by David, vi. 192; sword of, vi. 244, 254
- Gomar (Bibl. Gomer), son of Japheth, father of Gomarites (later called Galatians), *A.* i. 123, 126
- Gomarites, people founded by Gomar the son of Japheth, called Galatians by Greeks, *A.* i. 123
- Gomer. See Gomar
- Gophna, sub-district of Judaea, *B.* i. 45, 222; ii. 568; iii. 55; iv. 551; v. 50; vi. 115, 118; *A.* xiv. 275
- Gorgias, Syrian Greek general, sent against Judas the Macabees, *A.* xii. 298; defeated by Judas, xii. 305-312; defeats Jewish home guard at Jamneia, xii. 351
- Gorion (1), son of Nicomedes, envoy of Jews besieging Romans in Herod's palace, *B.* ii. 451
- Gorion (2), Joseph son of, Jewish general against Romans, *B.* ii. 563; iv. 159 (probably identical with Gurion, iv. 358)
- Gorpieaus, month of, *B.* ii. 440; iii. 542; iv. 83; vi. 392, 407, 435
- Gotholia(h). See Othlia
- Gounis (Bibl. Guni), son of Naphthali, *A.* ii. 181
- Governor(ship) of a district. See Meridarch(es)
- Graces, temple of the, *A.* xiv. 153
- Granicus, river in Phrygia, *A.* xi. 305, 313
- Grapte, relative of Izas (Izates), king of Adiabene, *B.* iv. 567
- Gratus (1), Roman infantry com-

GENERAL INDEX

- mander, *B.* ii. 52, 58; kills Simon, ii. 59; ii. 63-64, 74; *A.* xvii. 266; ends revolt of Simon, xvii. 275-276; puts down revolts in Judaea (after Herod's death), xvii. 283-284; greets Varus, xvii. 294
 Gratus (2), Valerius, predecessor of Pontius Pilate as procurator of Judaea, *A.* xviii. 33-35; appointed procurator of Judaea by Tiberius, xviii. 177
 Gratus (3), palace guard, discovers Claudius hiding after Gaius' murder, *A.* xix. 217-221
 Great Plain. See Plain (1) and (2), the Great
 Greater Armenia. See Armenia (2), Greater
 Grecian. See Greeks
 Greek(s) (Greece, Grecian, Hellas, Hellenic), Josephus translates his account into it, *B.* i. 3; the facts relating to the war should be known to them, i. 6; Josephus censures them, i. 13; Josephus presents his work to them, i. 16; disregard historical truth, i. 16; Jewish histories translated by them, i. 17; (Hellas) Herod's gift to it, i. 426; the Olympic games a relic of its antiquity, i. 427; Eurycles comes to Judaea from there, i. 513; Eurycles crosses to it, i. 531; their towns annexed to Syria, ii. 97; isles of the blessed conceived by their sons, ii. 155-156; Jews fight over Caesarea with them, ii. 266-268; government of Caesarea obtained by them, ii. 284; synagogue in Caesarea adjoins a plot owned by one of them, ii. 285; Athenians burn their city to preserve its liberty, ii. 358; Athens its queen, ii. 358; the Jews more intelligent than they are, ii. 364; Rome's sway over them, ii. 365; at Alexandria Jews are equal to them, ii. 487; at Alexandria, Jews fight with them, ii. 489-492; population of Caesarea chiefly consists of them, iii. 409; their historians, iv. 496; Titus sails back to Syria from there, iv. 501; altar of the temple at Jerusalem venerated by them, v. 17; Bezetha translated as New Town into their language, v. 151; the second court of Herod's palace contains slabs inscribed in it, v. 194; vi. 125; barbarians and, vi. 199; Vespasian passes from Ionia into it, vii. 22; Jews of Antioch given rights equal to theirs, vii. 44; attracted to Jewish ceremonies, vii. 45; Antiochus sacrifices in their manner, vii. 50; Jews of Scythopolis fight on their side, vii. 364; the *Antiquities* aimed at them, *A.* i. 5, 9, 129; Gihon is called Nile by them, i. 39; the traditional deeds of the sons of Angels resemble those of the giants by them, i. 73; change names of nations, i. 121; Gomarites called Galatians and Magogians called Scythians by them, i. 123; Madaeans called Medes by them, i. 124; Theirians called Thracians by them, i. 125; Aschanaxians called Reginians and Thugramaeans called Phrygians by them, i. 126; their historians, i. 133; Sabathenians called Astabarians by them, i. 134; Phylistinus' territory called Palestine by them, i. 136; Sidonius' city still called Sidon by them, i. 138; Aramaeans called Syrians by them, i. 144; sciences of arithmetic and astronomy pass to them by way of Egypt, i. 168; Bethel denotes "God's hearth-stone" in it, i. 284; Dan is rendered *Theocritos* in it, i. 305; country of Esau (Edom) called Idumaea by them, ii. 3; acquainted with the nature of the ibis, ii. 247; the Hebrew *kinchares* denotes a talent when translated into it, iii. 144; the *ephod* resembles

GENERAL INDEX

their *ἑρπῆς*, iii. 162; the word *essen* signifies *logion* in it, iii. 163, 217; the plant *saccharon* is termed henbane by them, iii. 172; twelve constellations called zodiac by them, iii. 186; the great sedition among the Jews finds no parallel among them, iv. 12; "Corban" is the equivalent of "a gift" among them, iv. 73; Rekem is their Petra, iv. 161; the name of Manalis means "Camps" in their language, vii. 10; the *geision* called *thrinkos* by them, viii. 95; Tyrian records translated into their language, viii. 144; Thadamora called Palmyra by them, viii. 154; Abijah's slaughter of the army of Jeroboam finds no parallel in any of their wars, viii. 234; Somareon known as Samaria to them, viii. 312; Tyrian archives translated into their language, ix. 233; Chutaioi called Samareitai by them, ix. 290; their language, x. 218; meaning in their language of handwriting on wall, x. 243-244; Darius, son of Astyages, called by another name among them, x. 248; their victory over Persians foretold by Daniel, x. 273; Ahasuerus called Artaxerxes by them, xi. 184; Johanan's murder of his brother finds no parallel among them, xi. 299; Saphein means "Lookout" in their tongue, xi. 329; Persian empire to be destroyed by one of them, xi. 337; Jewish law translated into their language, xii. 14; Bible translated into it, xii. 48; share their citizenship rights in Antioch, xii. 119; call Antiochus *Theos*, xii. 125; their way of life sought by Hellenizers, xii. 240; Hellenizers conceal their circumcisions in order to appear like them, xii. 241; Sidonians choose to live in accordance with their

customs, xii. 263; Bethsane called Scythopolis by them, xii. 348; conquered by Rome, xii. 414; send envoys to Demetrius, xiii. 185; Bethsan called Scythopolis by them, xiii. 183; call Salina Alexandra, xiii. 320; Demetrius' soldiers attempt to cause Alexander's mercenaries to desert because they are Greeks, xiii. 378; Sulla crosses over to them, xiv. 114; Caesar's decrees concerning Jews to be preserved on bronze in Latin and Greek, xiv. 191, 197; Antony's edict to Tyre concerning Jews to be inscribed in Latin and Greek, xiv. 319; declare heralds sacred, xv. 136; Jews forbidden to render sculpture in their fashion, xv. 329; Essenes follow a way of life taught by Pythagoras to them, xv. 371; cannot refute the charges of Nicolas of Damascus, xvi. 58; benefactions conferred upon them by Herod, xvi. 146; persecute Jews of Asia, xvi. 160-161; Josephus' history meant for them, xvi. 174, 177; Caesar detaches their cities from his territory, xvii. 320; qualities of the Essenes never found among them, xviii. 20; many of them won over by Jesus called the Christ, xviii. 63; offspring of Alexander, son of Tigranes, follow their tradition, xviii. 141; their strife with Jews in Alexandria, xviii. 257; unite with Syrians to massacre Jews in Seleucia, xviii. 372-375; their city of Ctesiphon, xviii. 377; their temples pillaged by Gaius Caligula, xix. 7; (Greece) its spoils brought to Rome by Gaius Caligula, xix. 8; Gaius' proficiency in their language, xix. 208; Claudius' studies in it, xix. 213; their strife with Jews in Alexandria, xix. 278; Claudius holds that Jews in

GENERAL INDEX

their cities should not be deprived of privileges, xix. 289; Jews declared their fellow citizens by Claudius Caesar, xix. 306; favoured by Herod the Great over the Jews, xix. 329; Beryllus, Nero's secretary of Greek correspondence, xx. 183; Josephus' knowledge and mastery of their language, xx. 262-263; the sect of the Pharisees resembles that which is called the Stoic school by them, V. 12; Justus, son of Pistus, versed in their culture, 40; Jesus, the son of Sapphias, and his followers massacre all of them in Tiberias, 67; their oil forbidden to Jews 74; King Agrippa and all his family conversant with their culture, 359; Josephus' *Antiquities* written in their language, *Ap.* i. 1; their best known historians do not mention Jews, i. 2; Josephus adduces as witnesses writers who in their estimation are most trustworthy, i. 4; few of their historians mention Jews, i. 5; untrustworthy as antiquarians, i. 6; modernity of their civilization, recency of their care in historical composition, i. 7; (Greece) memories of its past have been obliterated by countless catastrophes, i. 10; late in learning alphabet, i. 10; poetry of Homer is the most ancient work in their literature, i. 12; their first historians, i. 13; their first philosophers concerned with astronomy and theology, i. 14; contradictions among their historians, i. 15, 20-27; their historians are outstanding for eloquence and literary ability, i. 27; their contact with Phoenicians, i. 28; their disregard for their records and historical accuracy, i. 44-46; Josephus helped by assistants in writing *Jewish War* for the sake of the Greek, i. 50; Josephus sells copies

of his *Jewish War* to persons versed in their learning, i. 51; lack of tradition of keeping chronicles and reason for silence of their historians about Jews, i. 58-68; lack of mention of them in Jewish literature, i. 69; their historians do mention the Jews, i. 72; Manetho proficient in their learning, i. 73; events of their countries recorded by Menander of Ephesus, i. 116; Berosus publishes scientific works for them, i. 129; their historians censured by Berosus for beliefs concerning Semiramis, i. 142; allusions made by them to Jews, i. 161; expedition against them by Xerxes, i. 172; Jews admired by them, i. 175; Greek spoken by Jew encountered by Aristotle, i. 180; Mosollamus, best Jewish bowman, unsurpassed by them, i. 201; their historians establish antiquity of Jews, i. 215; difference between their language and that of Jews, i. 319; antiquity of Jews demonstrated by them, ii. 1; in Alexandria, sedition among them, ii. 69; their sagacity, ii. 70; their delight in making statues, ii. 74; alleged annual murder of one of them by Jews, ii. 89-102; their gods appeal to Antiochus' respect for them, ii. 96; conflict of Jewish laws with them, ii. 99; one of them kidnapped and sacrificed by Jews, according to Apion, ii. 110; Jewish oath of hostility to them alleged by Apion, ii. 121; Jews neither hate nor envy them, ii. 123; Athenians the most pious of them, Lacedaemonians bravest of them, ii. 130; not indignant at slaughter of domestic animals, ii. 138; lawgivers esteemed by them, ii. 154; boast of having had such legislators as Minos, ii. 161;

GENERAL INDEX

- their conception of God, ii. 168; make theoretical laws, ii. 172; their visionary ideals, ii. 221; Plato admired by them, ii. 223; criticism of their religion, ii. 239-249; give great licence to painters and sculptors, ii. 252; their philosophy, ii. 255; their exclusiveness, ii. 259; Anacharsis, imbued with Greek habits, admired by them for his wisdom, ii. 269; religious beliefs of Persians in accordance with theirs, ii. 270; practice of sodomy ascribed to the gods by them, ii. 275; imitation of Jewish laws by their philosophers, ii. 281; Jewish custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day has spread to all their cities, ii. 282
- Grypus. See Antiochus (8)
- Gual (Bibl. Gaal), a chief of the Shechemites, aids them against Abimelech, *A.* v. 241, 243-244, 246
- Guni. See Gounis
- Gurion, liberal Jew of exalted rank, killed by Zealots, *B.* iv. 358 (probably identical with Gorion [2])
- Gypthaeus. See Gephthaeus
- HADAD (1). See Aderos
- Hadad (2). See Chodam
- Hadadezer. See Adrazaros
- Hades, *B.* i. 596; ii. 156; iii. 375; the witch of Endor summons Samuel from there, *A.* vi. 332
- Haditkeh. See Addida
- Hadoram (1). See Adoramos
- Hadoram (2). See Edoram
- Hagar. See Agar
- Haggai, Hebrew prophet, rebuilds the temple, *B.* vi. 270; gives encouragement to the Jews, *A.* xi. 96, 106
- Haggi. See Ougis
- Haggith. See Agithe
- Haimanos (Bibl. Heman), son of Mahol, *A.* viii. 43
- Halicarnassus, ancient city of Caria in southwestern Asia Minor, birthplace of Herodotus, *A.* viii. 157, 260; its decree favourable to Jews, *A.* xiv. 256; birthplace of Herodotus, *Ap.* i. 168
- Halisaeans (Aeolians), subjects of Halisas (Elishah), *A.* i. 127
- Halisas (Bibl. Elishah), son of Javan, *A.* i. 127
- Ham, son of Noah, *A.* i. 109; grandfather of Nimrod, i. 113; his children, i. 130-134; his descendants cursed by Noah, i. 142
- Haman, son of Hammedatha, Ahasuerus orders that foreigners and Persians prostrate themselves before him, *A.* xi. 210; Mordecai refuses to prostrate himself before him, xi. 210; decides to exterminate Jews, xi. 211; accuses Jews, xi. 212; sends out edict, xi. 215; receives honour from Ahasuerus, xi. 217; Ahasuerus orders to put to death all those pointed out by him, xi. 218; busy with drinking and feasting, xi. 220; buys destruction of Jews from king, xi. 224; accuses the Jews, xi. 225; cause of his anger, xi. 230; his presence requested by Esther, xi. 242; rejoices at honour, xi. 244; waits before court, xi. 251-252; advises king to honour friends, xi. 253; gives advice to the king, xi. 255; tells Mordecai to change clothes, xi. 256; honours Mordecai, xi. 258; goes home in disgrace, xi. 259; eunuchs of Esther come to hasten his coming to the banquet, xi. 260; a cross is set up at his house, xi. 261; king feasts with him, xi. 262; Esther accuses him, xi. 264; begs Esther's pardon, xi. 265; the eunuch Harbonah accuses him, xi. 266; hanged, xi. 267; the Deity punishes his wickedness, xi. 268; his property presented to the queen, and his ring given to Mordecai, xi. 269;

GENERAL INDEX

- his possessions given to Mordecai, xi. 270; letter sent by him throughout the land, xi. 270; an alien among the Persians, enjoys their hospitality, xi. 277; letter sent by him, xi. 279; his ten sons crucified, xi. 289; Jews marked for destruction by him, xi. 294
- Hamath. See Amathe
- Hamathite. See Amathus
- Hamathites. See Amathaeans
- Hammedatha. See Amadathos
- Hamor. See Emmor
- Hamul. See Amour(os)
- Hamutal. See Amitale
- Hananel. See Ananel
- Hananiah. See Ananias (1) and (2)
- hands, severing of, as punishment, *V.* 147, 171 ff.
- Hanging Garden. See Garden, Hanging
- Hanna(h). See Anna (1)
- Hannibal (Annibas), Carthaginian general, pride of the Carthaginians in him, *B.* ii. 380
- Hanoch. See Anoch(es)
- Hanukkah. See Festival of Lights
- Hanun. See Annon
- Haran. See Aran
- Harbonah. See Sabuchadas
- Harmais (1), Egyptian king, son of Akencheres II, *Ap.* i. 97
- Harmais (2) (Hermæus), brother of Sethosis (Sethos) (Ramesses II), made viceroy of Egypt, revolts against his brother, *Ap.* i. 98-102; (Hermæus) known as Danaus, expelled by his brother, i. 231
- Harmesses Miamoun, Egyptian king, son of Ramesses I, *Ap.* i. 97
- harmony, Jewish, *Ap.* ii. 179 ff.
- Hasmonaeans (see also Asamonaes, Asamonean), alternate appellation for the Maccabees, "the sons of Asamonaes," expel Antiochus Epiphanes, *B.* i. 19; their dynasty, i. 19; their palace, ii. 344; level Acra, *v.* 139; denounced by Herod, *A.* xvii. 162
- Hatach. See Achratheos
- Haterius. See Fronto (1)
- Havila. See Evilas
- Havilah (1). See Copphen
- Havilah (2). See Evilas
- Havvah. See Eve
- Hazael. See Azaelos
- Hazarmaveth. See Azermoth
- Hazereth. See Esermoth
- Hazo. See Azau
- Hazor. See Asor
- Hebel (Gebelos, Gibalu; Bibl. Ebal), mountain called "Counsel," near Shechem in Palestine, altar erected near it, *A.* iv. 305; *v.* 69
- Heber (1), son of Asher. See Abar(os)
- Heber (2) (Bibl. Eber), son of Shelah, *A.* i. 146-148, 150
- Hebrew(s) (Hebraic; see also Israelites), Jesus their general, *B.* iv. 459; their territory, *v.* 160; Pharaoh bestows silver and gold upon them, *v.* 381; Sennacherib flees from them, *v.* 388; Simon and John disparage their race, *v.* 443; Josephus translates the *Antiquities* from their records, *A.* i. 5; Sabbath means "rest" in their language, i. 33; Adam means "red" in it, i. 34; *essa* is "woman" in it, i. 36; i. 80-81; confusion called "Babel" by them, i. 117; the name *Chethim* given to all islands by them, i. 128; destroy seven cities, i. 139; origin of their name, i. 146; their origin, i. 148; *zoor* means "little" in their language, i. 204; call shaggy hair *esauron*, i. 258; Israel denotes the opponent of an angel of God in their language, i. 333; ii. 3, 78, 102; their women, ii. 226; take Joseph's bones with them back to Canaan, ii. 200; enslaved by Egyptians, ii. 201-204; their deliverance from Egypt will be remembered not just by them, ii. 216; Moses was the noblest of them, ii. 229; ii. 235; rest their

GENERAL INDEX

hope in Moses, ii. 236 ; ii. 238, 241, 243 ; Moses chosen to be their leader, ii. 268-269, 274 ; greet Moses on return to Egypt, ii. 279-281 ; oppressed further by Pharaoh, ii. 288-289, ii. 290-292 ; not affected by the plague, ii. 295 ; refused permission to leave Egypt despite plagues, ii. 298-311 ; prepare for exodus, ii. 311-312 ; leave Egypt, ii. 313-314 ; pursued by Egyptians, ii. 320-328 ; cross the Red Sea, ii. 338-345 ; retrieve armour of Egyptians from the Red Sea, ii. 349 ; their suffering in the desert, iii. 1, 7 ; iii. 25 ; receive the manna, iii. 32 ; defeat the Amalekites, iii. 39-54 ; take courage after defeat of Amalekites, iii. 58 ; suffer no losses in battle against Amalekites, iii. 59 ; iii. 60 ; rest after battle with Amalekites, iii. 61 ; iii. 68, 72 ; wait for Moses at foot of Mt. Sinai, iii. 77-82 ; addressed by Moses on his descent from Mt. Sinai, iii. 84 ; fear that Moses perished on Mt. Sinai, iii. 95 ; iii. 137 ; *assaróns* are measures of theirs, iii. 142 ; iii. 144 ; acquiesce in appointment of Aaron as high priest, iii. 192 ; iii. 195, 201-202 ; Moses makes holy rules clear to them, iii. 214 ; adhere to their laws, iii. 223 ; the *hin*, an ancient measure of theirs, iii. 234 ; rites observed by them, iii. 247 ; call the fiftieth day *Asartha*, iii. 252 ; iii. 282 ; Moses transmits the laws of God to them, iii. 286 ; iii. 291 ; chastised by God for their insolence, iii. 299 ; all obey laws of Moses, iii. 317 ; fight the Canaanites in defiance of Moses and are defeated, iv. 1-8 ; iv. 14, 40, 46-47 ; their sedition terminated, iv. 66 ; iv. 67, 84 ; defeat Amorites, iv. 86-95 ; attacked by Og, iv. 96 ; benefit from Og's defeat, iv. 99 ; do not interfere with other

countries, iv. 102 ; blessed by Balaam, iv. 112-117 ; iv. 127 ; their youths seduced by Midianite women, iv. 129, 131 ; iv. 145, 147, 157 ; Phinehas preserves their laws, iv. 159 ; country of the Midianites pillaged by them, iv. 162 ; iv. 201, 203, 243 ; permit no usury, iv. 266 ; their laws of slavery, iv. 273 ; iv. 308 ; mourn for Moses, iv. 330 ; v. 8 ; cross Jordan, v. 19, 27 ; capture Ai, v. 48 ; make pact with Gibeonites, v. 55 ; defeat Canaanite kings on lengthened day, v. 61 ; their fame spreads among the Canaanites, v. 63 ; v. 93, 97 ; those beyond the Jordan send ambassadors highly esteemed among them, v. 104 ; v. 112, 127, 140 ; defeat the Benjamites, v. 160-162 ; the Canaanites plan mischief to them, v. 176 ; delivered from bondage to the Moabites, v. 197 ; their language, v. 200-201 ; defeat Midianites, v. 225 ; gain booty of Midianites, v. 229 ; v. 231 ; attacked by the Philistines, v. 255 ; v. 256 ; ask Jephthah to lead them, v. 260 ; v. 286, 298 ; their tongue, v. 323, 336 ; v. 338, 341 ; Philistines victorious over them, v. 352 ; bring ark to battle, v. 353 ; v. 355-356 ; vi. 12, 17 ; their tongue, vi. 22 ; defeat Philistines at Mizpah, vi. 23-24 ; Philistines animated against them, vi. 29 ; vi. 54 ; cast lots to choose king, vi. 62 ; praise Saul for his victory, vi. 80 ; their government becomes a monarchy, vi. 83 ; addressed by Samuel, vi. 86 ; vi. 94 ; their land ravaged by Philistines, vi. 106 ; vi. 111, 114, 116-117, 127 ; brought to greatness by Saul, vi. 130 ; vi. 132, 138, 155 ; challenged by Goliath, vi. 172, 175 ; taunted by Goliath, vi. 176-177 ; vi. 187, 191, 210, 213, 245, 268, 275 ; Philistines invade their

GENERAL INDEX

territory, vi. 281 ; vi. 291-292 ; their tongue, vi. 302 ; Philistines plan combined assault with their allies on them, vi. 325 ; vi. 327, 344, 352 ; take flight, vi. 369 ; their panic at death of Saul, vi. 373 ; battle with the Philistines disastrous to them, vii. 2-3 ; engaged in civil war, vii. 20 ; David chosen their king, vii. 27 ; vii. 44 ; pay homage to David, vii. 53 ; meaning of name Jerusalem in their tongue, vii. 67 ; vii. 68, 69, 71 ; defeat Philistines under David, vii. 74 ; vii. 75, 95 ; gain land from Philistines, vii. 98 ; defeat king of Damascus, vii. 100 ; vii. 105 ; war with Ammanites under David, vii. 123 ; vii. 128, 139, 151, 219, 232 ; rebels make peace with David, vii. 258 ; vii. 289 ; famine ends for them, vii. 297 ; vii. 301, 303, 310 ; counted by David, vii. 319 ; vii. 321 ; afflicted by pestilence for David's sin, vii. 324 ; vii. 337 ; Solomon declared their king, vii. 356 ; addressed by David, vii. 370 ; vii. 380, 385 ; David their best king, vii. 391 ; increase in number in Solomon's reign, viii. 38 ; Solomon considered the wisest man by them, viii. 43 ; Iar, a month in their calendar, viii. 61 ; assemble to view the temple, viii. 99 ; viii. 100, 111, 116, 120 ; Solomon offers sacrifices for them in the new temple, viii. 122-123 ; hated by God, viii. 129 ; viii. 132 ; no slaves among them in Solomon's day, viii. 161 ; viii. 173, 190, 192 ; suffer injuries at hands of Hadad, viii. 204 ; suffer misfortunes on account of Solomon's many wives, viii. 211 ; misled by Jeroboam, viii. 229 ; their land invaded by Shishak, viii. 255 ; viii. 335, 341, 353 ; Ben-hadad marches against them, viii. 381 ; their God, ix. 20 ; suffer famine in

besieged Samaria, ix. 62 ; kings of the people transgress against their customs, ix. 95 ; give Elisha magnificent burial, ix. 182 ; Josephus consults their books, ix. 208 ; Jonah a Hebrew by race, ix. 211 ; their tongue, ix. 290 ; their language used by Assyrian general to threaten them, x. 8 ; Manasseh kills all their righteous people, x. 38 ; celebrate Passover with Josiah, x. 72 ; pay tribute to Nebuchadnezzar, x. 87 ; taken captive, x. 155 ; their two great deportations, x. 183 ; their wisdom mastered by Daniel, x. 194 ; their books translated faithfully by Josephus, x. 218 ; strangers speak in their tongue in Susa, xi. 159 ; ninth month called Kislev by them, xi. 148 ; twelfth month called Adar by them, xi. 286 ; xi. 344 ; Torah written in Hebrew characters, xii. 36 ; language of Bible, xii. 48 ; xiv. 255 ; their language, xviii. 228 ; their custom violated by Anilacus, xviii. 345

Hebron (1) (city of the Hebronites, Nabro, Nebron), city in southern Palestine, southwest of Jerusalem, *B.* iv. 529-533, 554 ; (Nabro) *A. i.* 170 ; (city of the Hebronites) *i.* 186 ; Sarah buried there, *i.* 237 ; Abraham buried there, *i.* 256 ; Rachel not buried there, *i.* 343 ; Jacob dwells there, *i.* 345 ; Isaac and Rebecca buried there, *i.* 345 ; given by Esau to Jacob, *ii.* 1 ; Jacob buried there, *ii.* 196 ; sons of Jacob buried there, *ii.* 199 ; *iii.* 305 ; declared a city of refuge, *v.* 91 ; its capture, *v.* 125, 305 ; David dwells there, *vii.* 7 ; *vii.* 19, 24 ; Joab comes to it, *vii.* 31 ; *vii.* 34, 36 ; Abner buried there, *vii.* 42 ; *vii.* 49 ; tribal leaders pay homage to David there, *vii.* 53, 60 ; David rules there before Jerusalem, *vii.* 65 ; *vii.* 196 ; David reigns there seven

GENERAL INDEX

- years and six months, vii. 389 ; built by Rehoboam, Solomon's son, viii. 246 ; captured by Judas the Maccabee, xii. 353
- Hebron (2). See Gibron
- Hecataeus of Abdera, philosopher and man of affairs, one of Josephus' sources in *Antiquities*, A. i. 108 ; composes book about Abraham, i. 159 ; cited, xii. 38 ; his book on the Jews quoted, *Ap.* i. 183-205 ; contemporary of Hieronymus of Cardia, i. 213 ; contrasted with Hieronymus, i. 214 ; Alexander's honouring of the Jews noted by him, ii. 43
- Hecatombaeon (Hekatombaion Hyrkanios), Athenian month called Abba by the Hebrews, A. iv. 84 ; (Hekatombaion Hyrkanios) month in which Antiochus Epiphanes writes to district-governor Apollonius, xii. 264
- Heimarmene. See Destiny
- Hekatombaion Hyrkanios. See Hecatombaeon
- Helam. See Chalamas
- Helama. See Chalamas
- Helcias (1) the Elder (var. Chelcias), surname of Alexas, marries Cypros, the daughter of Antipater and Cypros, A. xviii. 138 ; appeals to Petronius, xviii. 273 ; conspires with Herod to slay Silas, xix. 353 ; father of Julius Archelaus, xix. 355, xx. 140
- Helcias (2), keeper of the Jewish treasury, sent as ambassador to Nero, A. xx. 194 ; kept as hostage by Poppaea, xx. 195
- Helena, queen of Adiabene and a convert to Judaism, her monuments, B. v. 55, 119, 147 ; her palace, v. 253, vi. 355 ; birth of her son Izates, A. xx. 17-18, 20 ; urges that Izates be named king to succeed Monobazus, xx. 26, 30, 32 ; her conversion to Judaism, xx. 35 ; her visit to Jerusalem and her gifts for relief of the famine there, xx. 49, 51 ; her death, xx. 94 ; aids Jews in time of famine, xx. 101
- Heliopolis, nome (district) in Egypt, Onias obtains land from Ptolemy there to build town, B. i. 33 ; vii. 426 ; Joseph marries the daughter of Pentephres, a priest there, A. ii. 91 ; land given there to Jacob's family in Egypt, ii. 188 ; Onias builds temple there, xii. 388, xiii. 65, 70, 285 ; xiv. 40 ; founding of temple there, xx. 236 ; Osariph, one of the priests there, *Ap.* i. 238 ; Osariph (Moses) born there, i. 250 ; Moses, priest of, chosen as leader by lepers, i. 261 ; Osariph (Moses), a native thereof, i. 265 ; Moses, priest thereof, according to Manetho, i. 279 ; Moses, native thereof, according to Apion, ii. 10
- Helix, leader of revolt, attacks Phasaël at Jerusalem and is defeated, B. i. 236-237 ; marches against Phasaël, A. xiv. 294 ; shut up in a tower by Phasaël, xiv. 295
- Hellanicus, Greek historian, discrepancies between him and Acusilaus on genealogies, his mendacity exposed by Ephorus, *Ap.* i. 16 ; one of Josephus' sources in *Antiquities*, A. i. 108
- Hellas. See Greeks
- Hellenic. See Greeks
- Hellespont, strait connecting Aegean Sea with Sea of Marmara, crossed by Vespasian, B. iii. 8 ; crossed by Alexander the Great, A. xi. 305, 313 ; ruled by Lysimachus after Alexander, xii. 2
- Helon (Bibl. Elon), father of Adah, A. i. 265
- Heman. See Haimanos
- Hemaon (Bibl. Mahol), father of Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, A. viii. 43
- hemian, Aramaic word denoting the tunic of Jewish priests (see *abanêth*), A. iii. 156
- Henadad. See Aminadabos

GENERAL INDEX

- Heniochi, tribe of the Colchians, *B.* ii. 366
- Hephaestus, smith-god, his cult, *A.* x. 18; (*Ap.* ii. 242)
- Hephzibah. See Epsiba
- Hera, goddess, wife of Zeus, statue of, at Argos, *B.* i. 414; conspires against him (*Ap.* ii. 241)
- Heracleon, kills Antiochus Grypus, *A.* xiii. 365
- Heracleopolis, town in Egypt, *B.* iv. 660
- Heracles, Japhras and Aphas join him in campaign against Libya and Antaeus, *A.* i. 241; temples built to him by Hiram, viii. 146; Nebuchadnezzar compared with him by Megasthenes, x. 227; new shrine to him built by Hiram, king of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 118-119; Nebuchadnezzar compared with him by Megasthenes, i. 144
- Herennius Capito, procurator of Jamnia, sends soldiers to exact money owed by Agrippa I, *A.* xviii. 158; informs Tiberius of Agrippa's money difficulties, xviii. 163
- Hermaeus. See Harmais
- Hermas, father of Prytanis of Miletus, *A.* xiv. 245
- Hermippus, historian, author of work on Pythagoras, *Ap.* i. 163
- Hermogenes, Greek witness to the antiquity of the Jews, *Ap.* i. 216
- Herod (1) the Great, Jewish king, son of Antipater, overthrows Hasmonaeen dynasty, *B.* i. 19; mention of his death, i. 20; founds Sebaste, i. 64; town of Anthedon receives name of Agrippias from him, i. 87; reconstructs Strato's Tower, i. 156; i. 181; governor of Galilee, i. 203-215; sent as governor to Galilee by his father, i. 203; captures and put to death Ezekias, a brigand-chief, i. 204; his praises sung by the Syrians, i. 205; Hyrcanus, vexed at his successes, is instigated against him, i. 208-209; his trial and acquittal, i. 210-211; joins Sextus at Damascus, i. 212; advances upon Jerusalem to depose Hyrcanus but is mollified by his father and brother, i. 214-215; appeases Cassius by paying quota, i. 221; acts as mediator between Murcus and Malichus, i. 224; appointed prefect of Syria by Cassius and Murcus, i. 225; his revenge on Malichus, i. 227-235; Helix revolts against him, i. 236; defeats his adversaries, i. 238-240; marries Mariamme, i. 241; accused of usurping the government, i. 242; Hyrcanus' marriage connexion with him, i. 243; appointed tetrarch of Judaea by Antony, i. 244; attempts to discourage Jewish deputies from battle, i. 246; slays many citizens of Jerusalem, i. 252; defends palace of Jerusalem, i. 253; urges Phasaël to kill Pacorus, i. 255; conspirators await his capture at Jerusalem, i. 258; plot to entrap him, i. 261; his flight to Arabia, i. 263-267; removes most precious of his treasures to Idumaea, i. 268; Phasaël, in death, shows himself to be a true brother of his, i. 271; Phasaël, before dying, learns of his escape, i. 272; repulsed by Malchus, king of Arabia, i. 274-276; makes his way via Egypt, i. 277-279; declared king of the Jews by the Roman Senate, i. 282-285; Joseph, his brother, i. 286; returns to Palestine, i. 290-292; takes Joppa and relieves Masada, i. 293-294; before Jerusalem, i. 295-296; interviews officers of Silo's staff, i. 298; proceeds to Jericho, i. 301; his winter campaign in Idumaea and Galilee, i. 303-308; exterminates the cave-dwellers, i. 309-313; quells fresh rising in Galilee, i. 314-316; Ventidius dispatches

GENERAL INDEX

troops to support him, i. 317; Machaeras' equivocal attitude towards him, i. 318-319; assists Antony in the siege of Samosata, i. 320-322; his cause suffers grave reverse in Judaea, i. 323; his supporters are drowned in Galilee, i. 326; Sossius sends two legions into Judaea to assist him, i. 327; dreams of his brother's death, i. 328; his miraculous escape to Jericho, i. 331-334; defeats Pappus, general of Antigonos, i. 335-339; miraculously escapes death at the bath-house, i. 340-341; besieges Jerusalem, i. 342-344; his marriage with Mariamme, i. 344; joined by Sossius before Jerusalem, i. 345-346; captures Jerusalem, i. 349-353; checks profanation of the temple and pillage of the city, i. 354-357; discriminates between the two classes of the population of Jerusalem, i. 358; Cleopatra plots against him, i. 360; appeases Cleopatra, i. 362; Antony entrusts the war against the Arabs to him, i. 364-365; victorious at Diospolis, i. 366; defeated at Canatha, i. 367-368; avenges himself by constantly raiding Arab territory, i. 369; addresses his troops to rouse them to resistance, i. 372; his address to his troops, i. 373-379; defeats the Arabs at Philadelphia, i. 380-385; chosen as Protector of the Arab nation, i. 385; anxious about the security of his position, i. 386; presents himself before Octavius at Rhodes, i. 387; makes his peace with Octavius, i. 388-390; is confirmed king by Octavius, i. 391-392; Octavius rejects his petition in favour of Alexas, i. 393; his services to Octavius in his Egyptian campaign, i. 394-395; Octavius adds Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Auranitis to his realm, i. 398; Octavius

gives him position of procurator of all Syria, i. 399; stands next after M. Vipsanius Agrippa in Augustus' affection, i. 400; his reconstruction of the temple, i. 401; his palace and other buildings in honour of Augustus, i. 402-407; builds Caesarea, i. 408-414; further buildings of, i. 415-421; his bounties to foreign cities, i. 422-425; his endowment of the Olympic Games, i. 426-428; his physical prowess, i. 429-430; his domestic discords, i. 431 ff.; banishes his son Antipater, i. 433; executes Hyrcanus, i. 433-434; his children by Mariamme, i. 435; his passion for Mariamme, i. 436; murders his brother-in-law Jonathan, i. 437; murders his wife Mariamme, i. 438-444; Alexander's and Aristobulus' hostility to him, i. 445-447; recalls Antipater, i. 448; Augustus a more sagacious judge than he, i. 452; brought to a reconciliation with his sons by Augustus, i. 454; visits Archelaus of Cappadocia, i. 455-456; addresses the people of Jerusalem, i. 457-466; Antipater fosters his anger against Alexander and Aristobulus, i. 467-475; his sister and wives taunted by Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, i. 477; Salome denounces Alexander and Aristobulus to him, i. 478-480; admonishes his sons, i. 481-482; Pheroras in disfavour with him, i. 483-484; Pheroras, suspected of plotting against him, is pardoned by him, i. 485-487; his eunuchs bribed by Alexander, i. 488-491; has Alexander arrested, i. 492-497; Alexander's written statement passes into his hands, i. 499; Archelaus gains his confidence and shifts blame to Pheroras, i. 502-506; Archelaus seeks to appease him by pleading for Pheroras, i. 507-

GENERAL INDEX

508; gives presents to Archelaus, i. 511-512; flattered and befriended by Eurycles, i. 513-515; Eurycles denounces Alexander to him, i. 516-531; is very receptive to slander, i. 533; Salome denounces his sons to him, i. 534-535; imprisons his sons and reports the case to Augustus, i. 535-536; Augustus gives him a free hand in trial of his sons, i. 537; holds trial at Berytus, i. 538-539; his sons condemned to death, i. 542; drags his sons to Tyre, i. 543; puts Tiro and Trypho under the torture, i. 548-549; has his sons executed, i. 550-551; his domestic settlements, i. 553-555; his care for his grandchildren, i. 556-558; his wives and children, i. 562-563; forces Salome to marry Alexas, i. 566; Salome reports proceedings of trouble-making women to him, i. 569-570; indignant at Pheroras' wife, i. 571-573; intrigues of Syllaes the Arab against him, i. 575-577; banishes Pheroras and his wife, i. 578-579; tends the dying Pheroras, i. 580; reported to have poisoned Pheroras, i. 581; discovers that Pheroras has been poisoned, i. 582-583; subjects women to torture, i. 584-589; dismisses Doris, Antipater's mother, from court, i. 590-591; discovery of Antipater's and Pheroras' plot to poison him, i. 592-619; his trial of Antipater, i. 620-640; stricken by serious illness, i. 645; modifies his will, i. 646; his illness grows worse, i. 647; represses sedition, i. 648-655; his last illness, i. 656-660; attempts suicide, i. 662; orders Antipater executed, i. 663-664; his last will in favour of Archelaus, i. 664; his death, i. 665; his will is read by Ptolemy, i. 667-669; his funeral, i. 670-673; punishes

those who defaced the gate of the temple, ii. 5; his favourites are punished, ii. 7; Sabinus on his way to Judaea to take charge of his estate, ii. 16; his confidence in Ptolemy, ii. 21; the number of his children, ii. 25; Antipater assumes kingship after his death, ii. 27; his brother Phasael, ii. 46; revolt of his veterans in Idumaea, ii. 55; his subjugation of Ezechias, the brigand-chief, ii. 56; Aretas' hatred for him, ii. 68; Arabs infuriated even against his friends, ii. 69; Arabs' hatred toward him, ii. 76; Augustus punishes his relatives, ii. 78; Augustus distributes his estate, ii. 83; speeches of Jewish deputies against him, ii. 84-92; Augustus divides his kingdom among his three sons, ii. 94; further division of Herod's estate by Augustus, ii. 99-100; his execution of Alexander, ii. 101; Alexander arraigned by him, ii. 106; his son Alexander, ii. 114; his execution of Aristobulus, ii. 178; Augustus gives districts of Trachonitis and Auranitis to him, ii. 215; Aristobulus and Alexander put to death by him, ii. 222; founder of Caesarea, ii. 266; his armoury, ii. 434; his cavalry, iii. 36; his monuments, v. 108, 507; his three towers, v. 161; tower of Antonia built by him, v. 238; his palace, v. 246; captures Jerusalem with Sossius, v. 398, vi. 436; his buildings, vii. 172-177; a huge plant grows within the palace during his time, vii. 179; builds fortress upon rock of Masada, vii. 285-303; takes money out of David's tomb, vii. 394; founder of Sebaste (Samaria), A. xiii. 275; changes name of Anthon to Agrippias, xiii. 357; xiv. 9; refounds Straton's Tower, xiv. 76; xiv. 121;

GENERAL INDEX

made governor of Galilee, xiv. 158-167; stands trial before the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, xiv. 168-176; permitted by Hyrcanus to escape, xiv. 177-180; dissuaded from attacking Hyrcanus, xiv. 181-184; his friendship with Cassius, xiv. 274; has custody of arms, xiv. 278; made governor of Coele-Syria, xiv. 280; resolves to avenge father's death, xiv. 282-283; puts an end to quarrels among people at Samaria, xiv. 284; enters Jerusalem in defiance of Hyrcanus and Malichus, xiv. 286-287; avenges his father's death, xiv. 288-293; his illness, xiv. 295-296; defeats Antigonus, xiv. 298-299; his relation to Hyrcanus, xiv. 300; wins favour of Antony, xiv. 302-303, 324-329; Antigonus secures help from Parthians in opposing him, xiv. 331; engages Antigonus in Jerusalem, xiv. 335-341; engages the Parthians in Jerusalem, xiv. 342-347; informed of Phasaël's danger, xiv. 348-351; escapes with his family to Idumaea, xiv. 352-364; Phasaël learns of his escape, xiv. 369; Malchus declines to aid him, xiv. 370-373; reaches Alexandria, xiv. 374-376; receives help from his friends at Rome, xiv. 377-380; receives promise of aid from Antony and Octavius, xiv. 381-385; made king by Antony, xiv. 386-389; Malchus regrets wrongs he has done to him, xiv. 390; wins over large numbers of Jews, xiv. 394-398; besieges Antigonus in Jerusalem, xiv. 400-412; his conquests in Galilee, xiv. 413-419; destroys Galilaean cave-dwellers, xiv. 420-430; his further victories in Galilee, xiv. 431-433; Ventidius sends Machaeras to his assistance, xiv. 434-438; rescues troops sent to aid Antony, xiv. 439-

444; welcomed by Antony at Samosata, xiv. 445-447; Galilaean rebels against his partisans, xiv. 450; hastens to Jericho to avenge Joseph's death, xiv. 451-455; defeats Antigonus' force at Jericho, xiv. 456-461; his miraculous escape from assassination, xiv. 462-464; marries Mariamme in Samaria, xiv. 465-467; besieges Jerusalem with Sossius, xiv. 468-475; Jerusalem falls to him, xiv. 476-481; restrains violence of his Roman allies, xiv. 482-486; persuades Antony to kill Antigonus, xiv. 489-491; captures Jerusalem, xv. 1; spares Pollion and Samaias, xv. 2-4; plunders Judaea, xv. 5; hated by the Jews, xv. 8-10; his favour sought by Hyrcanus, xv. 11-17; invites Hyrcanus to return to Judaea, xv. 18-20; receives Hyrcanus with honour, xv. 21; xv. 28-29; temporarily reconciled with Alexandra, xv. 31-38; appoints Aristobulus high priest, xv. 39-42; learns of Alexandra's plan to escape, xv. 47; murders Aristobulus, xv. 53-56; provides fine funeral for Aristobulus, xv. 60-61; questioned by Antony about Aristobulus' death, xv. 62-65; his secret instructions concerning Mariamme, xv. 68-70; his death rumoured, xv. 71; writes of his success with Antony, xv. 74-78; his jealousy of Mariamme, xv. 80-87; the concealed enmity between him and Cleopatra, xv. 96-103; pays tribute to Cleopatra, xv. 106-107; attacks Arabs and is defeated, xv. 108-120; battle of Actium takes place in the seventh year of his reign, xv. 121; exhorts the masses after earthquake, xv. 127-146; defeats the Arabs, xv. 147-160; effect of the battle of Actium on him, xv. 161-163; kills Hyrcanus, xv. 164-178;

GENERAL INDEX

his memoirs, xv. 174; unjustly punishes Hyrcanus, xv. 181-182; hastens to meet Octavian, xv. 183; admits to Octavian that he has been an ally of Antony, xv. 187-193; honoured by Octavian, xv. 194-198; welcomes Octavian in Judaea, xv. 199-201; Mariamme doubts his love for her, xv. 202-208; learns of Mariamme's dislike for him, xv. 209-214; meets Octavian in Egypt, xv. 215-217; his increasing distrust of Mariamme, xv. 218-231; puts Mariamme to death, xv. 232-236; his remorse and illness, xv. 240-246; executes Alexandra, xv. 247-252; pardons Costobarus though he had offered his services to Cleopatra, xv. 254-258; his enmity toward the Sons of Baba, xv. 260-266; offends the Jews by introducing pagan games, xv. 267-276; removes pagan ornaments to pacify Jews, xv. 277-279; conspiracy to assassinate him, xv. 280-283; puts conspirators to death, xv. 284-291; builds fortresses throughout the country, xv. 292-298; drought and plague afflict his people, xv. 299-304; relieves distress of the starving people, xv. 305-316; builds palace in Jerusalem, xv. 318; marries daughter of the priest Simon, xv. 319-322; builds fortress (Herodion), xv. 323-325; his gifts to pagan cities, xv. 326-330; rebuilds Strato's Tower in Caesarea, xv. 331-341; sends his sons to Rome, xv. 342-343; receives additional territory from Augustus, xv. 344-348; his newly acquired territory invaded by Arabs, xv. 349-353; acquitted by Augustus of charges of cruelty against Gadarenes, xv. 354-359; receives Zenodorus' territory from Augustus, xv. 360-364; builds temple to

Augustus, xv. 364; takes steps to prevent his subjects from revolting, xv. 365-372; predictions of Manaëmus about him, xv. 373-379; rebuilds the temple in Jerusalem, xv. 380-425; his strict laws about theft, xvi. 1-5; goes to Italy to see his sons, xvi. 6; his suspicion aroused about his sons, xvi. 10; provides his sons with wives, xvi. 11; entertains Marcus Agrippa, xvi. 12-15; meets Agrippa in Asia Minor, xvi. 162-6; secures Agrippa's aid for Jews, xvi. 60-61; dissension in his household, xvi. 66-72; distrusts his sons, xvi. 73-77; Antipater acquires influence with him, xvi. 78-86; aroused against Mariamme's sons by Antipater, xvi. 87-90; consults Augustus about his sons, xvi. 90-99; Mariamme's sons disturbed at his accusations, xvi. 100-103; Alexander's reply to him, xvi. 104-120; reconciled with his sons by Augustus, xvi. 121-126; exchanges gifts with Augustus, xvi. 128; given right to choose his successor by Augustus, xvi. 129; visits Archelaus, xvi. 130-132; names his successors, xvi. 133-135; celebrates completion of work in Caesarea, xvi. 136-141; his other buildings in Palestine, xvi. 142-145; his benefactions to the Greek cities, xvi. 146-149; his love of fame, xvi. 150-159; opens David's tomb, xvi. 179-187; partiality of the historian Nicolas of Damascus to him, xvi. 184; Antipater's hold over him, xvi. 188-193; quarrels with Pheroras, xvi. 194-200; incited against his sons by Salome, xvi. 203-205; Pheroras incites Alexander against him, xvi. 206-212; distrusts Salome and Pheroras, xvi. 213-219; Syllaëus asks him for the hand of Salome in marriage, xvi. 221-225; marries

GENERAL INDEX

his daughter to the son of Pheroras, xvi. 228; his eunuchs accuse Alexander of plotting against him, xvi. 229-234; sets spies on the suspects at court, xvi. 235-240; turns on his friends, xvi. 241-243; Antipater plays on his fears, xvi. 244-253; exasperated by Alexander's pride, xvi. 254-260; Archelaus tries to reconcile him with Alexander, xvi. 261-270; makes war on the Arabs, xvi. 271-281; his victory over the Arabs, xvi. 282-285; Syllaenus complains to Augustus about his plundering, xvi. 286-292; Augustus resents his treatment of Arabs, xvi. 293-299; his household affairs worsen, xvi. 300; visited by Eurycles, who incites him against Alexander, xvi. 301-309; his extreme hatred of his sons, xvi. 311-312; tortures his two bodyguards, xvi. 314-316; his suspicions about his sons are confirmed, xvi. 317-319; imprisons Alexander and Aristobulus, xvi. 320-324; Alexander denies having plotted with Archelaus against him, xvi. 325-327; Glaphyra and Archelaus accused of plotting against him, xvi. 328-334; cleared by Nicolas of the charges brought by Arabs, xvi. 335-350; Augustus becomes reconciled with him, xvi. 352; his letters delivered to Augustus, xvi. 354-355; advised by Augustus to convene a council concerning his sons, xvi. 356-360; accuses his sons before a council of Roman officials, xvi. 361-366; Roman officials differ about punishment of his sons, xvi. 367-372; popular indignation at his treatment of his sons, xvi. 373-378; the old soldier Tiro rebukes him, xvi. 379-386; Tiro accused of plotting to kill him, xvi. 387-391; has Alexander and Aristobulus killed

by strangling, xvi. 392-394; reflexions upon his domestic tragedy, xvi. 395-404; Antipater's plotting against him, xvii. 3-8; his marital arrangements, xvii. 9-11; his grandchildren, xvii. 12-15; betrothals of his grandchildren changed against his wishes, xvii. 18; his nine wives and their respective children, xvii. 19-22; settles Babylonian Jews in Batanaea, xvii. 23-29; loses control of affairs to Antipater, xvii. 32; Pheroras and Antipater in league against him, xvii. 36-40; punishes Pharisees who predicted his downfall, xvii. 41-45; his accusations against Pheroras' wife, xvii. 46-51; designates Antipater as his successor, xvii. 52-53; Syllaenus' plots against him, xvii. 55-57; dismisses Pheroras to his tetrarchy, xvii. 58-59; discovers Antipater's intrigues, xvii. 61-77; divorces Mariamme, xvii. 78; Antipater denounces Archelaus and Philip to him, xvii. 80; receives Antipater coldly, xvii. 83-92; accuses Antipater of fratricide and attempted parricide, xvii. 93-99; hears Antipater's defence, xvii. 100-105; hears Antipater accused by Nicolas and others, xvii. 106-126; places Antipater under arrest, xvii. 132-133; Acme's letter to him, xvii. 139-141; reports Antipater's crimes to Rome, xvii. 142-145; his illness and new will, xvii. 146-148; erects golden eagle over temple gate, xvii. 151; removes Matthias from high priesthood, xvii. 164; burns Matthias, son of Margalothus, xvii. 167; his illness grows worse, xvii. 168-170; his search for a cure, xvii. 171-172; his plan to ensure mourning at his death, xvii. 174-181; receives letter from Augustus concerning Antipater and Acme,

GENERAL INDEX

xvii. 182-183; attempts suicide, xvii. 183-184; has Antipater executed, xvii. 187; his last will, xvii. 188-190; his death, xvii. 190-191; appoints Archelaus king, xvii. 194; his funeral, xvii. 196-199; freedom sought after his death for those whom he had imprisoned, xvii. 204; puts Matthias to death, xvii. 206; his people demand that Archelaus punish those whom he had honoured, xvii. 207; anger of the people against him after his death, xvii. 211; Salome, his sister, xvii. 220; Sabinus, procurator of Syria, takes charge of his property, xvii. 221; disposal of his kingdom, xvii. 224-227; disposal of his property, xvii. 228; revelry goes on during night of his death, xvii. 233; disposal of his kingdom, xvii. 233; his will, xvii. 244-247; disposal of his kingdom, xvii. 248-249; his brother Phasael, xvii. 257; his army, xvii. 266; his soldiers, xvii. 270; his capture of Ezekias the brigand, xvii. 271; Simon, his slave, xvii. 273; disorders after his death, xvii. 281; hated by Aretas of Petra, xvii. 287; Arabs' hatred for him, xvii. 290; Joseph, his cousin, xvii. 294; Augustus punishes his relatives, xvii. 298; his misrule recalled by Jewish envoys to Augustus, xvii. 304-312; defended by Nicolas, xvii. 315; his kingdom divided among his sons by Augustus, xvii. 317-320; his legacy to Salome, xvii. 321; legacy to his other relatives, xvii. 322-323; the false Alexander claims kinship to him, xvii. 324-332; Alexander his son, xvii. 349; Salome his sister, xviii. 31; names Antonia after Antony, xviii. 92; Archelaus his successor, xviii. 93; his descendants, xviii. 127-142; his death, xviii. 143; his kingdom restored to

Agrippa I, xix. 274; married to Simon (Cantheras') daughter, xix. 297; contrasted with Agrippa I, xix. 328; people of Caesarea and Samaria forget his generosity, xix. 359; founder of Caesarea, xx. 173; captures Antigonius, xx. 246; his policy of appointing undistinguished high priests, xx. 247-251

Herod (2), son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra (of Jerusalem), *B. i.* 562; *A.* xvii. 21

Herod (3), son of Herod the Great and Mariamme (II), is to marry Herodias, *B. i.* 557; *i.* 562; named Antipater's successor to the throne, *i.* 573, nominated as heir to the throne, *i.* 588; struck out of his father's will, *i.* 600; his father designates a daughter of Aristobulus to marry him, *A.* xvii. 14; xvii. 19; designated successor to throne in event of Antipater's death, xvii. 53; struck out of his father's will, xvii. 78; step-brother of Herod the tetrarch, xviii. 109; brother of Herod the son of Herod the Great, tetrarch in Galilee, xviii. 136

Herod (4), Agrippa I. See Agrippa (2) I

Herod (5), king of Chalcis, son of Aristobulus and Berenice and brother of Agrippa I, *B. i.* 552; Claudius makes him king of Chalcis, *ii.* 217; his death, *ii.* 221-223; Aristobulus, his son, *ii.* 252; brother of Agrippa, *A.* xviii. 133; marries Mariamme, daughter of Olympias, xviii. 134; brother of Agrippa, xviii. 137; brother of Agrippa, marries Berenice, xix. 277; urges Claudius to issue edict on behalf of Jews in Alexandria, xix. 279, 288; brother of Agrippa, entertained by Agrippa at Tiberias, xix. 338-341; ruler of Chalcis, xix. 353; ruler of Chalcis, married to Berenice, daughter of Agrippa,

GENERAL INDEX

- xix. 354; Claudius' high regard for him, xx. 13; obtains further concessions from Claudius, obtains right to select high priests, xx. 15-16; king of Chalcis, appoints Ananias high priest, xx. 103; his death, xx. 104, 145; Aristobulus, his son, xx. 158
- Herod (6), Agrippa II. See Agrippa (3) II
- Herod (7), Antipas (Herod the Tetrarch), son of Herod the Great. See Antipas (3), Herod
- Herod (8), son of Phasael and Salampsio, *A.* xviii. 131; brother of Antipater, xviii. 138
- Herod (9), son of Aristobulus and Salome, *A.* xviii. 137
- Herod (10) ("the most venerable," unidentified), Josephus sells him copy of his *Jewish War*, vouches for Josephus' accuracy, *Ap.* i. 51
- Herod (11), son of Miarus, leader of pro-Roman Jewish faction at Tiberias in 66, *V.* 33
- Herod (12), son of Gamalus, leader of pro-Roman Jewish faction at Tiberias in 66, *V.* 33
- Herod (13), of Tiberias (perhaps identical with one of the two foregoing), aids Josephus to escape from Tiberias to Tarichaeae, *V.* 96
- Herodeion. See Herodion (2)
- Herodia. See Herodion (2)
- Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus and Berenice, *B.* i. 552; instigates her husband, Herod the Tetrarch, to aspire to throne, ii. 182; Herod the Tetrarch marries her, *A.* xviii. 110-111, 136; sister of Agrippa, wife of Herod the Tetrarch, dissuades Agrippa from suicide, xviii. 148; urges Herod the Tetrarch to seek his fortune in Rome, xviii. 240; Herod the Tetrarch sets sail for Rome with her, xviii. 246; banished by Galus, xviii. 253-255
- Herodion (1) (Herodium), fortress on Arabian frontier erected by Herod and named after himself, name of two fortresses built by Herod, *B.* i. 419
- Herodion (2) (Herodium), Herodeion, Herodia), fortress built by Herod sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, *B.* i. 265, 419; Herod's burial there, i. 673; one of the eleven districts of Judaea, iii. 55; its garrison, iv. 518; held by brigands, iv. 555; taken over by Lucilius Bassus, vii. 163; *A.* xiv. 360; (xv. 323-325); Herod entertains Agrippa there, xvi. 13; Herod buried there, xvii. 199
- Herodium. See Herodion (1) and (2)
- Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Greek historian, mentions that there were 330 kings of Egypt after Menes, *A.* viii. 157; in error concerning King Shishak, viii. 253; mentions expedition of King Shishak, viii. 260; says that Ethiopians learned the practice of circumcision from Egyptians, viii. 262; his account of Sennacherib's invasion of Egypt, x. 18-20; his mendacity exposed by everyone, *Ap.* i. 16; does not mention Rome, i. 66; accused by Manetho of being misled through ignorance on many points of Egyptian history, i. 73; his mention of circumcision by Palestinian Syrians quoted by Josephus, i. 168-171; says that Egyptians have taught others to adopt circumcision, ii. 142
- Heroopolis, place in Egypt where Joseph meets Jacob, *A.* ii. 184
- Heshbon (Esebonitis, Essebonitis, Heshbonitis), city on the east bank of the Jordan River, sacked by Jews, *B.* ii. 458; iii. 47; (Essebonitis) *A.* xii. 233; (Essebon) xii. 397; (Essebonitis) rebuilt by Herod, xv. 294
- Heshbonitis. See Heshbon
- Hesiod, Greek poet, reports that the ancients lived for a thousand years, *A.* i. 108; corrected by Acusilaus, *Ap.* i. 16

GENERAL INDEX

Hesitaeus, author of a Phoenician history, *A. i.* 107; quoted, *i.* 119

Heth. See Chettaeus

Hezekiah (Grk. Ezekias), king of Judah, son of Ahaz, *A. ix.* 257, 260; his religious reforms, *ix.* 272-274; his war with the Philistines, *ix.* 275-276; *ix.* 278; pays tribute to Sennacherib, *x.* 1-4; threatened by Sennacherib, *x.* 5-15; defies Sennacherib, *x.* 16; his illness and miraculous cure, *x.* 24-29; receives gifts from king of Babylon, *x.* 30-34; his death, *x.* 36

Hezron (1). See Eson (2)

Hezron (2). See Essaron

Hiddekel. See Tigris

Hieronymus (1), author of history of Alexander's successors, his malicious silence concerning the Jews, *Ap. i.* 213-214

Hieronymus (2), the Egyptian, author of Phoenician history, *A. i.* 94, 107

Hierosolyma. See Jerusalem

Hierosolymites. See Jerusalem

Hierosyla. See Jerusalem

Hierusalem. See Jerusalem

high priest(s), as keepers of records, *Ap. i.* 29; records containing their names, *Ap. i.* 36; alone admitted to sanctuary of the temple, *ii.* 104; direct other priests, *ii.* 185, 193-194; enumeration of, *A. xx.* 224-251

Hilkiah. See Elikias (2)

Hillel. See Elon (3)

hin, Hebrew measure, *A. iii.* 234; *viii.* 92

Hippicus, tower on city wall of Jerusalem, built by Herod the Great, *B. ii.* 439; *v.* 134, 144, 147, 161; description of, *v.* 163-165; *v.* 284, 304; preserved by Titus, *vii.* 1

Hippodrome at Tarichaeae, *V.* 132, 138

Hippos (Hippus), Greek town of Decapolis, freed by Pompey, *B. i.* 156; annexed to Herod's kingdom, *i.* 396; annexed to

Syria, *ii.* 97; destroyed by Jews, *ii.* 459; rising against the Jews there, *ii.* 478; *iii.* 37; its rebels, *iii.* 542; Pompey restores its inhabitants, *A. xiv.* 75; added to Herod's realm, *xv.* 217; detached from Archelaus' kingdom and added to Syria, *xvii.* 320; set on fire by Justus of Tiberias and his followers, *V.* 42; town beyond frontier of Agrippa II's territory, reached as refuge by Agrippa's noble vassals, 153; in Galilee, thirty furlongs from Tiberias, 349

Hippus. See Hippos

Hiram (1). See Hirom

Hiram (2). See Cheiromos

Hirom (1) (Eiromos; Bibl. Hiram), king of Tyre, (Eiromos) writes to David proposing friendship, *A. vii.* 66; (Eiromos) sends greetings to Solomon, *viii.* 50-52; (Eiromos) helps Solomon build the temple, *viii.* 53-60; (Eiromos) *viii.* 62; (Eiromos) sends craftsmen to build temple, *viii.* 76; (Eiromos) receives gifts from Solomon, *viii.* 141-143; (Eiromos) mentioned by Menander the historian, *viii.* 144; (Eiromos) his achievements as related by Dios, *viii.* 147; (Eiromos) receives riddles from and sends them to Solomon, *viii.* 148-149; (Eiromos) helps Solomon build the fleet, *viii.* 163; his friendship with King Solomon inherited from his father, *Ap. i.* 109-111; son of Abibalus, fails to solve Solomon's riddles, *i.* 113-115; evidence of Menander of Ephesus concerning his achievements, *i.* 117-120; his death, succession of his son Balbazer, *i.* 121; temple in Jerusalem built in twelfth year of his reign, *i.* 126; lived more than 150 years before foundation of Carthage, contributed toward construction of Solomon's temple, *ii.* 18-19

Hirom (2), king of Tyre, brother

GENERAL INDEX

- of Merbal, *Ap. i.* 158; Nebuchadnezzar begins siege of Tyre and Cyrus comes to power in his reign, *i.* 159
- historian, functions of, *V.* 336-339
- historians, Greek, contradictions among, *Ap. i.* 15; their failure to mention Jews, *i.* 213
- Histories (History)* of Nicolas of Damascus, *A. i.* 159; *xii.* 127
- history of Jews, post-Biblical, unworthy of equal credit with earlier records, *Ap. i.* 41
- History* of Polybius, corroborates Josephus, *A. xii.* 136
- History of Chaldaea* by Berosus, *A. x.* 219; *Ap. i.* 142
- History of India* (1), by Megasthenes, *A. x.* 227-228; compares Nebuchadnezzar with Heracles, *Ap. i.* 144
- History of India* (2), by Philostratos, *A. x.* 228
- History of Persia* by Diocles, *A. x.* 228
- History of Phoenicia* by Philostratos, *A. x.* 228; mentions siege of Tyre, *Ap. i.* 144
- Hittite, Abimelech the, *A. vi.* 311; Sibbechai the, *vii.* 301
- Hiv(v)ite. See Euaeus
- Hobah. See Oba
- Holy City. See Jerusalem
- Holy of Holies, inaccessible shrine in the temple in Jerusalem, *B. i.* 26; *v.* 219; *A. iii.* 125
- Homer, Greek poet, calls Jerusalem Hierosolyma, *A. vii.* 67 (var.); his date, his poems transmitted by memory, his inconsistencies, *Ap. i.* 12; his birthplace in dispute, *ii.* 14; nowhere employs the word "law," *ii.* 155; excluded from republic by Plato, *ii.* 256
- homicide, Dracon's laws on, *Ap. i.* 21
- Homonoia, place on frontier near Tarichaeae and Tiberias, Roman cavalry allegedly seen there, *V.* 281
- homosexuality, abhorrence of Jewish law for, *Ap. ii.* 199; rampant in Elis and Thebes, *ii.* 273; attributed to gods by Greeks, *ii.* 275
- Hophni. See Hophnies
- Hophnies (Bibl. Hophni), son of Eli, *A. v.* 338
- Horatian tribe, Roman tribe, *A. xiv.* 229, 238
- Horeslah. See Rhesa
- Hortensius, Quintus, Roman consul, *A. xiv.* 4
- Hoshea. See Oseos
- Hosaias, father of Jewish hero Simon, *B. vi.* 148
- "House of Hyssop." See Beth-zuba
- "House of pulse," name of village near Jerusalem, *B. v.* 507
- Hul. See Urus
- Huldah. See Oolda
- "hundred fighters," soldiers of Ptolemy Lathyrus, *A. xiii.* 339
- Huppim. See Oppais
- Hur (1). See Ur (2)
- Hur (2). See Ures (1)
- Hushal. See Chusis
- Hushim. See Ousis
- Hycsos, shepherds, allegedly ancestors of Jews, their invasion of Egypt, their expulsion, their foundation of Jerusalem, *Ap. i.* 75-92; meaning of their name: "king-shepherds" or "captive-shepherds," *i.* 82-83; ancestors of Jews, more ancient than Danaus, *i.* 103; their departure from Egypt to Jerusalem, *i.* 230-231, 237 ff.; embassy to them sent by Osariph, *i.* 241; compared with Solymites, *i.* 248, 251, 260, 266
- hymns, singers of (choristers), in the temple in Jerusalem, *B. ii.* 321; Levites, obtain permission to wear linen like priests, *A. xx.* 216-218
- Hyperberetaeus, Macedonian month corresponding to the Hebrew Tishri, *B. ii.* 528; *iv.* 63, 83; *A. iii.* 239; *viii.* 100, 324; *xii.* 143
- Hyperochides, interlocutor with Aristotle in Clearchus' book *On Sleep*, *Ap. i.* 177-178
- Hypsicrates, Greek historian,

GENERAL INDEX

- contemporary of Strabo, *A.* xiv. 139
- Hyrcania, Jewish fortress, adjacent to Arabian mountains, fortified by Alexander son of Aristobulus, *B.* i. 161; surrendered by Alexander to Gabinius, i. 167; captured by Herod, i. 364; Antipater buried there, i. 664; *A.* xiii. 417; surrendered by Alexander, xiv. 89; xv. 366; Herod entertains Agrippa there, xvi. 13; burial place of Antipater, xvii. 187
- Hyrcanians, people living south of the Caspian Sea, *B.* vii. 245
- Hyrcanium. See Hyrcania
- Hyrcanus (1), son of Joseph the Tobiad, *A.* xii. 186; his remarkable character as a youth, xii. 189-195; sets out for Alexandria to celebrate the birth of son to Ptolemy Epiphanes, xii. 197-202; punishes his father's steward, xii. 203-207; mocked by his rivals, xii. 208-212; wins the favour of Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra, xii. 213-220; his struggle with his brothers, xii. 221-222; death of his father, xii. 224; withdraws to his fortress in Transjordan, xii. 228-234; commits suicide, xii. 236
- Hyrcanus (2) I, John, high priest, son of Simon Psellus, also called John, *B.* i. 54; opposes his brother-in-law Ptolemy, i. 55-60; his war with Antiochus, i. 61; his victories, i. 62-66; his prosperous reign, his gift of prophecy, i. 67-69; his successor, i. 70-71; his tomb, v. 259, 304, 356; vi. 169; takes money from David's tomb, *A.* vii. 393; protected in Jerusalem from Ptolemy, xiii. 228-229; succeeds his father Simon, xiii. 230-235; besieged by Antiochus, xiii. 236-244; comes to terms with Antiochus Sidetes, xiii. 245-248; assists Antiochus Sidetes in his Parthian campaign, xiii. 249-253; destroys the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim and Judaizes Idumaea, xiii. 254-258; renews the treaty with Rome, xiii. 259-266; his friendship with Alexander Zabinas, xiii. 269; makes himself independent of the Seleucids, xiii. 272-274; besieges Samaria, xiii. 275-279; destroys Samaria, xiii. 280-283; asked by Pharisees to give up high priesthood, xiii. 288-292; forsakes the Pharisees for the Sadducees, xiii. 293-298; his providential gifts, xiii. 299-300; xiii. 302, 322; mentioned in the decree of Pergamum, xiv. 247-255; makes Idumaeans adopt customs of the Jews, xv. 254; opens David's tomb, xvi. 179, 181; stores priestly vestments in Antonia, xviii. 91; succeeds Simon as high priest, xx. 240; *V.* 3-4
- Hyrcanus (3), high priest, son of Alexander Jannaeus, appointed high priest, *B.* i. 109; complains about his brother Aristobulus, i. 118; abdicates in favour of Aristobulus, i. 120-122; his alliance with Antipater, i. 123-130; takes refuge with Pompey, i. 131; Pompey yields to his entreaties, i. 133; his partisans, i. 142; Piso assisted by his friends, i. 144; reinstated as high priest, i. 153; relieves Scaurus, i. 159; troubled by Alexander, i. 160; reinstated by Gabinius, i. 169; puts his services at disposal of Gabinius, i. 175; confirmed as high priest by Julius Caesar, i. 194; accused by Antigonus, i. 195; Caesar pronounces him more deserving of high priesthood than Antipater, i. 199; i. 201-203, 207; instigated against Herod, i. 208-214; Antipater preserves kingdom for him, i. 226; i. 229; Malichus has dreams of deposing him, i. 232; invited by

GENERAL INDEX

Herod to supper, i. 233-235; Phasaël accuses him of ingratitude, i. 237; related to Herod by marriage, i. 240-241; i. 242; supports Messala, i. 243; pronounces Herod best qualified ruler, i. 244; grants medical attention for wounded and burial for dead, i. 246; deposed by Lysanias, i. 249; receives troops of Pacorus in Jerusalem, i. 251; induced to leave Jerusalem on embassy to satrap, i. 255; captured by Parthians, i. 256-260; i. 262; Parthians refrain from his funds, i. 268; brought in chains before Antigonius, i. 269-270; carried off as prisoner to Parthia, i. 273; put to death by Herod, i. 433; i. 437; Alexander would avenge his spirit, i. 521; his madness provokes Pompey, v. 396; incompetent to govern, A. xiii. 407; appointed high priest by mother Alexandra, xiii. 408; asks advice of queen, xiii. 428; gives kingship to his brother Aristobulus, xiv. 4-7; Antipater's friendship for him, xiv. 8; incited by Antipater against Aristobulus, xiv. 12-18; gains support, xiv. 19-20; seeks aid of Pompey, xiv. 30-31; defeated by Aristobulus, xiv. 33; Pompey hears charges of Jews against him, xiv. 37-41; accuses and is accused by Aristobulus, xiv. 42-45; xiv. 51; assists Pompey in siege of the temple, xiv. 60; regains high priesthood, xiv. 73; with Aristobulus responsible for national misfortune, xiv. 77; aids Scaurus, xiv. 80; no longer can hold out before Alexander, xiv. 82; brought to the temple, xiv. 90; assists Gabinius in Egypt, xiv. 99; assists Julius Caesar in Egypt, xiv. 127; urges Jews in Egypt to support Julius Caesar, xiv. 131; rewarded by Caesar for aiding his army

in Egypt, xiv. 137-139; honoured by Caesar despite Antigonius' protests, xiv. 140-144, 148; honoured by Athenians, xiv. 149-155; xiv. 157-158, 162; hears charges against Herod, xiv. 163-167; permits Herod to escape condemnation of Sanhedrin, xiv. 170-179; Herod is dissuaded from attacking him, xiv. 180-184; requests Caesar to confirm treaty of friendship, xiv. 185-192; Caesar confers high priesthood and ethnarchy on him, xiv. 194-200; privileges conferred upon him by Caesar, xiv. 203-212; his envoys to Rome, xiv. 217, 222; requests privileges from Dolabella, xiv. 223-228; obtains privileges for Jews, xiv. 241; receives benefits from Senate for Jews as token of friendship, xiv. 247-255; decrees passed by Senate relating to him and Jews, xiv. 265; appeases Cassius with money, xiv. 276; xiv. 277, 281; tries to keep Herod out of Jerusalem, xiv. 285; acquiesces in murder of Malichus, xiv. 293; reproached by Phasaël, xiv. 295; welcomes Herod in Jerusalem, xiv. 299; his family connexion with Herod, xiv. 300; wins favour of Antony, xiv. 302-305; letter of Antony to him granting privileges to Jews of Tyre, xiv. 306; xiv. 314, 317, 324; praises Herod to Antony, xiv. 325; supports Herod, xiv. 328; opposed by Antigonius with help of Parthians, xiv. 331; envoy to Parthians, xiv. 342; xiv. 346; put in chains by Parthians, xiv. 348; xiv. 351, 353; his property escapes plundering of Parthians, xiv. 363; mutilated by Antigonius, xiv. 365-366; prisoner of Parthians, xiv. 379; xiv. 387; warned by Pollion that Herod would persecute him and his judges, xv. 4; released from

GENERAL INDEX

- captivity by Parthians, xv. 11-13; hopes to find favour with Herod, xv. 14-17; invited by Herod to return to Judaea, xv. 18-21; his daughter appeals to Cleopatra, xv. 23; removed from high priesthood, xv. 41; Herod plans to be rid of him, xv. 164; Herod discovers his plan to take refuge with Arab king, xv. 165-172; put to death by Herod, xv. 173; account of his execution, xv. 174-178; his character, xv. 179-182; his line destroyed by Herod, xv. 266; xvi. 162-163; father of Mariamme, xviii. 130; succeeds Alexander Jannaeus as high priest, xx. 242; high priesthood restored to him by Pompey, xx. 244; captured by Pacorus and Barzabanes, xx. 245; taken captive by Parthians, xx. 248
- Hyrcaus (4), son of Herod the king of Chalcis, *B. ii.* 221; *A. xx.* 104
- Hyrcaus (5), eldest son of Josephus, *V. 5*; Josephus' sole surviving son by wife whom he married in Alexandria, 426
- Hyrcanios. See Hecatombaeon
- Hystaspes, father of King Darius of Persia, *B. i.* 476; *A. xi.* 31; xv. 386
- IADAPHAS (Bibl. Jidlaph), son of Nahor, *A. i.* 153
- Iadelphas (Bibl. Pildash), son of Nahor, *A. i.* 153
- Iale (Bibl. Jael), kills Sisera, *A. v.* 207-208
- Ialos (Bibl. Jehiel), in charge of treasury of the temple, descendant of Moses, *A. vii.* 379
- Iapygian promontory, in south-eastern Italy, *B. vii.* 22
- Iar, Hebrew month in which building of the temple began, *A. viii.* 61
- Iardan (var. Iordan), village in Judaea, *B. iii.* 51
- Iaus (Bibl. Jeush), son of Esau, *A. ii.* 4
- Iberia (Iberians) (1), Spanish peninsula, *B. ii.* 374; later name of Theobelians, founded by Theobel the son of Japheth, *A. i.* 124; subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, according to Megasthenes, x. 227; subdued by Romans, xii. 414; xix. 17; (Iberians) ignorance of even the most exact historians concerning them, thought by Ephorus to be a single city, *Ap. i.* 67-68; subdued by Nebuchadnezzar according to Megasthenes, i. 144; (Iberians) given citizenship by Romans, ii. 40
- Iberians (2), people inhabiting area in Caucasus, *A. xiii.* 421; urged by Emperor Tiberius to make war on Artabanus, xviii. 97
- Ibron (var. Chebron; Bibl. Gibeon), town in Judaea, *A. x.* 173
- Ibzan. See Apsanes
- Ichabod. See Jochabes
- Ida, freedwoman of Decius Mundus, *A. xviii.* 69; crucified by Tiberius for her role in deceiving Paulina, xviii. 79
- Iddo. See Jadon
- Ides of February, *A. xiii.* 260; xiv. 222; xvi. 172
- Ides of April, *A. xiv.* 219
- Ides of December, *A. xiv.* 145
- Idum. See Idum(as)
- Idumaea, district in southern Palestine, John Hyrcanus captures numerous cities there, *B. i.* 63; Herod flees there, i. 263; i. 266-267; Herod removes the most precious of his treasures thither, i. 268; Herod's campaign there, i. 302-303; defection there, i. 326; Jews flock in from there, ii. 43; revolt of Herod's veterans there, ii. 55; Varus quells insurrection there, ii. 76; part of the ethnarchy of Archelaus, ii. 96; generals chosen for it, ii. 566; raids of Simon there, ii. 653-654; iii. 20, 55; iv. 447, 511; Simon

GENERAL INDEX

- invades it, iv. 515; its chieftains, iv. 516; Simon marches into it, iv. 529; Simon devastates it, iv. 534-537; its upper region, iv. 552; harassed by Simon, iv. 556; ruled by Esau, *A. ii.* 1; how it got its name, *ii.* 3; *ii.* 6; Moses comes to its frontier, iv. 76; part of it allotted to tribe of Judah, v. 81; part of it allotted to tribe of Simeon, v. 82; David sends Abishai with a force into it, vii. 109; subdued by Joab, viii. 200; entered by Hadad, viii. 203; ix. 31, 37; invaded by Jehoram, ix. 97; xii. 308, 367; xiii. 207, 395-396; xiv. 10; Herod escapes to it, xiv. 353; Herod flees to it, xiv. 361-362; xiv. 364; joins with Herod's side in fight with Antigonus, xiv. 411; occupied by Herod's brother Joseph and his troops, xiv. 413; ruled by Costobarus, xv. 254, 256; given to Archelaus by Augustus xvii. 319; Agrippa withdraws into a tower there, xviii. 147; harassed by Thomaëus the brigand, xx. 5; its location in latitude of Gaza, *Ap. ii.* 116
- Idumæan(s), Antipater one of them by race, *B. i.* 123; their aid invoked by the Zealots, iv. 228-232; iv. 236; addressed by Jesus the chief priest next to Ananus, iv. 238-269; their chief Simon replies to Jesus, iv. 270-282; encamp before the walls of Jerusalem, iv. 283-287; concern of the Zealots for them, iv. 288-299; Zealots open the city gates to them, iv. 300-304; slaughter guards of Ananus, iv. 305-313; murder Ananus and Jesus, iv. 314-317; torture and kill the nobility, iv. 326-333; a Zealot denounces the crimes of his party to them, iv. 345-353; iv. 517, 520, 522, 526; mutiny among them in John's army, iv. 566-572; v. 248-249; their chieftain John dies, v. 290; v. 358; vi. 92, 148; their overtures to Titus frustrated by Simon, vi. 378-381; vii. 267; Moses sends envoys to them, *A. iv.* 76; vi. 129; defeated by Abishai, vii. 109; Solomon marries their women, viii. 191; Hadad's descent from them, viii. 200; on boundary with Judah, viii. 348; compelled to aid Jehoshaphat, ix. 30; their revolt against Jehoram, ix. 97; xi. 61; defeated by Judas Maccabæus, xii. 328, 353; their cities captured by Hyrcanus, xiii. 257; Antipater one of them, xiv. 8; Antipater held in great esteem by them, xiv. 121; Herod called one of them, xiv. 403; Costobarus one of them, xv. 253; customs of Jews forced upon them, xv. 255; governed by Costobarus, xv. 257; settled in Trachonitis by Herod, xvi. 285; overcome by the Trachonites, xvi. 292; join revolt of Jews against Romans, xvii. 254; their war with Jews, *Ap. ii.* 112
- Idum(as) (Bibl. Dumah), son of Ishmael, *A. i.* 220
- Ies (Bibl. Ehi), son of Benjamin, *A. ii.* 180
- Ietheglæus (Bibl. Jethro), surname of Reuel, *A. ii.* 264
- Iglisaros. See Neriglisar
- Ijon. See Aion
- Ilium, Herod reconciles Agrippa with its inhabitants, *A. xvi.* 26
- illuminations at Jewish festivals, *Ap. ii.* 118, 282
- Illyrians, neighbours of the Thracians, kept in check by two legions, *B. ii.* 369
- images, excluded from tabernacle by Moses and from the temple by Solomon, *Ap. ii.* 12; making of them forbidden by Moses, *ii.* 75; those of God forbidden, *ii.* 191; see also animals, statues
- imitation of Jewish customs by Gentiles, *Ap. i.* 166; *ii.* 281 ff.
- Imlah. See Jemblaïos

GENERAL INDEX

- Imnah. See Jomnes
- Imperator(s), Caesar's title, *A.* xiv. 190, 192, 196, 199, 202, 211; (Imperators) pass resolutions concerning Jews, xiv. 265
- Indates, Parthian general, *A.* xiii. 251
- India (Indians), *B.* ii. 385; (Indians) their example of self-immolation, *B.* vii. 351-357; *A.* i. 38; inhabited by descendants of Shem, i. 147; Ophir belongs to it, viii. 164; Megasthenes' history of it, x. 227; Philostratos' history of it, x. 228; xi. 33, 186, 216, 272; Megasthenes' history of it, *Ap.* i. 144; Jews descended from its philosophers, according to Aristotle, i. 179
- Indian Ocean, boundary of land inhabited by Shem's sons, *A.* i. 143
- inheritance, Jewish law of, *A.* iv. 174-175
- inspiration of Jewish prophets, *Ap.* i. 37
- interest, prohibited by Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 208
- inventiveness, alleged lack of it by Jews, *Ap.* ii. 135, 148, 182
- Iob. See Job(os)
- Iolam(os) (Bibl. Jalam), son of Esau, *A.* ii. 4
- Ionia, *B.* i. 425; Vespasian passes over from it into Greece, vii. 22; its people descended from Javan, *A.* i. 124; subjugated by Alexander the Great, xi. 305; xvi. 15; its Jews appeal to Agrippa, xvi. 27; its Jews given citizenship by Alexander's successors, *Ap.* ii. 39
- Ionian Sea, *B.* i. 183; *A.* xiv. 123; xv. 350
- Ionians, agitate against Jews, *A.* xii. 125-126
- Jordan. See Iardan
- Ios, high priest, son of Joramos, *A.* x. 152
- Ira (Bibl. Jerah), son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
- Irak. See Jarad
- Irenaeus, advocate of Antipas, his eloquence relied on by Antipas, *B.* ii. 21; encourages Antipas to seek throne, *A.* xvii. 226
- Irene (Ithaca), favourite concubine of Ptolemy Physcon, urges him not to injure Jews, *Ap.* ii. 55
- Irenes (Bibl. Eri), son of Gad, *A.* ii. 182
- Iron mountain, stretches into Moab, *B.* iv. 454
- Isaac, son of Abraham, *A.* i. 191; his birth, i. 213-215; is about to be sacrificed, i. 222-236; marries Rebecca, i. 242, 255-257; buries his father, i. 256; begets twins, i. 257; makes a pact with Abimelech, i. 259-264; disapproves of Esau's Canaanite wives, i. 265-266; his old age, i. 267-277; consents to Jacob's marriage, i. 278; i. 289, 295; his death, i. 345-346; ii. 1, 213, 229; iii. 87; vii. 333; God cherishes his memory, xi. 169
- Isaiah (Grk. Esaias), Hebrew prophet, foretells building of temple in Egypt, *B.* vii. 432; *A.* ix. 276; foretells defeat of Assyrians, x. 12, 16; foretells Hezekiah's recovery from illness, x. 27-28; foretells Babylonian exile, x. 32; foretells Cyrus' ending of Jewish captivity, xi. 5-6; Onias encouraged by his prophecy that a temple is to be built in Egypt by a Jew, xiii. 64; prophesies temple in Egypt, xiii. 68, 71
- Isakos. See Isokos
- Isamach (Bibl. Ahisamach), father of Oholiab, *A.* iii. 105
- Isana (1) (Bibl. Jeshanah), Jeroboam's city, north of Jerusalem, plundered by Abijah, *A.* viii. 284; xiv. 458
- Isana (2). See Cana (2)
- Isebos (Bibl. Jashobeam), son of Achemaïos, one of David's warriors, *A.* vii. 308
- Ishbak. See Lousoubak(os)
- Ishbi-benob. See Akmon

GENERAL INDEX

Ish-bosheth. See Jebosthos
 Ishmael (1), son of Abraham, *A.* i. 190-192; is thirteen when circumcised, i. 193, 214; sent away by Sarah, i. 215-219; his sons, i. 220; buries his father, i. 256; Esau marries his daughter, i. 277; Abraham bequeaths land of Arabia to him, ii. 213
 Ishmael (2). See Ismaelos
 Ishmael (3), high priest, son of Phiabi, *A.* iii. 320; appointed high priest by Valerius Gratus, xviii. 34; made high priest, xx. 179; delegate to Nero, xx. 194, 196
 Ishmael (4), high priest (possibly Ishmael son of Phiabi), beheaded in Cyrene, *B.* vi. 114
 Ishmaelites, descendants of Ishmael (1), *A.* ii. 32
 Ish-tob. See Istobos
 Ishvah. See Isousi(os)
 Ishvi (1). See Elioubes
 Ishvi (2). See Jesus (2)
 Isis, Egyptian goddess, temple of, *B.* vii. 123; her priests trick Paulina into having intimate relations with Decius Mundus, *A.* xviii. 65, 70, 79-80; appears to King Amenophis of Egypt in his sleep, *Ap.* i. 289, 294, 298
 Ismaelos (Bibl. Ishmael), wicked and crafty Jew of the royal family, *A.* x. 160; slays Gedaliah, x. 164, 166-171; his captives released, x. 173-175
 Isokos (Asochaeus, Isakos, Susakos; Bibl. Shishak), king of Egypt, captures Jerusalem, *B.* vi. 436; carries wealth from Jerusalem, *A.* vii. 105; Jeroboam flees to him, viii. 210; invades Palestine, viii. 253-254; sacks Jerusalem, viii. 255, 258, 263
 Isousi(os) (Bibl. Ishvah), son of Asher, *A.* ii. 183
 Israel (1), Jacob so named by angel, *A.* i. 333
 Israel (2), name for Jews generally, *A.* iii. 189; iv. 50; blessed by Moses before his death, iv. 180;

v. 316; punishment promised if they sin, viii. 127
 Israel (3), kingdom established by Jeroboam, *A.* viii. 224; ruled by Baasha, viii. 298; viii. 306; divided into factions after Zimri's death, viii. 311; viii. 314, 316; ix. 20-21, 218, 243; with Syria attacks Judah, ix. 244; attacked by Judah, ix. 246; releases captives from Judah, ix. 250; ix. 258; makes alliance with Egypt, ix. 277; defeated and exiled by Assyrians, ix. 278, 280
 Israelite(s), name for Hebrews generally, oppression of them, *A.* ii. 202-206; Egyptians condemn to destruction all of their offspring, ii. 215; attacked by Og, iv. 96; eager for battle, iv. 100; iv. 102, 104, 106, 124, 126, 236; forbidden to use poison, iv. 279; v. 22, 36, 50, 64, 72; defeat Zebekenians (Bezekenians), v. 121-122; relax in struggle against Canaanites, v. 132; become corrupt with riches and relax in fight against Canaanites, v. 134; declare war against Benjamin, v. 150, 155, 158, 160-161, 163-164; v. 168, 174, 176; contaminated by vices of Canaanites, v. 179; saved by Kenaz, v. 182; attacked by Moabites, v. 185; saved from Moabites, v. 187; defeat Moabites, v. 195-196; defeated by Canaanites, v. 198-199; defeat Sisera's army, v. 206; v. 209; attacked by Midianites, v. 210-212; promised victory over Midianites, v. 214; v. 220-221, 227-228; terrorized by Abimelech, v. 251; v. 254, 261; conquered by Philistines, v. 275; v. 318, 350; defeated by Philistines, v. 352; no longer invaded by Philistines, vi. 29; at peace with remnant of Canaanites, vi. 30; informed of the plight of the Gileadites, vi. 73; under Saul fight the Amalekites, vi. 134; challenged by Goliath, vi. 170; vi. 325;

GENERAL INDEX

- defeated by Philistines at Gilboa, vi. 368; vii. 2; unable to drive Canaanites out of Jerusalem, vii. 68; vii. 76, 103, 120, 262, 288; no longer attacked by Philistines, vii. 304; vii. 309; Joab takes a census of them, vii. 319-320; dating of the temple from their exodus, viii. 61; viii. 76; their land overrun by Hadad, viii. 204; proclaim Rehoboam king, viii. 212; righteous of them leave to go to Jerusalem, viii. 248; xi. 3, 8, 19, 70, 86; celebrate completion of the temple, xi. 107; xi. 124; remain in Babylon, xi. 133; their gift to Jews of Jerusalem, xi. 136; swear to send away foreign wives and children, xi. 146; send away foreign wives, xi. 151; xi. 231, 312
- Israelite(s) (2), inhabitants of kingdom of Israel, enjoy peace under Asa, A. viii. 286 (Josephus here slips and refers to events in Judah); acknowledge God after Elijah's sacrifice, viii. 343; their king Ahab, viii. 365; under Ahab defeat Syrians, viii. 376; attacked again by Ben-hadad, viii. 379; Ben-hadad surrenders to them, viii. 385, 387-388; viii. 389; their defeat by Ben-hadad prophesied, viii. 404; Ben-hadad orders their king to be killed, viii. 413; ix. 1; ruled by Ahaziah, ix. 17-18; ix. 31; their king brings Elisha with him, ix. 45-46; attacked by Ben-hadad, ix. 60; ix. 77; their suffering at hands of Hazael foretold by Elisha, ix. 91; ix. 94; forced by Ahab to transgress, ix. 99; Jehoram their king, ix. 105; their priests of Baal slain, ix. 136; permitted by Jehu to worship golden heifers, ix. 139; ruled by sons of Jehu for four generations, ix. 139; attacked by Syria, ix. 159; ruled by Jehoahaz, ix. 160, 173; suffer at hands of Syria, ix. 175; ruled by Joash, ix. 177; retrieve territory from Syria, ix. 184; their soldiers hired for army of Amaziah, ix. 188-190, 192; Joash their king, ix. 196; ruled by Jeroboam son of Joash, ix. 205; ruled by Zachariah son of Jeroboam, ix. 228; defeated and exiled by Tiglath-Pileser, ix. 235; defeat Judah, ix. 247; defeat Judah under Ahaz, ix. 252; their country overrun by Assyrians, ix. 254; invited to Jerusalem by Hezekiah, ix. 264-265; ix. 278; their land settled by people from Cuthah, ix. 280; violate laws, ix. 281; their priests convert the Cuthaeans, ix. 289; defeated by Sennacherib, x. 7; their deeds imitated by Manasseh, x. 37, 39; reformed by Josiah, x. 68; x. 164-165; exiled by Assyria, x. 184; their captivity, x. 185
- Issachar (1), son of Jacob, meaning of his name, A. i. 308; his sons, ii. 178
- Issachar (2), tribe of, its territory, A. v. 84; pays homage to David, vii. 57; many of its members converted to piety in days of King Hezekiah, ix. 267
- isshah*. See *essa* (2)
- Issus, town in Cilicia, A. xi. 314
- Ister, river (modern Danube) forming northern boundary of Roman Empire, B. ii. 363, 369; iii. 107; vii. 90
- Istobos (Bibl. Ish-tob), petty Syrian kingdom, A. vii. 121
- Itabyrion. See Tabor, Mt.
- Italy (Italian), B. i. 29, 217, 242, 279, 290, 573; ii. 358, 379; iv. 441, 545, 587, 591, 598, 632, 634; v. 43, 367; vii. 20, 63-64, 117-118; A. xiv. 301, 376, 378; Herod departs from it, xiv. 387, 394; visited by Herod, xvi. 6-7; xvi. 12; xviii. 40, 44, 155; Agrippa sails there, xviii. 160; beautified by Gaius Caligula with

GENERAL INDEX

- spoils from Greece, *xix.* 8;
xix. 291; *xx.* 132; *Vil.* 16
- Ithaca (Irene), favourite concubine of Ptolemy Physcon, urges him not to injure Jews, *Ap.* ii. 55
- Ithamar, son of Aaron, *A.* iii. 192; *v.* 361; high priest, *vii.* 365; his family deprived of high priesthood, *viii.* 11; *viii.* 12
- Ithobal (1). See Ithobalos (2)
- Ithobal (2), priest of Astarte, seizes throne of Tyre by slaying Phelles, *Ap.* i. 123
- Ithobalos (1) (Bibl. Ethbaal), king of Tyre and Sidon, father of Jezebel, *A.* viii. 317, 324; *ix.* 138
- Ithobalos (2) (Ithobal), king of Tyre while Tyre is besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, *A.* x. 228; *Ap.* i. 156
- Ithra. See Jethras
- Ithream. See Jethroas
- Ittal. See Ethis
- Ituraean(s), people in Lebanon region, converted to Judaism by Aristobulus, *A.* xiii. 318-319; Soemus, one of them, *xv.* 185
- Itykaians. See Utica
- Iudanis. See Gaulanis
- Iulus (Bibl. Joel), son of Samuel, *A.* vi. 32
- Ixion, mythological figure, punished in Hades, *B.* ii. 156
- Izas. See Izates
- Izates (Izas), king of Adiabene and a convert to Judaism, *B.* iv. 567; *v.* 147; *vi.* 356; his birth, *A.* xx. 17-21; receives district of Carron, *xx.* 24-27; named to succeed Monobazus, *xx.* 28-33; his conversion to Judaism, *xx.* 34-48; helps his mother on her journey to Jerusalem, *xx.* 50; sends money to Jerusalem to relieve famine, *xx.* 53; his help sought by Artabanus, *xx.* 54-58; restores Artabanus to his throne, *xx.* 60-68; refuses to aid Vardanes against Romans, *xx.* 69-72; his brother Monobazus, *xx.* 75; defeats Abias, king of the Arabs, *xx.* 77-80; attacked by Volageses, *xx.* 81-88; his deliverance from the Parthians, *xx.* 89-91; his death, *xx.* 92, 94
- JABACCHOS (Jobak; Bibl. Jab-bok), river of Transjordan, *A.* i. 331; *iv.* 95, 97
- Jabal. See Jobel (2)
- Jabate. See Jatabate
- Jabbok. See Jabacchos
- Jabesa. See Jabis
- Jabesenians, inhabitants of Jabis (town in Gilead), bury Saul, *A.* vi. 377
- Jabesh (1). See Jabesos
- Jabesh (2). See Jabis
- Jabesh-Gilead. See Jabis
- Jabesos (1). See Jabis
- Jabesos (2) (Bibl. Jabesh), father of Shallum, *A.* ix. 228
- Jabin (var. Avitus, Joabin), king of the Canaanites, Israelites fall under his yoke, *A.* v. 198; slain by Barak, *v.* 209
- Jabis (Jabesh; Bibl. Jabesh-Gilead), town in Gilead, *A.* v. 164; 400 virgins thereof married to Benjamites, *v.* 168; *vi.* 71, 74, 76, 80, 375-376; *vii.* 8
- Jabneel. See Jamneia
- Jabneh. See Jamneia
- Jachein (Bibl. Jachin), name of one of the columns in the temple, *A.* viii. 78
- Jachin. See Jachein
- Jachin(os), son of Simeon, *A.* ii. 178
- Jacimus (1). See Alcimus
- Jacimus (2), son of Zamaris and father of Philip the lieutenant of King Agrippa II, *B.* ii. 421, 556; *iv.* 81; valiant organizer of Babylonian horsemen, *A.* xvii. 29-30; *V.* 46, 179
- Jacob, son of Isaac and Rebecca, *A.* i. 258; receives Isaac's blessing, *i.* 269-275; leaves home to seek a wife, *i.* 276-278; his vision of God, *i.* 280-284; meets Rachel, *i.* 287-292; tells Laban his life story, *i.* 295; asks for Rachel

GENERAL INDEX

- in marriage, i. 298-299; works seven years for Rachel, i. 300; marries Leah, i. 301-302; marries Rachel, i. 302; takes Bilhah as concubine, i. 305; begets Issachar and Zebulun, i. 308; flees from Laban, i. 309-313; overtaken by Laban, i. 314-324; sends emissaries to Esau, i. 325-330; wrestles with angel, i. 331-334; reconciled with Esau, i. 335-336; comes to Shechem, i. 337; receives proposal for Dinah from Shechem, the son of Hamor, i. 338-339; purifies company after slaying of Shechemites, i. 341-342; his children, i. 344; i. 345; buys birthright from Esau, ii. 3; his prosperity, ii. 7-8; ii. 9; interprets Joseph's dream, ii. 14-17; ii. 32; mourns for Joseph, ii. 37-38; sends sons to Egypt to buy grain, ii. 95; ii. 102, 105; his sons return to Canaan, ii. 111; refuses to send Benjamin to Egypt, ii. 112; decides to send Benjamin to Egypt, ii. 114, 118; ii. 126; learns that Joseph lives, ii. 168; sees God in a dream on his way down to Egypt, ii. 172-175; his seventy descendants enter Egypt, ii. 176-183; overcome with joy at seeing Joseph, ii. 184; his coming announced to Pharaoh, ii. 185; greeted by Pharaoh, ii. 187-188; his death, ii. 194-197; ii. 214, 229, 318; iii. 87, 166, 169, 288; v. 178; vi. 89; vii. 372; God cherishes his memory, xi. 169
- Jadaos. See Jadon
- Jaddua. See Jaddus
- Jaddus (var. Joaddus; Bibl. Jaddua), high priest, son of Johanan, A. xi. 302, 306, 322, 347; xiii. 256
- Jadon (perhaps to be identified with Bibl. Iddo), Hebrew prophet, warns Jeroboam, A. viii. 231; declines Jeroboam's invitation, viii. 235; disobeys God and is punished, viii. 240-241; causes King Jeroboam's hand to wither, viii. 408
- Jael. See Iale
- Jahaziel. See Jazielos
- Jahleel. See Janel(os)
- Jahzeel. See Eliel(os)
- Jair the Gileadite, leads Israelites, A. v. 254
- Jairus, father of Eleazar the despot of Masada, B. ii. 447
- Jakeimos. See Alcimus
- Jalam. See Iolam(os)
- Jamblichus, Syrian prince, B. i. 188; A. xiv. 129
- Jambri. See Amaraio
- James (1), son of Judas the Galilaean, crucified at order of Tiberius Alexander, A. xx. 102
- James (2), brother of Jesus (called the Christ), brought by Ananus before Sanhedrin and stoned, A. xx. 200
- James (3), bodyguard of Josephus, escapes with Josephus from Tiberias, V. 96; faithful soldier of Josephus' bodyguard, 240
- James (4), Idumaeen leader, son of Sosas, B. iv. 235; betrays his country to Simon, iv. 521-528; v. 249; vi. 92, 148, 380
- Jamin(os), son of Simeon, A. ii. 178
- Jamneia (Jamnia; Bibl. Jabneel or Jabneh), city in Philistine plain in Palestine, captured by Simon, B. i. 50; freed by Pompey, i. 156; rebuilt by Gabinius, i. 166; Salome declared its mistress, ii. 98; bequeathed to Julia by Salome, ii. 167; ii. 335-336; iii. 56; defeated by Vespasian, iv. 130, 444; on Titus' itinerary, iv. 663; city belonging to Dan, A. v. 87; captured by Uzziah, ix. 217; xii. 308; Gorgias defeats Jewish home guard there, xii. 350-351; xiii. 88; subdued by Simon, xiii. 215; xiii. 395; xiv. 75; bequeathed by Herod to Salome, xvii. 189, 321; bequeathed to Julia by Salome, xviii. 31; xviii. 158

GENERAL INDEX

Jamnia (1). See Jamneia
 Jamnia (2). See Jamnith
 Jamnith (Jamnia), village in Upper Galilee, *B. ii.* 573; (Jamnia) fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188
 Janel(os) (Bibl. Jahleel), son of Zebulun, *A. ii.* 179
 Jannaus (1). See Annaeus
 Jannaus (2), Alexander. See Alexander (4) Jannaus
 Jannas, fifth Hycsos king of Egypt, *Ap. i.* 80
 Japha (perhaps to be identified with Japhia), largest village in Galilee, fortified by Josephus, *B. ii.* 573; captured by Trajan and Titus, *iii.* 289-306; deputation from Jerusalem is there met by popular demonstrations in favour of Josephus, *V.* 230, 233; Josephus settles there, 270
 Japhet (Bibl. Japheth), son of Noah, *A. i.* 109; his children, *i.* 122; his son Javan, *i.* 127
 Japheth. See Japhet
 Japhia. See Japha
 Japhras, son of Abraham and Katura, gives name to city of Aphra, *A. i.* 241
 Jarad (Bibl. Irad), son of Enoch, *A. i.* 63
 Jarden, forest near Machaerus, *B. vii.* 210
 Jared, son of Mehalalel, *A. i.* 79, 84
 Jas (Bibl. Joash), father of Gideon, *A. v.* 213
 Jashobeam. See Isebos
 Jason (1). See Jesus (6)
 Jason (2), son of Eleazar, sent to Rome by Judas the high priest, *A. xii.* 415; signs treaty with Rome, *xii.* 419
 Jason (3), father of Antipater, *A. xiii.* 169
 Jason (4), father of Diodorus, *A. xiii.* 260
 Jason (5), father of Alexander the Jewish envoy to the Roman Senate, *A. xiv.* 146
 Jatabate (var. Jazabate, Jabate; Bibl. Jotbah), city in Judaea, *A. x.* 46

Javan (var. Jovan), son of Japheth, *A. i.* 124, 127
 Jawbone (Siagon; Bibl. Lehi), place in south-western Palestine where Samson performs his exploit with the jawbone, *A. v.* 300, 303; *vii.* 310
 Jazabate. See Jatabate
 Jazar(es) (Bibl. Jokshan), son of Abraham and Katura, *A. i.* 238
 Jazer. See Jazora
 Jazielos (Bibl. Jahaziel), Hebrew prophet, *A. ix.* 10
 Jazora (Bibl. Jazer), city east of the Jordan captured by Judas the Maccabee, *A. xii.* 329
 Jebare, son of David, *A. vii.* 70
 Jebosthos (Bibl. Ish-bosheth), king of the Israelites, son of Saul, rescued by Abner, *A. vii.* 9; *vii.* 18, 22; censures Abner, *vii.* 23; *vii.* 26-27, 29; is slain, *vii.* 46-49; David punishes his murderers, *vii.* 50-52; spared by David, *vii.* 296 (Josephus' slip for Mephibosheth)
 Jebuseus (Bibl. Jebusite), son of Canaan, *A. i.* 139
 Jebusite (1). See Jebuseus
 Jebusite(s) (2), Canaanite people, driven out of Jerusalem by David, *A. vii.* 61-62, 65, 67, 69; Araunah the, *vii.* 329-330
 Jecholiah. See Achia
 Jeconiah (Joachimos, Joachimos, Jechonias; Bibl. Jehoia-chin), king of Judah, son of Jehoia-kim, set forth as an example of desire to save his country, *B. vi.* 103; (Joachimos) *x.* 97-98; (Joachimos) exiled to Babylon, *x.* 99, 101-102; (Joachimos) *x.* 139; (Jechonias) released from captivity by Evil-merodach, *x.* 229-230
 Jechonias. See Jeconiah
 Jedidah. See Jedis
 Jedis (Bibl. Jedidah), mother of Josiah, *A. x.* 48
 Jehiel. See Ialos
 Jehoaddan. See Joade
 Jehoahaz (1). See Joazos
 Jehoahaz (2). See Joachazos

GENERAL INDEX

Jehoash (1). See Joas (1)
 Jehoash (2). See Joas (2)
 Jehohanan. See Joannes (2)
 Jehoiachin. See Jeconiah
 Jehoiada (1). See Jodamos
 Jehoiada (2). See Jodas (1)
 Jehoiada (3). See Joados
 Jehoiakim. See Joakeimos (1)
 Jehonadab. See Jonadab
 Jehoram. See Joram (1) and (2)
 Jehoshaphat (1). See Saphates (2)
 Jehoshaphat (2). See Josaphat (1) and (2)
 Jehosheba. See Osabethe
 Jehozabad. See Ochobatos
 Jehozadak. See Josadakos
 Jehu (1), son of Nimshi, appointed king of Israel, *A.* viii. 352; ix. 105; anointed by Elisha, ix. 106-109; proclaimed king by the army, ix. 110-113; his drive to Jezreel, ix. 114-115; slays Jehoram and wounds Ahaziah, ix. 116-121; slays Jezebel, ix. 122-124; orders the death of Ahab's sons, ix. 125-131; his meeting with Jehonadab, ix. 132-135; has the priests of Baal slain, ix. 136-139; attacked by Syria, ix. 159-160; succeeded by his son, ix. 173
 Jehu (2). See Jeus
 Jemblaïos (var. Omblaïos; *Bibl.* Imlah), father of Micalah, *A.* viii. 403
 Jemuel. See Jumel(os)
 Jenae, son of David, *A.* vii. 70
 Jephthah, judge of Israel, people of Gilead appeal to him, *A.* v. 257-260; sends embassy to Ammanite king, v. 261-262; his victory, v. 263; sacrifices his daughter, v. 264-266; his war with Ephraim, v. 267-269; his death, v. 270-271; vi. 90
 Jerah. See Ira
 Jerase (*Bibl.* Jerushah), mother of King Jotham, *A.* ix. 236
 Jeremiah (1), Hebrew prophet, Zedekiah attacks king of Babylon despite his warnings, *B.* v. 391-392; laments Josiah's death, *A.* x. 78; lives in

Jerusalem, x. 80; opposes alliance with Egypt and is imprisoned, x. 89-93; reads his prophecy of doom publicly, x. 94-95; warns Zedekiah, x. 104; prophesies capture of Zedekiah, x. 106; prophesies fall of Jerusalem, x. 112-113; imprisoned for alleged treason, x. 114-115; urges surrender, x. 117; denounced to Zedekiah as evil influence, x. 119; Zedekiah releases him from prison, x. 120-123; Zedekiah secretly consults him, x. 124-130; his prophecy to Zedekiah fulfilled, x. 141; refuses to leave Judaea, x. 156-158; Johanan forces him to accompany him to Egypt, x. 176-179; instrument of God's predictions, xi. 1
 Jeremiah (2), friend of Josephus, heads guard at frontier of Galilee, *V.* 241; commander under Josephus, battles Agrippa II's troops, 399
 Jericho, city in Judaea, *B.* i. 56, 120, 138, 170, 299-302, 323, 331, 335, 361, 407, 417-418, 437, 659, 666; ii. 3, 43, 57, 484, 567; iii. 55; iv. 431, 450; description of its neighbourhood, iv. 451-475; Vespasian establishes camps there, iv. 486; Titus orders tenth legion to go by way of it, v. 42, 69; Moses encamps opposite it, *A.* iv. 100; iv. 325; v. 2, 20; its fall, v. 27-32; v. 35, 49; nature of its region, v. 77; in territory of Benjamin, v. 82; v. 187; home of Ehud, v. 188; v. 194; ix. 251; x. 137; fortified by Bacchides, xiii. 15; xiii. 230; xiv. 4, 54, 91; captured by Herod, xiv. 408-411; site where Joseph, brother of Herod, is killed, xiv. 448; scene of Antigonus' defeat by Herod, xiv. 454, 458; scene of Aristobulus' murder by Herod, xv. 53; xv. 96; xvi. 143, 145, 320; xvii. 160, 173, 194, 202, 254; royal palace there burned

GENERAL INDEX

- by Simon, xvii. 274; royal palace rebuilt there by Archelaus, xvii. 340; xx. 248
- Jeroboam (1)**, son of Nebat, first king of the northern kingdom of Israel, his uprising against Solomon, A. viii. 205-210; summoned by common people, viii. 212; urges Rehoboam to lighten people's burden, viii. 213; declared king, viii. 221-222; his acts, viii. 224-229; a prophet rebukes him at Bethel, viii. 230-235; false prophet of Bethel held in honour by him, viii. 236-237; viii. 241; reassured by false prophet, viii. 243-245; righteous priests desert him, viii. 248; King Rehoboam his enemy, viii. 263; viii. 265; sends his wife to consult prophet Ahijah, viii. 266-269; Ahijah foretells his doom, viii. 270-272; prepares for war with King Abijah of Judah, viii. 274-275; Abijah's protest against his invasion, viii. 276-281; Abijah's victory over him, viii. 282-285; his death, viii. 287; his family destroyed by Baasha, viii. 288-289; viii. 298-300, 309; emulated by Ahab, viii. 316; viii. 393, 408; ix. 18, 109, 280, 282; his altars burned by Josiah, x. 66-67
- Jeroboam (2)**, King of Israel, son of Jehoash, succeeds Jehoash as king, A. ix. 185; his wickedness, ix. 205-207; his death and succession by his son Zachariah, ix. 215-216; ix. 228
- Jerusalem** (Hierosolyma, Hierosyla, Hierusaleme, Holy City) (Jerusalemites), general: birthplace of Josephus, B. i. 3; i. 8; captured by Antiochus Epiphanes, i. 19; Vespasian's advance upon it, i. 23; high priest Onias builds small town in Egyptian nome of Heliopolis modelled on it, i. 33; Antiochus proceeds there, i. 46; Simon overpowers the garrison there, i. 50; i. 61, 63; Alexander Jannaeus escapes to it, i. 90; i. 96; Aristobulus driven into it, i. 126, 137; Pompey advances on it, i. 138-140; besieged by Pompey, i. 141-154; Alexander, son of Aristobulus, advances to it, i. 160, 163; i. 169-170, 172; Gabinius proceeds to it, i. 178; Crassus strips the temple there, i. 179; Antipater rebuilds its ruined walls (i. 199); Phasaël appointed its governor, i. 203, 206; Herod advances upon it, i. 214; i. 224, 229; revolt of Helix there, i. 236; Herod returns there, i. 240; i. 245; attacked by Pacorus, i. 250; i. 258; plundered by Parthians, i. 268, 273; Ventidius encamps near it, i. 289; Herod marches against it, i. 292, 294, 339, 343, 345; besieged by Herod, i. 347-357; Herod's buildings there, i. 418-419; i. 432; Herod's address to its people, i. 457; i. 562; Herod has Pheroras' corpse conveyed there, i. 581; Sabinus takes the palace there, ii. 18; Varus quells insurrection there, ii. 40, 72, 79; subjected to Archelaus, ii. 97; Pilate introduces effigies of Tiberius into it, ii. 169, 171, 174; ii. 175; Gaius orders the erection of his statue in the temple there, ii. 185; Agrippa I surrounds it with a wall, ii. 218; sedition there, ii. 224; ii. 234, 237, 244, 246; rise of *sicarii* there, ii. 254; ii. 262, 274, 280; Florus pillages the temple there, ii. 293, 296; Agrippa's sister Bernice there, ii. 310, 313; ii. 333-334, 338, 378; Menahem directs siege of Herod's palace there, ii. 434; ii. 515-516, 527, 556, 562, 626, 630, 648; iii. 10, 52; supreme city of Judaea, iii. 54; Josephus writes to it for instructions, iii. 138, 140; news of the fall of Jotapata reaches it, iii. 432-442; iv. 61, 89, 104; John flees to it, iv. 106, 115; iv. 120, 127, 129; irruption of

GENERAL INDEX

the Zealots into it, iv. 135; iv. 146; Idumaeans march to it, iv. 235; Idumaeans depart from it, iv. 353; iv. 399, 401, 412, 451, 474; Vespasian prepares to march upon it, iv. 486, 490-491, 497; attacked by Simon, iv. 503, 513, 540; iv. 551, 554-555; at the mercy of Simon, iv. 556, 574; iv. 588; Vespasian sends Titus against it, iv. 658; v. 2, 40, 51, 70; description of it, v. 136-237; vi. 1; captured and destroyed by Titus, vi. 130-vii. 4; vi. 201, 301, 304, 306; in flames, vi. 407; concise history of it, vi. 435-442; captured by Titus, vi. 435; previously named Solyma, vi. 438; vi. 442; vii. 4; Titus gives custody of it to tenth legion, vii. 17; vii. 21, 26; sacked by Antiochus Epiphanes, vii. 44; vii. 75; visited by Titus, vii. 112; vii. 148, 210, 215, 217, 218, 423, 425, 427, 431; near Gibeon, A. v. 49; v. 56; (Jerusalemites) v. 58; nature of its region, v. 77; on boundary of territory allotted to tribe of Judah, v. 81; on boundary of territory of Benjamin, v. 82; Adoni-bezek put to death there, v. 124; lower town captured by Israelites, v. 124; in territory of Benjamin, v. 129; v. 139; captured by David from Jebusites, vii. 60-64; fortified by David, vii. 65-66; David names city after himself, vii. 67; previously named Solyma and Hierosolyma, vii. 67; vii. 68-69; David defeats Philistines there, vii. 71; ark brought there, vii. 78, 80; vii. 97, 104-105; Jonathan's son brought there by David, vii. 115-116; vii. 126; David spends winter there, vii. 129; vii. 162, 187; Absalom returns there, vii. 190; vii. 197, 199, 204, 206; Absalom and Ahitophel arrive

there, vii. 211; vii. 225, 243, 263, 272, 279, 283, 292, 311; its distance from Bethlehem, vii. 312; vii. 319; suffers pestilence for David's sin, vii. 327; chiefs of priests and Levites summoned there by David, vii. 363; David reigns there over entire nation, vii. 389; David buried there, vii. 392; Shimei ordered to stay there, viii. 17-18; its walls strengthened by Solomon, viii. 21; viii. 25, 41; trees from Mt. Lebanon brought there, viii. 54; people assemble to view the temple there, viii. 99-100; Solomon its king, viii. 146; viii. 148; its walls repaired by Solomon, viii. 150; Queen of Sheba arrives there, viii. 166; viii. 186; roads leading to it paved by Solomon, viii. 187; silver made plentiful there by Solomon, viii. 188; kingdom of Judah exists for its sake, viii. 198; viii. 205-206; Solomon buried there, viii. 211; stronghold of Rehoboam, viii. 221; people of Kingdom of Israel discouraged from going there, viii. 225, 227; viii. 230-231, 236, 241; refuge for priests and Levites from Kingdom of Israel, viii. 248; sacked by Shishak, viii. 255; Rehoboam buried there, viii. 264; Abijah buried there, viii. 285; viii. 290, 295, 303, 314, 393, 399, 411-412; ix. 1; judges appointed there by Jehoshaphat, ix. 4; 300 stades from En-gedi, ix. 7; ix. 8, 11, 16-17; Jehoram entertained there by Jehoshaphat, ix. 31; Jehoshaphat buried there, ix. 44; ix. 95; compelled by Jehoram to transgress, ix. 99; its people appoint Ahaziah king, ix. 104; ix. 112, 117; Ahaziah buried there, ix. 121; ix. 130; ruled by Athaliah, ix. 142; Joash declared king there, ix. 144; ix. 161; Jehoiada buried there, ix. 166;

GENERAL INDEX

menaced by Hazael, ix. 170-171; Joash buried there, ix. 172; ix. 177; Amaziah reigns there, ix. 186; ix. 194; pillaged by Jehoash, king of Israel, ix. 200-203; Amaziah buried there, ix. 203; Uzziah reigns there, ix. 216; its walls repaired by Uzziah, ix. 218; ix. 236; idols set up there by Ahaz, ix. 243; besieged by Israel and Syria, ix. 244; ix. 246; near Jericho, ix. 251; ix. 254; Hezekiah reigns there, ix. 260; Hezekiah summons people to it, ix. 263; Hezekiah celebrates Passover there, ix. 267; menaced by Sennacherib, x. 2, 4, 15; saved from Assyrians, x. 21, 23; x. 24; defiled by Manasseh, x. 38; purified by Manasseh, x. 42, 44; book of Moses' law read there in days of King Josiah, x. 62; scene of Josiah's reforms, x. 66; festival of Passover celebrated there by Josiah, x. 70; Josiah buried there, x. 77; x. 80; Jehoahaz reigns there, x. 81; many of its inhabitants killed by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 97; besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 99; Ezekiel writes down his prophecies and sends them there, x. 106; temporarily saved from Babylonian siege, x. 109-111; its fall and rebuilding prophesied by Jeremiah, x. 112, 114; besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 116, 131, 133, 135; destroyed by Babylonians, x. 144-145; x. 149, 154, 159-160, 181; Judah driven from it, x. 183; deserted for seventy years, x. 184; x. 229, 233, 237; its destruction prophesied by Daniel, x. 276; xi. 4, 7; return of Jewish exiles to it, xi. 8, 12, 14, 17-18; xi. 29, 31-32; Darius orders it to be rebuilt, xi. 58, 60; return to it of Babylonian captives, xi. 67, 72, 74; Festival of Tabernacles celebrated there by Zerubbabel, xi. 75; second

temple built there, xi. 79; xi. 89, 92-93; its restoration called a danger to government of Darius, xi. 98; temple ordered to be built there, xi. 99; temple vessels to be returned there, xi. 100; Jews dwell there, xi. 111; its people send embassy to Darius, xi. 116; Ezra decides to go there, xi. 122; gold and silver to be taken to it from Babylon, xi. 125; Ezra arrives there, xi. 135; Shechaniah heads people there, xi. 145; meeting called there, xi. 148; Ezra buried there, xi. 158; inquired after by Nehemiah, xi. 160; Jews carried off from there, xi. 161; Nehemiah summons people to it, xi. 168 (*bis*); its wall built, xi. 179; grows in population, xi. 182; its walls a monument to Nehemiah, xi. 183; a famous city, xi. 303; xi. 306, 312, 325, 329, 340, 342, 346-347; seized by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, xii. 4, 6-7; xii. 8, 10-11, 35; dedicatory offering sent there by Ptolemy, xii. 60, 85; xii. 87; captured by Antiochus the Great, xii. 133, 136; xii. 159-160, 171, 222, 229; gymnasium built there, xii. 241; captured by Antiochus Epiphanes, xii. 246-248; xii. 265, 272; ordered by Antiochus Epiphanes to be destroyed, xii. 296; purified by Judas the Maccabee, xii. 316-317; xii. 359; its citadel besieged by Judas the Maccabee, xii. 362; besieged by Antiochus Eupator, xii. 375, 377; xii. 388, 397, 403; threatened by Nicanor, xii. 405, 407-408; xii. 421; xiii. 14; fortified by Bacchides, xiii. 17; xiii. 38-39; headquarters of Jonathan, xiii. 41-42; declared sacred to Jews by Demetrius, xiii. 51, 54, 56; xiii. 63; its temple copied in Egypt at Leontopolis, xiii. 67, 72; its temple defended by

GENERAL INDEX

Alexandrian Jews, xiii. 74; xiii. 75; its temple defended by Alexandrian Jews, xiii. 77, 79; xiii. 91, 101, 105, 121, 128, 133, 142, 153, 163; fortified by Simon and Jonathan, xiii. 181; its people dismayed by Jonathan's capture, xiii. 194, 197; guarded by Simon, xiii. 202; xiii. 207-208; its citadel razed by Simon, xiii. 215; xiii. 256, 284; temple at Heliopolis modelled on its temple, xiii. 285; xiii. 364, 375, 380, 401, 403; xiv. 16; Aristobulus besieged there by Aretas, xiv. 19; xiv. 52, 54-55; captured by Pompey, xiv. 58-76; made tributary to Rome, xiv. 74; its misfortunes the fault of Jewish leaders, xiv. 77; xiv. 82, 85, 90-91, 93, 103; governed by Phasaël, xiv. 158, 161; xiv. 181, 199; fortified at Julius Caesar's decree, xiv. 200; freed from tax in Sabbatical year, xiv. 202; xiv. 278; entered by Herod, xiv. 285; xiv. 294; honours Herod, xiv. 299; xiv. 334; battle between Herod and Antigonus there, xiv. 344; plundered by Parthians, xiv. 363; Ventidius encamps there, xiv. 392; Antigonus besieged there by Herod and Silo, xiv. 396, 400; xiv. 461; besieged by Herod, xiv. 465, 469; captured by Herod, xiv. 487-488; falls to Herod and Sossius, xiv. 476-486; xiv. 487-488; captured by Herod and Sossius, xv. 1, 3, 5; rumour there of Herod's death, xv. 71; xv. 75, 168; Alexandra seeks to control it, xv. 247; besieged by Herod, xv. 262; Herod builds theatre there, xv. 268; fortified by Herod, xv. 293; residence of beautiful daughter of Simon the priest, xv. 320-321; distance of Herodion from it, xv. 324; visited by Vitellius, xv. 405; Agrippa welcomed there, xvi. 14;

money sent there by Jews of Ionia intercepted, xvi. 28; Herod returns to it, xvi. 62; sacred money for it protected by Augustus, xvi. 163, 166; its sacred monies protected by order of Agrippa, xvi. 167; sacred monies for it ordered sent to it without interference, xvi. 169, 171; xvii. 21; Jews come from Babylonia to sacrifice there, xvii. 26; burial place of Pheroras, xvii. 59; xvii. 78, 89; taken possession of by Sabinus, xvii. 222; Varus stations army there to suppress revolt of Jews, xvii. 251; fight there between Romans and Jews on Pentecost, xvii. 254; yields to Varus, xvii. 292-293; garrison left there by Varus, xvii. 299; made subject to Archelaus by Augustus, xvii. 320; xviii. 30; busts of emperor introduced into it by Pilate, xviii. 55-56, 59; aqueduct built there by Pilate, xviii. 60; xviii. 82; its taxes remitted by Vitellius, xviii. 90; Vitellius and Herod the tetrarch sacrifice to God there, xviii. 122; half shekel sent there by Babylonian Jews, xviii. 313; insolence of Gaius Caligula toward Jews there, xix. 1; sacrifices offered there by Agrippa I, xix. 293; Agrippa remits tax to its inhabitants, xix. 299; Agrippa is ordered to desist from restoring its walls, xix. 326; favoured place of residence of Agrippa, xix. 331; xix. 332; xx. 6-7; high priest's vestments allowed to remain there, xx. 11; visited by Helena of Adiabene, xx. 49-51; its people aided by Helena and Izates during famine, xx. 53; bones of Helena and Izates buried there, xx. 95; head of Theudas brought there, xx. 98; uprising there in time of Cumanus, xx. 105; (Holy City) xx. 118; xx. 123; visited by Quadratus,

GENERAL INDEX

xx. 133; Celer the tribune executed there, xx. 136; xx. 163; false prophet from Egypt comes there, xx. 169-171; quarrel between high priests and ordinary priests there, xx. 180; additions to Agrippa's palace offend its inhabitants, xx. 189, 191; cleansed of *sicarii* by Albinus, xx. 204; brigands released from there, xx. 215; xx. 230-231, 236; taken by Pompey, xx. 244; V. 7, 28, 46-47, 50; Sanhedrin there written to by Josephus for instructions in 66, 62; public assembly there commissions Josephus and his colleagues to press for demolition of palace erected by Herod the tetrarch, 65; its public assembly includes Upper Galilee in districts under Josephus' authority, 72; 77; Josephus' kinsfolk there are sent spoils by Josephus, 81; its walls to be repaired with proceeds from sale of goods plundered from wife of Ptolemy, Agrippa II's overseer, 128; 177; Simon, brother of John of Gischala, and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, sent there by John to seek removal of Josephus from command of Galilee, 190; its national assembly is appealed to by envoys of John of Gischala to replace Josephus with John as commander in Galilee, 190, 254, 266; birthplace of Josephus, 198; 200, 202, 211, 216; its leaders, 217; 237, 241, 269, 297; action of Ananus and Simon, son of Gamaliel, without sanction of its general assembly resented by its citizens, 307; its leaders, 310; 316, 320, 330, 332; its general assembly elects Josephus commander in Galilee, 341, 393; is besieged, 348, 350, 354, 358; royal palace there, 407; is besieged, 412; Titus sent there, 416; on point of being carried by assault,

417; 422; statement sent there before marriage of Jewish priests in diaspora giving bride's genealogy, *Ap.* i. 33; Titus, accompanied by Josephus, is sent to its siege, i. 48; name of city built by Hycsos in Judaea, according to Manetho, i. 90; departure of Hycsos from Egypt to it, i. 94; temple there built by Solomon 143 years before founding of Carthage, i. 108; i. 114, 120, 126, 132; burning and rebuilding of temple there, according to Berosus, i. 145; called Hierusalem by the Jews, according to Aristotle, i. 179; its beauty, extent, population, temple buildings described by Hecataeus of Abdera, i. 196-199; (Hierosolyma) most strongly fortified of cities, i. 209; called Jerusalem by the natives, i. 209; founded by Jews, according to Manetho, i. 228; departure for it of the shepherds (Hycsos), i. 230; place whither Hycsos are expelled, i. 241; its inhabitants join Egyptian lepers and overrun Egypt, i. 262-264; invaders of Egypt from there did not originate laws violating Egyptian practices, i. 270; story of aid for lepers from there ridiculed by Josephus, i. 271-272; opulent city, i. 273; its inhabitants commit atrocities in Egypt, i. 275; (Holy City) i. 282; its inhabitants aid Egyptian cripples, according to Manetho, i. 296; first called Hierosyla, then Hierosolyma, i. 311; derivation of its name from temple robberies criticized, (i. 318-319); Solomon builds temple there, ii. 12, 19; Ptolemy Euergetes sacrifices there, ii. 48

Jerusalem, topography: Upper City, *B.* i. 39, 402; ii. 344, 422, 424, 426, 530; v. 11, 137, 140, 245, 252, 260, 445; vi. 325, 363, 374; vii. 26; *A.* vii.

GENERAL INDEX

- 66; xiv. 477; xv. 318; Lower City, *B. i.* 39; ii. 422; iv. 581; v. 11, 137, 140, 253; vi. 363; *A. vii.* 62, 66; xii. 252; xiv. 477; New Town (New City; see Bezetha), *B. ii.* 530; v. 246, 260, 331, 504; Tyropeon (see Cheesemakers, Valley of); Market-place (agora), *B. i.* 251; *A. xiv.* 335; Upper Market (agora), *B. ii.* 305, 315, 339; v. 137; Timber Market, *B. ii.* 530; clothes-market, *B. v.* 331; Gates: of Essenes, *B. v.* 145; of Gen-nath, *B. v.* 146; near Helena's monument, *B. v.* 55; near Hippicus' tower, *B. v.* 284, 304; Upper Gates, *B. v.* 336; above the Xystus, *B. vi.* 191, 325; walls: the great wall, *B. v.* 252; the old wall, *B. v.* 252; mines, *B. vi.* 370, 371, 392, 402, 429, 433; vii. 26, 27, 215; caverns, royal, *B. v.* 147
- Jerusalem, monuments: arch-ives, *B. ii.* 427; vi. 354; council-chamber, *B. v.* 144; vi. 354; hippodrome, *B. ii.* 44; *A. xvii.* 255; the Xystus, *B. ii.* 344; vi. 191, 325, 377; *A. xx.* 189; bridge, *B. i.* 143; ii. 344; vi. 377; *A. xiv.* 58; Palaces: of David, *A. vii.* 66; of Solomon, *A. viii.* 130-140; of Hasmonaeans, *B. ii.* 344; *A. xx.* 190 (see also *B. i.* 143, 253; *A. xiv.* 59, 338); of Herod, *B. i.* 402; ii. 44, 301, 312, 329, 429, 431, 530, 557; v. 176-183, 245; *A. xv.* 292, 318; xvii. 255; *V.* 46; of Grapte, *B. iv.* 567-569; of Agrippa and Bernice, *B. ii.* 426; *A. xx.* 189; of Helena, *B. v.* 253; vi. 355; of Mono-bazus, *B. v.* 252; Towers: see Hippicus, Mariamme, Phasa-el, Psephinus, Women's; sepul-chral monuments: of Alexan-der Jannaeus, *B. v.* 304; of Ananus the high priest, *B. v.* 506; of Herod, *B. v.* 108, 507; of John the high priest, *B. v.* 304, 356-358, 468; pools: Amygdalon, *B. v.* 468; Solo-mon's, *B. v.* 145; Struthion, *B. v.* 467
- Jerushah. See Jerase
- Jeshanah. See Isana
- Jeshimon. See Simon (29)
- Jeshua (1). See Jesus (4)
- Jeshua (2). See Jesus (5)
- Jesse, son of Obed, father of Da-vid, *A. v.* 336; vi. 157; pre-sents his sons to Samuel, vi. 158, 161-162; vi. 164, 167-169, 175, 236, 252, 255, 298, 315; vii. 278
- Jesus (1). See Joshua
- Jesus (2) (Bibl. Ishvi), son of Saul, *A. vi.* 129
- Jesus (3). See Abiezer
- Jesus (4) (Bibl. Jeshua), son of the high priest Jozadak, *A. xi.* 73, 75, 79; rejects offer of Sa-maritans to help build the tem-ple, xi. 84, 86; xi. 90, 121; his descendants send away foreign wives, xi. 151; his return from Babylon, xx. 234
- Jesus (5) (Bibl. Jeshua), son of Joiada, brother of Johanan, *A. xi.* 298; quarrels with Joha-nan, xi. 299; killed by Joha-nan, xi. 299; xi. 300; Bagoses makes the Jews suffer seven years for his death, xi. 301
- Jesus (6), high priest, son of Si-mon, *A. xii.* 238; changes name to Jason, xii. 239; contends with Menelaus for high priest-hood, xii. 239-240; removed from high priesthood by Antio-chus Epiphanes, xv. 41
- Jesus (7), high priest, son of Phabes, removed from high priesthood by Herod, *A. xv.* 322
- Jesus (8), high priest, son of Seë, replaces Eleazar as high priest, *A. xvii.* 341
- Jesus (9), called the Christ, *A. xviii.* 63-64; his brother James stoned, xx. 200
- Jesus (10), son of Damnaeus, becomes high priest replacing Ananus, *A. xx.* 203; deposed as high priest, xx. 213
- Jesus (11), son of Gamaliel,

GENERAL INDEX

- succeeds Jesus the son of Damnaeus as high priest, *A.* xx. 213; deprived of high priesthood, xx. 223
- Jesus (12), son of Sapphas, selected as general for Idumaea, *B.* ii. 566
- Jesus (13), chief priest, *B.* vi. 114 (probably to be identified with [10] or [11], according to Niese's index)
- Jesus (14), son of Gamalas, high priest, friend of Josephus, incites people against Zealots, *B.* iv. 160; addresses the Idumaeans, *B.* iv. 238-270, 283; murdered by the Idumaeans, iv. 316, 322, 325; urged by Simon son of Gamaliel to remove Josephus from command in Galilee, *V.* 193; tells Josephus' father of plot against Josephus, 204
- Jesus (15), brigand chief on borderland of Ptolemais, promised large sum of money to bring Josephus under fire of war, *V.* 105-106; his plot intercepted, 107-110; promises loyalty to Josephus, 111
- Jesus (16), son of Sapphas, chief magistrate of Tiberias, instigates mob against Josephus, *B.* ii. 599; heads revolt in Tiberias, iii. 450-452; flees to Tarichaeae, iii. 457; iii. 467, 498; ringleader of party of sailors and destitute class in Tiberias, *V.* 66; sets on fire palace built by Herod the tetrarch at Tiberias, 66; massacres Greek residents in Tiberias, 67; instigates mob at Tarichaeae to punish Josephus, seeks to kill Josephus, 134-136; promises welcome for Jonathan's embassy, 271; urges citizens of Tiberias to desert Josephus, 278-279; cross-examines Josephus about disposition of furniture confiscated from royal palace at Tiberias, 294 ff., 300-301
- Jesus (17), brother of Chares, brother-in-law of Justus of Tiberias, murdered by people of Gamala, *V.* 178; slain by followers of Josephus, the mid-wife's son, 186
- Jesus (18), a Galilaean, hired with his army by leaders of Jerusalem to accompany depuration seeking Josephus' removal from command in Galilee, *V.* 200 (perhaps to be identified with Jesus [15])
- Jesus (19), armed ambuscade concealed in his mansion, *V.* 246 (perhaps to be identified with Jesus [16])
- Jesus (20), priest, son of Thebuthi, delivers up temple treasures to the Romans, *B.* vi. 387-389
- Jesus (21), son of Ananias, rude peasant, prophesies the fall of Jerusalem, *B.* vi. 300-309
- Jethraos. See Jethras
- Jethras (Jethraos; Bibl. Ithra), father of Amasa, *A.* vii. 232, 386
- Jethro (1). See Ietheglaeus
- Jethro (2). See Raguel
- Jethroas (var. Gethersas; Bibl. Ithream), son of David and Eglah, *A.* vii. 21
- Jetur, son of Ishmael, *A.* i. 220
- Jeus (Bibl. Jehu), prophet, sent to Baasha by God, *A.* viii. 299, 309; ix. 1
- Jeush. See Iaus
- Jews, Jewish, *passim*. See also Hebrews, Israelites, etc.
- Jews' Camp, place in Egypt, *B.* i. 191; *A.* xiv. 133
- Jezabela. See Jezabele
- Jezabele (Jezabela; Bibl. Jezebel), wife of Ahab, the king of Israel, *A.* viii. 317; kills prophets, viii. 330, 334; seeks to kill Elijah, viii. 347; brings about the death of Naboth, viii. 356, 359; (Jezabela) ix. 47, 108; (Jezabela) her death, ix. 122-123
- Jezaniah. See Joazanias
- Jezarel. See Jezarela
- Jezarela (Jezarel, Jezarele; Bibl. Jezreel) (Jezarelites), city in plain of Esdrael in Palestine, *A.* viii. 346; (Jezarel) viii. 355; viii. 407; (Jezarel) viii.

GENERAL INDEX

- 417; (Jezarele) ix. 105; ix. 112, 114, 122; Jezebel dies there, ix. 124; ix. 127, 130
- Jezarele. See Jezarela
- Jezebel. See Jezabele
- Jezekielos. See Ezekiel
- Jezer. See Sares
- Jezreel (1). See Abisar
- Jezreel (2). See Jezarela
- Jidlaph. See Iadaphas
- Joab, son of Zeruah and nephew of David, commander-in-chief under David, *A.* vii. 11; fights Abner, vii. 11; defeats Abner, vii. 13; vii. 15; pursues Abner, vii. 16; makes peace with Abner, vii. 17; buries his dead, vii. 18-19; envious of Abner, vii. 31; kills Abner, vii. 34-36; vii. 45; climbs citadel of Jerusalem, vii. 64; appointed keeper of walls of Jerusalem, vii. 66; vii. 109-110; leads army against Ammanites, vii. 122-123, 126, 129; vii. 131; carries out David's plan to bring about Uriah's death, vii. 135-138, 140; informs David of Uriah's death, vii. 141, 144; vii. 146; invites David to sack Rabbah, vii. 159-160; tries to reconcile David with Absalom, vii. 181, 186-187; reconciles David with Absalom, vii. 191, 193; vii. 232; leads part of David's army against Absalom, vii. 233, 236-237; kills Absalom, vii. 240-242; vii. 245; sends messenger to David, vii. 247, 250; diverts David from his grief, vii. 253-254, 257; vii. 265, 280-281; kills Amasa, vii. 283, 286-287; secures head of Sheba, vii. 289, 291-292; vii. 299; brother of Abishai, vii. 314; takes census, vii. 318-319; joins plot of Adonijah, vii. 346-347, 350, 352, 359; his crime recounted by David to Solomon, vii. 386; on Adonijah's side, viii. 9; slain by Benaiah, viii. 13-15; viii. 200, 202
- Joabin. See Jabin
- Joabos. See Joarib
- Joachazos (Bibl. Jehoahaz), king of Judah, son of Josiah, *A.* x. 81; taken captive by king of Egypt, x. 82-83
- Joacheimos. See Jeconiah
- Joachimos. See Jeconiah
- Joachos (Bibl. Joah), friend of King Hezekiah, in charge of records, *A.* x. 5
- Joade (Bibl. Jehoaddan), mother of King Amaziah, *A.* ix. 186
- Joades. See Joannes (1)
- Joados (Bibl. Jehoiada), father of Benaiah, *A.* vii. 110
- Joaddus. See Jaddus
- Joah (1). See Joates
- Joah (2). See Joachos
- Joakeimos (1) (Eliakeimos; Bibl. Jehoiakim, Eliakim), king of Judah, (Eliakeimos) *A.* x. 82-83; pays tribute to Nebuchadnezzar, x. 87; ignores Jeremiah's warning, x. 89, 93; killed by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 96-98; x. 103
- Joakeimos (2) (Bibl. Joiakim), high priest during Xerxes' reign, *A.* xi. 121; his death, xi. 158
- Joannes (1) (Joades; Bibl. Johanan), son of Kareah, Jewish leader at time of Gedaliah, (Joades) *A.* x. 160; x. 164, 168; rescues captives taken by Ishmael, x. 173-175; forces Jeremiah to go to Egypt, x. 176-179
- Joannes (2) (Bibl. Jehohanan), commander of army under King Jehoshaphat, *A.* viii. 397; xii. 415, 419
- Joannes (3) (Bibl. Johanan), son of Eliashib, Ezra spends day in his chamber, *A.* xi. 147
- Joannes (4) (Bibl. Johanan), high priest, son of Joiada, *A.* xi. 297-298; kills Jeshua, xi. 299; xi. 300; his death, xi. 302
- Joannes (5), father of Mattathias, *A.* xii. 265
- Joannes (6). See John (1)
- Joannu. See Aion
- Joarib (var. Joabos), priestly group, *A.* xii. 265
- Joas (1) (Bibl. Joash, Jehoash),

GENERAL INDEX

- son of Ahaziah, king of Judah, hidden by Jehosheba, *A.* ix. 142; his reign, ix. 156-158; renovates the temple, ix. 161-165; his degeneration, ix. 166-169; pays tribute to Hazael, ix. 170; his death, ix. 171-172; ix. 173; avenged by his son, ix. 186
- Joas (2) (Bibl. Joash, Jehoash), son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel, succeeds Jehoahaz, *A.* ix. 177; defeats Ben-hadad, ix. 184; his death, ix. 185; ix. 186; challenged by Amaziah, ix. 196-198; takes Jerusalem, ix. 199-202; ix. 205
- Joash (1). See Joas (1)
- Joash (2). See Joas (2)
- Joash (3). See Jas
- Joates (Bibl. Joah), keeper of the records of King Josiah, *A.* x. 55
- Joazanias (Bibl. Jezaniah), Jewish leader at time of Gedaliah, *A.* x. 160
- Joazar (1), son of Boethus, appointed high priest by Herod, *A.* xvii. 164; removed from high priesthood, xvii. 339; urges Jews to comply with Quirinius' assessment of property, xviii. 3; deposed as high priest, xviii. 26
- Joazar (2) (var. Jozar), Jewish priest sent with Josephus and Judas to Galilee, *V.* 29; (63, 73, 77)
- Joazar (3). See Jozar (1)
- Joazos (Bibl. Jehoahaz), son and successor to Jehu, King of Israel, *A.* ix. 160; defeated by the Syrians, ix. 173-176; his death, ix. 177
- Jobab. See Jobel (3)
- Jobak. See Jabacchos
- Jobel (1), Hebrew name for fiftieth year of jubilee, *A.* iii. 232-233
- Jobel (2) (Bibl. Jabal), son of Lamech and Adah, *A.* i. 64
- Jobel (3) (Bibl. Jobab), son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
- Job(os) (Bibl. Iob), son of Is-sachar, *A.* ii. 178
- Jochabad. See Jochabel(e)
- Jochabel(e) (Jochabad; Bibl. Jochebed), wife of Amram, mother of Moses, *A.* ii. 217; iii. 86
- Jochabes (Bibl. Ichabod), son of Phinehas, *A.* v. 360
- Jochebed. See Jochabel(e)
- Jodamos (Bibl. Jehoiada), leader of Levites paying homage to David, *A.* vii. 56
- Jodas (1) (Bibl. Jehoiada), high priest, husband of Jehosheba, *A.* ix. 141; plots against Athaliah, ix. 143-144; proclaims Joash king, ix. 145-149; has Athaliah put to death, ix. 150-152; administers oaths to people, ix. 153-155; ix. 157; collects half shekel for the temple, ix. 161, 164-165; his death, ix. 166; his son Zechariah stoned to death, ix. 168, 171
- Jodas (2) (Bibl. Joiada), high priest, son of Eliashib, his death, *A.* xi. 297
- Joel. See Iulus
- Joesdrus. See Jozar (1)
- Johanen. See Joannes (1), (3), and (4)
- John (1) (Joannes, Gaddes, Gaddis), son of Mattathias, (Joannes) called Gaddes, *A.* xii. 266; called Gaddis, is murdered by sons of Jambri, xiii. 10-11; xiii. 19, 21
- John (2) the Baptist, put to death by Herod the tetrarch, *A.* xviii. 116-119
- John (3), father of John (4), *A.* xx. 14
- John (4), son of John, envoy from Jerusalem to Claudius, *A.* xx. 14
- John (5) of Gischala, son of Levi, fortifies Gischala on the instruction of Josephus, *B.* ii. 575; his character, ii. 285; his antagonism to Josephus, ii. 590-594; instigates mob against Josephus, ii. 599; his antagonism against Josephus, ii. 614-632; his character, iv. 85; imposes upon Titus, iv. 98-105; flees to Jerusalem,

GENERAL INDEX

iv. 106-116; his reception in Jerusalem, iv. 121-125; leader of the war-party in Jerusalem, iv. 126-127; betrays Ananus and summons the Idumaeans, iv. 208-226; assumes despotic power, iv. 389-395; iv. 503, 559, 564; deserted by Idumaeans and contends with Simon, iv. 566-573; iv. 577; fights with rival factions, v. 5-12, 21-22; constructs military towers, v. 36-38; gains entry to the inner temple, v. 98-104; v. 250, 254, 266, 278, 304, 358, 423; persecutes wealthier Jews, v. 440-441; v. 455, 469, 528; his sacrilegious plundering of the temple, v. 562-565; fights at Antonia, vi. 15, 28, 31, 71-72, 92, 95; addressed by Josephus, vi. 96, 103, 106, 112; upbraided by Titus, vi. 124; vi. 148, 191, 326, 377; surrenders and is sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, vi. 433-434; sent to Italy, vii. 118; his crimes, vii. 263-264; leader at Gischala, urges citizens to maintain allegiance to Rome, *V.* 43; defeats neighbouring states, rebuilds Gischala, 45; meets Josephus in Gischala, 70; is eager for revolution and ambitious of obtaining command, 70; gets imperial corn in Upper Galilee, 71-73; his profiteering in oil, 74-76; often at Josephus' mercy when he plotted against him, yet not punished by him, 82; is envious of Josephus, 85; promotes sedition at Tiberias, 87 ff.; greets Josephus, 91; sends men to kill Josephus, 95; returns to Gischala and asserts to Josephus that all had taken place without his sanction, 101; envious of Josephus, attempts to alienate Galilee from Josephus, 122 ff.; attempts to have Josephus superseded by himself, 189 ff.; written to by deputation seeking removal of

Josephus from command in Galilee to prepare attack upon Josephus, 203; his plots against Josephus mentioned in letter of deputation to Josephus, 217; accusations against him to be heard by delegation from Jerusalem at Gabara, 229, 233; plots, together with Jerusalem embassy, measures against Josephus, 236 ff., 246; 253, 254, 256, 271, 274; instructed by Jonathan's party to seize Josephus, 292; his arrival awaited by Jesus the son of Sapphias at Tiberias, 295; approach of his troops intending to slay Josephus announced to Jesus in Tiberias, 301; almost meets Josephus, 304; citizens at Tarichaeae seek to exterminate him, 306; returns to Gischala, after failing to slay Josephus, 308; at meeting of Josephus' opponents in Tiberias urges embassy to Jerusalem to accuse Josephus of maladministration of Galilee, 313 ff.; returns to Galilee from Tiberias, 317; deserted by most of his adherents, 368-372.
 John (6), the tax-collector of Caesarea, appeals to Florus, *B.* ii. 287, 292
 John (7), son of Ananias, appointed commanding officer of provinces of Gophna and Acrabatta, *B.* ii. 568
 John (8) the Essene, in charge of the province of Thamna, *B.* ii. 567; *iii.* 11, 19
 John (9), general of the Idumaeans, *B.* iv. 235; *v.* 290
 John (10), a Zealot, known as the son of Dorcas, *B.* iv. 145
 John (11), high priest, son of Simon Psellus. See Hyrcanus (2)
 Joiada. See Jodas (2)
 Jolakim. See Joakeimos (2)
 Jokshan. See Jazar(es)
 Joktan. See Juctas
 Jomnes (Bibl. Imnah), son of Asher, *A.* ii. 183
 Jonadab (Bibl. Jehonadab), helps

GENERAL INDEX

- Jehu slay priests of Baal, *A.* ix. 132, 134, 136
- Jonah, prophet during the reign of Jeroboam, *A.* ix. 206-207; commanded to go to Nineveh, ix. 209; ix. 213
- Jonathan (1), son of Saul, *A.* vi. 95, 105-106; raids the Philistine camp, vi. 108, 110-111; unwittingly incurs father's curse, vi. 124, 126-128; vi. 129; warns David of Saul's plot, vi. 205-206; persuades Saul to do no harm to David, vi. 209, 212; promises to aid David, vi. 224-226, 229, 232, 234; incurs Saul's wrath for defending David, vi. 235-237; bids David farewell, vi. 240 (*bis*); vi. 252-253; renews oath of friendship with David, vi. 275; vi. 369; David grieves at his death, vii. 5-6; vii. 9; his son treated kindly by David, vii. 111-113, 116-117; vii. 205, 296
- Jonathan (2) (Jonathes), friend of Amnon, *A.* vii. 164, 166; son of Shimeah, vii. 178, 304
- Jonathan (3), son of Ebyathar, *A.* vii. 201, 359
- Jonathan (4), brother of Judas Maccabaeus, succeeds to leadership, *B.* i. 48; his death, i. 49; vii. 285; son of Mattathias, called Apphus, *A.* xii. 266; aids Judas in Gilead, xii. 332, 335-353; buries Judas, xii. 432; becomes commander of Jews, xiii. 5-6; escapes from Bacchides, xiii. 7-8, 10; pursued by Bacchides, xiii. 12-14; avenges murder of brother John, xiii. 18-19, 22; besieged by Bacchides, xiii. 23-28; makes peace with Bacchides, xiii. 32-34; his aid sought by Demetrius, xiii. 37-41; his support sought by Alexander Balas, xiii. 43-45; becomes high priest, xiii. 46; his support sought by Demetrius, xiii. 47-48, 51-57; honoured by Alexander Balas, xiii. 83-85; defeats Apollonius, general of Alexander Balas, xiii. 88, 91-94, 99, 102; xiii. 104-105; appears before Demetrius II, xiii. 121-125; receives letter from Demetrius, xiii. 126-128; helps Demetrius subdue Antioch, xiii. 133-134, 136-137, 142; xiii. 143; honoured by Antiochus VI, xiii. 145-147; rouses Syrian cities against Demetrius, xiii. 148-153; defeats Demetrius in Galilee, xiii. 158-162; renews treaty with Rome, xiii. 163-166; defeats Demetrius, xiii. 174, 177-178; fortifies Jerusalem, xiii. 181, 183; plotted against by Tryphon, xiii. 187-190; captured by Tryphon, xiii. 191-194; Jews dismayed by his capture, xiii. 195; his place taken by Simon, xiii. 201; prisoner of Tryphon, xiii. 203; killed by Tryphon, xiii. 209; buried by Simon, xiii. 212; first Hasmonaeen priest, xx. 238; his daughter married to Matthias the son of Simon Psellus, *V.* 4
- Jonathan (5), son of Absalom, friend of Simon the son of Mattathias, *A.* xiii. 202
- Jonathan (6), Sadducee, urges Hyrcanus to join Sadducees, *A.* xiii. 293, 295-298
- Jonathan (7), high priest, son of Alexander, brother of Mariamme, *B.* i. 437
- Jonathan (8), high priest, son of Ananus, *B.* ii. 240, 242, 256, 533 (probably); appointed high priest, *A.* xviii. 95; deposed as high priest, xviii. 123; offered high priesthood by Agrippa I but declines, xix. 313-316; murdered by Felix, xx. 162-164
- Jonathan (9), son of Sisenna, dispatched by John of Gischala to Jerusalem to induce national assembly to remove Josephus from command of Galilee, *V.* 190
- Jonathan (10), Pharisee, from lower ranks, heads deputation sent by high priest Ananus to seek to depose Josephus from

GENERAL INDEX

- command of Galilee, *V.* 197 ff.; arrives in Galilee, 216; sends letter to Josephus requesting conference, 217; written to by Josephus, 226-227; sends second letter to Josephus, 228-229; plots, with John of Gischala, measures against Josephus, 236 ff., 245 ff., 301 ff., 316; 318, 320; released by Josephus and sent off to Jerusalem, 332
- Jonathan (11), father of Judas and Simon, *B.* ii. 451, 628
- Jonathan (12), Jewish soldier, slays Roman in single combat, *B.* vi. 169-176
- Jonathan (13), arrant scoundrel in Cyrene, *B.* vii. 438, 441, 447, 449; asserts that Josephus had provided him aid in insurrection in Cyrene, *V.* 424
- Jonathan (14), son of Onias, envoy from Hyrcanus to Roman Senate, *A.* xiv. 222
- Jonathan (15). See Aristobulus (4)
- Jonathes. See Jonathan (2)
- Jope. See Joppa
- Joppa (Jope), chief port of Palestine, captured by Simon, *B.* i. 50; i. 99, 156, 292-293; annexed to Herod's kingdom, i. 396; i. 409; ii. 97, 507-508, 567; iii. 51, 56; its destruction, its description, iii. 414-431; iv. 663; (Jope) Jonah flees thither, *A.* ix. 208; (Jope) its harbour, xi. 78; xiii. 91-92, 105, 125; occupied by Simon, xiii. 180; xiii. 202; subdued by Simon, xiii. 215; xiii. 246; restored to Jews by Rome, xiii. 261; xiii. 390, 395; xiv. 76; granted special status by Julius Caesar, xiv. 202, 205; xiv. 250; captured by Herod, xiv. 396-397; added to Herod's realm, xv. 217; xv. 333; made subject to Archelaus by Augustus, xvii. 320
- Joram (1) (Bibl. Jehoram), King of Israel, son of Ahab, brother and successor to King Ahaziah, *A.* ix. 27; allies with Jehoshaphat against Moabites, ix. 29, 31-34; warned by Elisha, ix. 51-52; aided by Elisha, surrounds Ben-hadad's forces, ix. 57-59; besieged by Ben-hadad, ix. 61-63, 67; attempts to kill Elisha, ix. 68; repents, ix. 70, 72; ix. 77; informed by lepers of Ben-hadad's flight, ix. 80-81; hears of Ben-hadad's death, ix. 94; attacks Syrians, ix. 105; slain by Jehu, ix. 112-114, 116-120; ix. 131 brother of Athaliah, ix. 140
- Joram (2) (Bibl. Jehoram), son of Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, marries Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, *A.* viii. 398; succeeds his father as king of Judah, ix. 45; slays his brothers, ix. 95-96; Idumaeans revolt against him, ix. 97; his death, ix. 102-103; ix. 154; allows temple to deteriorate, ix. 161
- Joram (3), high priest. See Joram(os)
- Joram(os), high priest, son of Azariah, *A.* x. 152
- Jordan (1) River, *B.* i. 86, 223, 307, 380, 404, 406, 483, 657; ii. 43, 59, 168, 566; iii. 37, 40, 46, 47, 51, 57; description of, iii. 509-515; iv. 3, 433-435, 437, 450, 454, 456, 458, 474; vi. 201; *A.* i. 170, 177; iv. 95, 100, 168, 176, 177, 189; v. 2, 4, 74; forms border of territory of Benjamin, v. 82; forms border of Ephraim's territory, v. 83; forms border of Manasseh's territory, v. 83; its relation to territory of tribes, v. 86; v. 93, 100, 108, 196, 217; vi. 68, 71, 77, 79, 99, 269, 373; vii. 9, 18; tribes from across it pay homage to David, vii. 59; vii. 128, 198, 210; crossed by David, vii. 222, 227, 230; crossed by Absalom, vii. 232; vii. 263, 264, 272, 388; boundary of territory under Baana's governorship, viii. 36; area east of it governed by Geber in time of Solomon, viii. 37; boundary of territory under governorship

GENERAL INDEX

- of Jehoshaphat, viii. 37; ix. 83, 159, 235; scene of defeat of Scopas by Antiochus the Great, xii. 132; xii. 222, 229, 233, 335, 348; xiii. 9, 12, 14, 338, 356, 398; xiv. 277, 417; xv. 147; its source, xv. 364; xvii. 171, 277; xviii. 28; Theudas' adherents follow him to it, xx. 97; V. 33; Jeremiah, commander under Josephus, is entrenched near it, 399; squadron of Sulla's cavalry placed in ambush beyond it, 405
- Jordan (2), Lesser (Little), A. v. 178; (Little Jordan) course of Jordan north of modern lake of Huleh, near site where Jeroboam builds shrine, viii. 226
- Jordan (3), Little. See Jordan (2), Lesser
- Josadakes. See Josadakos
- Josadakos (Josedekos, Josadakes; Bibl. Jehozadak, Jozadak, Josedech), high priest, son of Seraiah, carried off in chains to Babylon, A. x. 150; son of Azariah (presumably Josephus' error), taken captive to Babylon, x. 153; (Josedekos) father of Jesus the leader of exiles who returned to Jerusalem, xi. 73; (Josadakes) taken prisoner by Nebuchadnezzar, xx. 231; (Josedek[os]) father of Jesus the high priest who returned from Babylonian captivity, xx. 234
- Josaphat (1) (Bibl. Jehoshaphat), son of Ahilud, keeper of records for King David, A. vii. 110, 293
- Josaphat (2) (Bibl. Jehoshaphat), son and successor of King Asa of Judah, A. viii. 315; his reign, viii. 393-396; allies himself with Ahab against Syrians, viii. 398-400, 402, 405, 411-413; his reforms, ix. 1; defeats Ammonites, ix. 8, 14; his alliance with Ahaziah, ix. 16-17; his alliance with Jehoram against Moabites, ix. 30-31; consults Elisha, ix. 33, 35; his death, ix. 44
- Josedech. See Josadakos
- Josedek(os). See Josadakos
- Joseph (1), son of Jacob and Rachel, A. i. 308; beloved by his father and envied by his brothers, ii. 9-10; his dreams, ii. 11-16; his brothers resolve to kill him, ii. 17-20; ii. 26, 28; sold to Arabs, ii. 33; ii. 34; his brothers dip his tunic in blood and tell Jacob he was killed, ii. 35-38; sold to Potiphar, ii. 39; solicited by Potiphar's wife, ii. 42-53; flees from Potiphar's wife, ii. 54; accused by Potiphar's wife, ii. 55; thrown into prison, ii. 59; endures prison, ii. 60; ii. 61; interprets butler's dream, ii. 64-69; interprets baker's dream, ii. 70-73; forgotten by butler, ii. 74; remembered by butler, ii. 76-77; brought before Pharaoh, ii. 79; interprets Pharaoh's dream, ii. 84-86; tells Pharaoh how to avoid famine, ii. 87-88; appointed minister by Pharaoh, ii. 89-90; his marriage and his children, ii. 91; ii. 93; sells grain to the Egyptians, ii. 94; ii. 95; his brothers seek his permission to buy grain, ii. 96; ii. 103, 105, 107, 108; weeps at his brothers' distress, ii. 109; ii. 118, 120; meets Benjamin, ii. 121-122; entertains his brothers, ii. 123; ii. 128; accuses Benjamin of stealing cup, ii. 136; ii. 137; offers to keep Benjamin in custody and let the other brothers go, ii. 138; ii. 147, 159; reveals himself to his brothers, ii. 160-167; ii. 168, 169, 171, 174, 175, 177; his sons, ii. 180; greets his father in Egypt, ii. 184 (*bis*); asks Pharaoh to allow his family to be shepherds, ii. 185-186; sells corn to Egyptians, ii. 189; returns land to Egyptian inhabitants after famine, ii. 192-193; praised by his father, ii. 195; buries his father, ii. 196; buried in Canaan, ii.

GENERAL INDEX

- 200; receives oath from his descendants that he will be buried in Canaan, *ii.* 200; forgotten by Egyptians after his death, *ii.* 202; his bones taken out of Egypt, *ii.* 319; *iii.* 87, 288; common ancestor of Cuthaeans (Samaritans) and Jews, *ix.* 291; ancestor of Samaritans, *xi.* 341; tells king of Egypt that he is a captive, brings his brethren to Egypt, *Ap.* *i.* 92; sacred scribe, one of leaders of afflicted persons expelled from Egypt by King Amenophis, according to Chaeremon, *i.* 290; associated by Chaeremon with Moses, *i.* 299
- Joseph (2), tribe of, Jeroboam given command over it, *A.* *viii.* 206
- Joseph (3) the Tobiad, upbraids Onias, *A.* *xii.* 160; goes to Ptolemy Epiphanes as envoy of Jews, *xii.* 164-174; buys the right to collect taxes from Ptolemy, *xii.* 176; uses force to collect taxes in Palestine, *xii.* 180, 182; begets Hyrcanus, *xii.* 187-189; tests Hyrcanus, *xii.* 190; sends Hyrcanus to Alexandria, *xii.* 198-201; *xii.* 217; angry at Hyrcanus for his lavishness, *xii.* 221; his death, *xii.* 224, 228
- Joseph (4), son of Zacharias, one of Judas the Maccabee's generals, *A.* *xii.* 333; defeated by Gorgias, *xii.* 350, 352-353
- Joseph (5), son of Matthias Curtus and father of Matthias, grandfather of Josephus, *V.* 5
- Joseph (6), husband of Herod's sister Salome, *B.* *i.* 441-443; left in charge of Judaea, *A.* *xv.* 65; reveals Herod's instructions concerning Mariamme, *xv.* 68-69; plans to flee with Alexandra and Mariamme, *xv.* 72; accused by his wife, Salome, *xv.* 81-82, 86; executed by Herod, *xv.* 87, 168; instructions to him concerning Mariamme, *xv.* 204; put to death by Herod, *xv.* 254
- Joseph (7), steward of Herod, *A.* *xv.* 185
- Joseph (8), son of Antipater, brother of Herod, *B.* *i.* 181; joins Herod, *i.* 266; at Masada, *i.* 286-288; *i.* 303; his death, *i.* 323-324; outrage to his corpse, *i.* 325; *i.* 328, 342; *A.* *xiv.* 121, 361; defends Masada successfully, *xiv.* 390, 392; guards Herod's interests in Idumaea, *xiv.* 413; remains with Machaeras, *xiv.* 438; his death in battle, *xiv.* 448-450; *xviii.* 134
- Joseph (9), nephew of King Herod and cousin of Archelaus, *B.* *i.* 562; *ii.* 74; *A.* *xvii.* 20; son of Herod's brother Joseph, *xvii.* 294; husband of Olympias, *xviii.* 134
- Joseph (10), son of Ellemus, serves as high priest for a day, *A.* *xvii.* 166
- Joseph (11), called Caiaphas, appointed high priest, *A.* *xviii.* 35; removed from high priesthood, *xviii.* 95
- Joseph (12), son of Camei, appointed high priest, *A.* *xx.* 16; removed from high priesthood, *xx.* 103
- Joseph (13), surnamed Kabi, son of the high priest Simon, appointed high priest, *A.* *xx.* 196; removed from high priesthood, *xx.* 197
- Joseph (14), chief priest, escapes to the Romans, *B.* *vi.* 114
- Joseph (15), son of Gorion, Jewish general against the Romans, *B.* *ii.* 563
- Joseph (16), son of Simon, Jewish commander at Jericho in war against the Romans, *B.* *ii.* 567
- Joseph (17), father of Gorion, Jewish leader in Jerusalem, *B.* *iv.* 159 (probably identical with Joseph [15] son of Gorion)
- Joseph (18), leader of Gamala, *B.* *iv.* 18, 66
- Josephus (1), domestic (private) life: his ancestry and personal background, *B.* *i.* 3; marries

GENERAL INDEX

- native of Caesarea at Vespasian's command, but she leaves him, *V.* 414-415; marries a second wife in Alexandria, 415; becomes a Roman citizen, 422; divorces his second wife, 426; marries a third wife from Crete of very distinguished parents, and she bears him two sons, 427
- Josephus (1), public life : his credentials, *B.* i. 3; commander in Galilee, ii. 568; fortifies Galilee, ii. 569-576; remodels army along Roman lines, ii. 577-584; his adversaries, ii. 585-646; attacks Sepphoris, iii. 60-63; iii. 111; retreats, iii. 129-131; in Tiberias, iii. 135-140; in Jotapata, iii. 141-339; hides in a cave, iii. 340-344; his parley with Romans, iii. 345-355; opposed by his companions, iii. 356-360; his harangue against suicide, iii. 361-383; his escape and surrender to Romans, iii. 384-398; predicts Vespasian's accession as emperor, iii. 399-407; captured by Romans, iii. 408; iii. 410; outcry against him in Jerusalem, iii. 434-439; iii. 464; iv. 9, 56; freed, iv. 623-629; v. 114, 256-257, 261, 325; urges Jews to surrender, v. 361-420; v. 532; is hit and reported killed, v. 541-547; vi. 94; addresses John and the Jews, vi. 96-112; vi. 118, 129, 365; vii. 449; taken prisoner by the Romans, *V.* 350; falls from his horse, 403; *et passim* in *V.*; captured by the Romans, *Ap.* i. 48; liberated from captivity, i. 48
- Josephus (1), works : *Bellum Judaicum* : origin of the work, *A.* i. 7; referred to as *Judaica*, xiii. 298; speaks of three philosophies, xviii. 11; *V.* 27; presented to Agrippa II, 361-367; contains detailed accounts of Josephus' engagement with Vespasian at Garis, of Josephus' withdrawal to Jotapata, of his capture and liberation, of his conduct during the siege of Jerusalem, 412; earlier than *Vita*, 413; defence of it by Josephus, *Ap.* i. 47 ff.; has aid of literary assistants in composing it, i. 50; his defence of it, i. 53-56
- Josephus (1), works : *Antiquitates* : origin of the work, *A.* i. 5-17; his motives in citing Roman decrees, xvi. 174; summary of its contents, xx. 259; contains twenty books with 60,000 lines, xx. 267; dedicated to Epaphroditus, *V.* 430; its plan and anti-Semitic critics, *Ap.* i. 1-2; contains Josephus' translation of Scriptures, i. 54; his priestly background qualifies him to write it, i. 54; his account of erection of temple cited, i. 127; mentions famous Jews, ii. 136; contains account of Jewish laws, ii. 287
- Josephus (1), works : *Vita (Life)* : contains details not recorded in *Bellum Judaicum*, *V.* 413; later than *Bellum Judaicum*, 413
- Josephus (1), works : *Contra Apionem* : topics included in it, *Ap.* i. 58-59
- Josephus (1), works : proposed works : *B.* i. 182; v. 237, 247; *A.* i. 192; iii. 94, 143, 223, 230, 259; iv. 198, 302; xvii. 28; xix. 366; xx. 96, 144, 147, 267, 268; *Ap.* i. 92
- Josephus (2), son of Mennaeus, envoy of Jews to Antony, *A.* xiv. 307
- Josephus (3), son of Dalaeus, distinguished Jew, chooses to be consumed with the temple rather than to surrender to the Romans, *B.* vi. 280
- Josephus (4), "the midwife's son," incites revolt in Gamala against Agrippa II, *V.* 185
- Joshua (Jesus), son of Nun, Moses' successor, *B.* iv. 459; leads Hebrew army against Amalekites, *A.* iii. 49-51;

GENERAL INDEX

- praised by Moses, iii. 59; (Jesus) iii. 308-310; appointed to succeed Moses, iv. 165; iv. 171, 186, 311, 315; accompanies Moses before his death, iv. 324; iv. 326; sends scouts to Jericho, v. 1; v. 15; leads Hebrews across Jordan, v. 17; builds altar of stones, v. 20; besieges Jericho, v. 22, 24; rewards Rahab, v. 30; delivers booty of Jericho to priests, v. 32; establishes camp at Gilgal, v. 34; attacks Ai, v. 35; prays after his defeat at Ai, v. 38, 42; discovers Achar as source of pollution, v. 42; conquers Ai, v. 45-48; v. 49; makes pact with Gibeonites, v. 51-57; defeats the league of Canaanite kings, v. 58, 60-61; v. 62; defeats host of Canaanites and Philistines, v. 64-67; erects tabernacle, v. 68; addresses people at Shiloh, v. 71-72; sends men to measure the country, v. 76; measures land, v. 78; divides land among tribes, v. 80, 88; sets up cities for Levites, v. 90; v. 103, 114; addresses people before his death, v. 115; his death (v. 117); his burial (v. 119); v. 121; vi. 84; apportioned Jerusalem to the Israelites 515 years before David captured it, vii. 68; vii. 294; ix. 207, 280; xi. 112
- Josiah (Josias)**, king of Judah, son of Amon, (Josias) prophecy concerning him, *A.* viii. 232; x. 48; his pious deeds, x. 50-56; is spared exile, x. 61; burns bones of false prophets, x. 66; x. 67; reforms Israelites who escaped captivity, x. 68; his death, x. 73, 75; x. 80; his death, x. 81
- Josias**. See **Josiah**
- Jotapata**, village in Galilee, *B.* ii. 573; attacked by Placidus, iii. 111-114; invested by Vespasian, iii. 141-139; iii. 405-406, 432, 438; iv. 1, 4, 624; v. 544; fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188; forty furlongs from Chabolo, whither Josephus goes with his army, 234; authors of revolt against Josephus are sent there in chains by him, 332; captured by Romans, 350; Josephus besieged there, 353; details of its siege by Romans unknown to Justus of Tiberias, 357; Josephus withdraws to it after engaging Vespasian in battle at Garis, 412; Josephus captured there but receives every attention, 414
- Jotape (1)**, daughter of Sampsigeramus, wife of Aristobulus, *A.* xviii. 135
- Jotape (2)** daughter of Aristobulus the brother of Agrippa I, *B.* ii. 221; *A.* xviii. 135
- Jotape (3)**, daughter of Antiochus the king of Commagene, *A.* xviii. 140
- Jotbah**. See **Jatabate**
- Jotham(os) (1)** (*Bibl. Uzzi*), son of Bukki, father of Meraioth, member of family of Phinehas, *A.* viii. 12
- Jotham (2)**, son and successor to Uzziah as king of Judah, *A.* ix. 227, 236-238; his death, ix. 243
- Jothamos (3)**, high priest, son of Juelos, father of Urias, *A.* x. 153
- Jotham (4)**, son of Gideon, escapes death from Abimelech, *A.* v. 234; tells people of Shechem parable of trees, v. 235-239; v. 253
- Jotham(os) (5)** (*Bibl. Gatam*), son of Eliphaz, *A.* ii. 5
- Jovan**. See **Javan**
- Jozadak**. See **Josadakos**
- Jozar (1)** (*Joazar, Joesdrus*), Jewish notable, (*Joesdrus*) *B.* ii. 628; Pharisee, priest, member of deputation sent by high priest Ananus to seek to depose Josephus from command of Galilee, *V.* 197 ff.; invited, by a ruse, by Josephus to divide command of Galilee with him, suspects a plot and remains behind, 324-325; dismissed by

GENERAL INDEX

- Josephus to Jerusalem, 332 (possibly identical with Joazar, former colleague of Josephus)
- Joazar (2). See Joazar (2)
- Juba, king of Libya, marries Glaphyra the daughter of Archelaus, *B. ii.* 115, *A. xvii.* 349
- Jubal, son of Lamech and Adah, inventor of harps and lutes, *A. i.* 64
- Jubel (Bibl. Tubal-cain), son of Lamech and Zillah, invents forging of metal, *A. i.* 64
- Jubilee (Year), according to Jewish law, *A. iii.* 281-285
- Juctas (Bibl. Joktan), son of Eber, *A. i.* 146-147
- Jucundus (1), officer of Herod, *B. i.* 527; Herod's bodyguard, *A. xvi.* 314
- Jucundus (2), cavalry commander in Caesarea, *B. ii.* 291
- Jucundus (3), Aemilius. See Aemilius Jucundus
- Juda, son of, variant for Julius, commander of Roman legion, *A. xv.* 72
- Judadaeans, people of western Ethiopia, founded by Judadas (Dedan), *A. i.* 135
- Judadas (Bibl. Dedan), son of Raamah, founder of the Judadaeans, a people of western Ethiopia, *A. i.* 135
- Judaea (Judaeans), *B. i.* 22, 32, 37, 41, 49, 51, 61, 98, 103, 105, 127, 129, 134, 138, 157, 160, 174, 180, 183, 199, 201, 225, 231, 240, 244, 249, 288, 291, 309, 323, 327, 360, 362, 364, 365, 371, 445, 499, 513, 532, 604, 606, 659, 660; *ii.* 16, 43, 65, 85, 90, 96, 116, 169, 184, 186, 202, 247, 252, 265; *iii.* 1, 48; description of, *iii.* 51-58; *iii.* 143, 409; *iv.* 406-409, 473, 502, 545, 550, 657; *v.* 41; *vi.* 7, 238, 313; *vii.* 163, 252, 253, 301; settled by Canaan, *A. i.* 134; name for Canaan, *i.* 160; (Judaeans) *vi.* 324; *vi.* 361; *vii.* 101; *viii.* 188; ten tribes of Israel emigrate from there, *ix.* 280; ravaged by Babylonia, *x.* 40; spared by Nebuchadnezzar in return for tribute, *x.* 86; ravaged by Babylonia, *x.* 110; *x.* 163; deserted for seventy years, *x.* 184; *x.* 237; *xi.* 4, 60; Xerxes authorizes Jews to supervise their own affairs there, *xi.* 124; Nehemiah in Susa meets strangers from there, *xi.* 160; its affairs settled by Alexander the Great, *xii.* 1; Jews taken from there by Ptolemy Soter and brought to Egypt, *xii.* 7; *xii.* 28, 97, 114; annexed by Antiochus the Great, *xii.* 131; its timber used to restore the temple, *xii.* 141; given to Cleopatra as dowry, *xii.* 154; *xii.* 175, 233; taken by Antiochus Epiphanes, *xii.* 245; *xii.* 265, 289, 293; Antiochus Epiphanes orders that it be subdued, *xii.* 296; attacked by Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, *xii.* 298; invaded by Lysias, *xii.* 313; *xii.* 315, 329, 333, 345, 349, 351, 353, 394; makes treaty with Rome, *xii.* 416; attacked by Bacchides, *xii.* 420-421; its cities fortified by Bacchides, *xiii.* 15; sons of its chief men taken as hostages by Bacchides, *xiii.* 17; fortified by Bacchides, *xiii.* 22; *xiii.* 24, 33, 42; its taxes eased by Demetrius, *xiii.* 50; wooed by Demetrius, *xiii.* 54; *xiii.* 62, 75, 121, 125; gains three districts from Samaria, *xiii.* 127; *xiii.* 133, 155; defended by Jonathan against invasion by Demetrius II, *xiii.* 174; its fortresses strengthened by Simon, *xiii.* 180; attacked by Tryphon, *xiii.* 196; invaded by Tryphon, *xiii.* 203; *xiii.* 204; attacked by Antiochus VII, *xiii.* 225; invaded by Antiochus VII, *xiii.* 236; *xiii.* 246, 270; exploited by Hyrcanus, *xiii.* 273; *xiii.* 284, 318, 336; invaded by Ptolemy Lathyrus, *xiii.* 345; ravaged by Ptolemy Lathyrus, *xiii.* 348; *xiii.* 384; invaded by Antio-

GENERAL INDEX

chus Dionysus, xiii. 389; invaded by Aretas, xiii. 392; threatened by Tigranes, xiii. 419; xiv. 9, 15, 17, 29, 34, 35, 47, 49, 80; overrun by Alexander, son of Aristobulus, xiv. 82; its ruined cities rebuilt by Gabinius, xiv. 87; xiv. 92, 97, 105, 113, 118; invaded by Cassius, xiv. 120; xiv. 124, 139, 143; order restored there by Antipater, xiv. 156; xiv. 163, 184; heavily taxed by Cassius, xiv. 272; xiv. 277, 279; kingship over it promised to Herod by Cassius, xiv. 280; xiv. 290, 294; Antigonus driven therefrom by Herod, xiv. 299; marched upon by Parthians and Antigonus, xiv. 332-333; invaded by Parthians, xiv. 364; xiv. 365, 379; invaded by Ventidius, xiv. 392; xiv. 395, 447, 448; sizable part of it rebels against Herod, xiv. 450; xiv. 458; ruled by Herod, xv. 2; arrival there of Hyrcanus from Parthia, xv. 21; xv. 25, 39; sought by Cleopatra, xv. 79; Herod returns there, xv. 80; coveted by Cleopatra, xv. 92; visited by Cleopatra, xv. 96; suffers earthquake during reign of Herod, xv. 121; Herod returns there from his meeting with Octavian, xv. 198; xv. 350; governed by Cuspius Fadus, xv. 406; visited by Marcus Agrippa, xvi. 13; xvi. 86, 130, 132, 270; pillaged by bandits from Trachonitis, xvi. 275; xvi. 297; xvii. 82; designs of Sabinus on it, xvii. 221-222; disturbances there, xvii. 269-270; brigandage there after Herod's death, xvii. 285-286; xvii. 297; given to Archelaus by Augustus, xvii. 319; given to Archelaus as ethnarchy, xvii. 339; xvii. 344, 348; assessment of property there by Quirinius, xviii. 2; xviii. 29; its procurators, xviii. 35; xviii. 55; Marcellus appointed its pro-

curator, xviii. 89; visited by Vitellius, xviii. 90; bypassed by Vitellius in his march against Aretas, xviii. 121; Agrippa I arrives there, xviii. 147; Cypros returns there, xviii. 160; xviii. 196, 237; Petronius arrives there, xviii. 261; insolence of Gaius Caligula towards its inhabitants, xix. 1; confirmed as Agrippa's kingdom by Claudius, xix. 274; xix. 343; included in Agrippa's kingdom, xix. 351; Cuspius Fadus appointed procurator over it, xix. 363; xix. 366; arrival there of Fadus as procurator, xx. 2; purged of robber bands, xx. 5; xx. 97; famine there, xx. 101; census taken there by Quirinius, xx. 102; xx. 105, 107; infested with brigands, xx. 124; xx. 128; Felix appointed procurator over it, xx. 137; xx. 142; brigands there put down by Felix, xx. 160, 162; overrun by brigands, xx. 185; appointment of Albinus as procurator over it, xx. 197; xx. 228; V. 13, 37, 422, 425, 427, 429; care in marriages of priests there, *Ap.* i. 32; Hycsos build city there called Jerusalem, according to Manetho, i. 90; i. 179; its extent and beauty, according to Hecataeus of Abdera, i. 195; occupied by Jews upon their being driven from Egypt, according to Manetho, i. 228; reached by impure Egyptians led by Moses, according to Lysimachus, i. 310; reached by fugitives from Egypt in six days, according to Apion, ii. 21, 25
 Judah (1), son of Jacob. See Judas (1)
 Judah (2) (Judas), tribe of, kingdom of, *A.* iii. 105; Caleb's tribe, iii. 308; Achan's tribe, v. 33; v. 43, 91, 120; wars on the Canaanites, v. 128; v. 136; its cities captured by

GENERAL INDEX

- Canaanites, v. 177; v. 182; Ibzan's tribe, v. 271; vi. 78, 134, 249, 367; vii. 7; chooses David king, vii. 8; vii. 9; engaged by army led by Abner, vii. 10; pays homage to David, vii. 55, 58; vii. 260; makes peace with David, vii. 262; welcomes David, vii. 263-264; joined to David's force, vii. 275; reproached by others for currying David's favour, vii. 276-277, 279-280; its number, vii. 320; not in Adonijah's plot, vii. 347; increases in number during Solomon's rule, viii. 38; remains loyal to Rehoboam, viii. 221; fortified by Rehoboam, viii. 247; viii. 291; contributes to army of Jehoshaphat, viii. 397; Zebadiah's tribe, ix. 6; compelled by Jehoram to transgress, ix. 99; raises army against Amalekites, ix. 188; ix. 247; its people taken captive by Israel, ix. 249; its leaders return to Jerusalem, xi. 8; returns to Judaea, xi. 69, 73; xi. 84; gathers in Jerusalem, xi. 148; name "Jews" derived from it, xi. 173
- Judah (3), area held by tribe of, its territory, A. v. 81, 87; territory where Etam is, v. 297; territory belonging to tribe of, v. 318; Beth-shemesh a village there, vi. 14; David flees there, vi. 247; David lives there in Hebron, vii. 7; David king of it alone for seven years, vii. 65; Solomon declared king over it, vii. 356; ruled by David, vii. 389; viii. 126; Mareshah located there, viii. 292; Beersheba on its furthest boundary, viii. 348; ruled by Joash, ix. 177; ruled by Amaziah, ix. 186; ruled by Jotham, ix. 236; its cities captured by Sennacherib, x. 1
- Judaica*. See Josephus (1), works: *Bellum Judaicum*
- Judaism, conversion of Izates to it, A. xx. 41
- Judas (1) (Bibl. Judah), son of Jacob and Leah, A. i. 304; counsels brothers to sell Joseph to Arabs, ii. 32-33; persuades Jacob to let Benjamin go to Egypt, ii. 116; pleads for Benjamin's life and offers himself instead, ii. 139-159; his sons, ii. 178; announces Jacob's arrival in Egypt, ii. 184; vii. 372
- Judas (2), tribe of. See Judah (2), tribe of
- Judas (3), son of Henadad, brother of Kadmiel, A. xi. 79
- Judas (4) Maccabaeus, eldest son of Matthias (Mattathias) priest of Modin, B. i. 37; makes alliance with Romans, i. 38; recovers and cleanses temple, i. 39; battles with Antiochus V at Bethzacharia, i. 41-42; is defeated, i. 45; his death, i. 47; A. xii. 266; appointed commander by Mattathias, xii. 284; takes over command, xii. 285; drives enemy out of country, xii. 285-286; defeats Apollonius, xii. 287; defeats Seron, xii. 288-290, 292; encourages his troops, xii. 300-305; defeats Gorgias' army, xii. 307, 309, 311-312; fights Lysias, xii. 314; purifies the temple, xii. 316; celebrates Hanukkah, xii. 323; fortifies Jerusalem, xii. 326; is victorious over surrounding nations, xii. 327; orders Simon to help Jews of Galilee, xii. 330-331; his victories in Gilead, xii. 335; defeats Timotheus, xii. 339, 343-344; xii. 350; his instructions disobeyed, xii. 352; victorious in Idumaea, xii. 353; besieges citadel of Jerusalem, xii. 363, 365; fights Antiochus Eupator at Bethzacharias, xii. 369-370, 372; retires to Jerusalem, xii. 374; accepts Antiochus' proposals of peace, xii. 382; accused by Alcimus to Demetrius, xii. 391, 392; attacked by Bacchides, xii. 393-394; opposes Alcimus-

GENERAL INDEX

- xii. 399-401; escapes Nicanor's plot, xii. 402-405; kills Nicanor, xii. 406, 408, 410; given high priesthood, xii. 414; seeks treaty with Rome, xii. 416; high priest, xii. 419; defeated by Bacchides, xii. 422-423, 428-429, 431-433; his death, xiii. 1-2; his companions persecuted, xiii. 4-5; xiii. 7, 46; his place taken by Simon, xiii. 201
- Judas (5), son of Chapsaios, commander under Jonathan the son of Mattathias, remains loyal to him, A. xiii. 161
- Judas (6) the Essene, seer who predicts Antigonus' death, B. i. 78 ff.; his prophecy, A. xiii. 311-313
- Judas (7), also called Aristobulus, high priest, successor to Hyrcanus, first to hold both high priesthood and kingship, A. xx. 240-241; see also Aristobulus (2)
- Judas (8), son of Sepphoraëus, expert in Jewish law, urges the pulling down of Herod's golden eagle from the temple, B. i. 648-650, 655; urges destruction of golden eagle, A. xvii. 149, 151; captured by Herod, xvii. 157; his death lamented by Jews, xvii. 214
- Judas (9), son of Ezechias, brigand-chief, B. ii. 56; plunders Galilee, A. xvii. 271-272
- Judas (10) the Galilaean (Gaulanite), incites revolt against Romans, B. ii. 118, 433; vii. 253; cause of troubles that overtook the Jews, A. xviii. 4-10; founds fourth philosophy, xviii. 23-25; his sons crucified, xx. 102
- Judas (11), Jewish priest sent with Josephus and Joazar to Galilee, V. 29, (63, 73, 77)
- Judas (12), son of Jonathan, envoy of Jews besieging Romans in Herod's palace, B. ii. 451, 628
- Judas (13) (Judes), son of Ari, brave Zealot, (Judes) B. vi. 92; vii. 215
- Judas (14) (Judes), son of Merton, brave soldier in division of Simon the son of Gioras, B. vi. 92
- Judas (15) (Judes), son of Mareotes, in party of Simon the son of Gioras, B. vi. 148 (perhaps identical with Judas [14])
- Judes (1) (Bibl. Ehud), son of Gera, daring youth, kills Eglon, A. v. 188, 191-193; v. 194; honoured with governorship, v. 197
- Judes (2), son of Chelcias, joins Eleazar's faction, B. v. 6
- Judes (3), son of Judes, general of Simon the son of Gioras, B. v. 534-540
- Judes (4), father of Judes the general of Simon the son of Gioras, B. v. 534
- Judes (5). See Judas (13) and (14)
- Judges, period of, A. xx. 261
- Juelos, high priest, son of Sudaïos, A. x. 153
- Julia (1) (Livia), wife of Augustus Caesar, B. i. 566, 641; ii. 167; A. xvi. 139; urges Salome to marry Alexas, xvii. 10; Acme the Jewess her slave, xvii. 141; beneficiary in Herod's will, xvii. 146, 190; Salome's bequest to her, xviii. 31; mother of Tiberius Nero, xviii. 33
- Julia (2), daughter of Augustus, B. ii. 25, 168; A. xvii. 229; city named for her by Philip the tetrarch, xviii. 28
- Julia (3), sister of Gaius Caligula, A. xix. 251
- Julianus (1), Marcus Antonius, procurator of Judaea, B. vi. 238
- Julianus (2), Bithynian centurion, B. vi. 81-91
- Julias (1). See Betharamphtha
- Julias (2). See Bethsaida
- Julius (1), commander of Roman legion, A. xv. 72
- Julius (2) Alexander. See Alexander (19), Marcus Julius
- Julius (3) Antonius. See Antonius (5), Julius
- Julius (4) Archelaus. See Archelaus (4), Julius

GENERAL INDEX

Julius (5) Capellus. See Capellus, Julius
 Julius (6) Lupus. See Lupus, Julius
 Julius (7) Gaius, *A.* xiv. 213 (textual conjecture for Julius Caesar)
 Jumel(os) (Bibl. Jemuel), son of Simeon, *A.* ii. 178
 Junius. See Brutus, M. Junius
 Jupiter Capitolinus, *B.* vii. 153; *A.* xiv. 36; Gaius Caligula's audacity towards him, xix. 4; xix. 11; see also Zeus
 Jupiter Victor, Temple of, meeting place of Roman Senate, *A.* xix. 248
 justice, administration of, according to Jewish law, *A.* iv. 214-218
 Justus (1) of Tiberias, son of Pistus, leader of Jewish faction at Tiberias, eager for revolution against Romans, *V.* 34, 36 ff.; his knowledge of Greek culture, author of prejudiced history of Jewish war against Romans, 40; almost entirely responsible for ruin of Jews, 41; Jewish leader at Bethmaus, at conference with Josephus, 65; eager to desert Josephus and to join John of Gischala, 88; held as prisoner by Josephus, sups with him, 175-178; hands of his brother cut off by Galilaeans on charge of forging letters prior to outbreak of hostilities, 177; his brother slain by followers of Josephus, the midwife's son, 186; urges citizens of Tiberias to desert Josephus, 279; rival historian of the Jewish war, 336; maligns Josephus, 338; his responsibility for revolt of Tiberias from Rome, 340; his relations with Agrippa II, 355-356; his belated and erroneous history of the Jewish War, 357-358; delays publication of his history of Jewish War until twenty years have elapsed, 359-360; goes over to Agrippa II, 390 ff.; is accused by leaders of Decapolis of setting fire to their villages,

410; Vespasian hands him over to Agrippa for execution, but he is merely detained in prison, 410
 Justus (2), second son of Josephus, *V.* 5; elder son of Josephus by his third wife, who came from Crete, 427
 Justus (3), bodyguard of Josephus, had formerly served Agrippa II in that capacity, killed in engagement with Romans, *V.* 397
 KAATH(OS) (Caath; Bibl. Kohath), son of Levi, *A.* ii. 178, 229
 Kabi, surname of Joseph the high priest, *A.* xx. 196
 Kabrothaba (Bibl. Kibroth Hattaavah), place in region of Sinai, *A.* iii. 299
 Kabul. See Chabalo(n)
 Kadasa. See Cydasa
 Kadmas (Bibl. Kedemah), son of Ishmael, *A.* i. 220
 Kadmiel. See Zodmielos
 kahana rabba. See anarabaches
 kahanya. See chaanaeae
 Kaine, place in region of Ziph near Hebron, *A.* vi. 275
 Kalends of July, *A.* xiv. 234, 237
 Kalends of October, *A.* xiv. 228
 Kamon, city of Gilead, *A.* v. 254
 Kana (1), village southeast of Dead Sea (not Cana in Galilee), *A.* xiii. 391
 Kana (2). See Canatha
 Kanata. See Canatha
 Kanaz(os) (Bibl. Kenaz), son of Esau, *A.* ii. 5
 Kapharath, village in Lower Galilee, fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188
 Kapharsalama, village near Jerusalem where Nicanor is defeated by Judas the Maccabee, *A.* xii. 405
 Karchamissa (Bibl. Carchemish), city on upper Euphrates, *A.* x. 84
 Kareah. See Karias
 Karias (Bibl. Kareah), father of Johanan, *A.* x. 160, 176
 Kariathiareim (Kariathjarim;

GENERAL INDEX

- Bibl. Kiriath-jearim) (Kariatthiarimites), city near Bethshemesh, *A.* vi. 17-19; (Kariatthiarimites) neighbours of Gibeonites, *A.* v. 50; (Kariatthjarim) place from which ark is brought to Jerusalem, vii. 78
- Kariatthjarim. See Kariatthiareim
- Karos, outstanding for his beauty, put to death by Herod, *A.* xvii. 44
- Karran. See Charran
- Katura (Bibl. Keturah), second wife of Abraham, *A.* i. 238-240, 255; ii. 213, 257
- Kedar, son of Ishmael, *A.* i. 220
- Kedasa. See Cydasa
- Kedemah. See Kadmas
- Kedese. See Cydasa
- Kedesh Naphtali. See Cydasa
- Kedron, deep ravine separating Mount of Olives from Jerusalem, *B.* v. 70, 147, 252, 254, 303, 504; vi. 192; *A.* viii. 17; ix. 151
- Keilah. See Killa
- Kemuel. See Mathuel
- Kenan. See Cainas
- Kenaz (1). See Kanaz(os)
- Kenaz (2). See Keniaz
- Keniaz (Bibl. Kenaz), judge from tribe of Judah, delivers Israelites from Assyrians, *A.* v. 182, 184 (Josephus' error for Othniel, the son of Kenaz)
- Kenites, tribe friendly to the Jews, whither Sisera flees, *A.* v. 207
- Kepherites (Bibl. Chephirah), neighbours of Gibeonites, *A.* v. 50
- Kesabaios. See Sabaias
- Keturah. See Katura
- Kibroth Hattaavah. See Kabrothaba
- Killa (Bibl. Keilah) (Killanians), town in south-western Palestine, rescued by David from Philistines until treachery of inhabitants forces him to leave, *A.* vi. 273-274; (Killanians) saved by David, vi. 271-272
- kinchares*, Hebrew weight, denotes a talent in Greek, *A.* iii. 144
- kings, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 223-224
- Kings, Valley of. See "royal plain"
- kinyra*. See *kinyra*
- kinyra* (Bibl. *kinnôr*), ten-string instrument, *A.* vii. 306; (*kinyrai*) viii. 94
- Kiriath-jearim. See Kariatthiareim
- Kis (Bibl. Kish), Benjamite, father of Saul, *A.* vi. 45, 56, 62; son of Abiel, vi. 130; vi. 268
- Kish. See Kis
- Kislew. See Chasleus
- Kitieis (Cyprians), *A.* ix. 284
- Kittim. See Chethimos
- Kittion. See Chethimos
- Kothath. See Kaath(os)
- Komus, village in Lower Galilee, fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188
- kor*, Hebrew measure, equals ten Attic *medimnoi*, *A.* xv. 314
- Korah (1). See Kore(os)
- Korah (2), Hebrew who challenges Moses' authority, *A.* iv. 14, 20-21, 24-25, 32-33; consumed by fire, iv. 54-56
- Kore(os) (Bibl. Korah), son of Esau, *A.* ii. 4
- Korraea (Bibl. Beth-car), place west of Jerusalem, site of landmark set up by Samuel in honour of massacre of Philistines, *A.* vi. 28
- Koze, Idumaeen god, *A.* xv. 253
- Kydasa. See Cydasa
- kymbala* (Bibl. *megilayim*), large plates of brass, used as instruments for Jewish divine service, *A.* vii. 306
- LABAN, son of Bethuel, *A.* i. 153; brother of Rebecca, i. 248, 251-252; Jacob sent to marry his daughter, i. 278, 285; i. 288, 290; welcomes Jacob, i. 293-297; tricks Jacob into marrying Leah, i. 299-302; pursues Jacob but makes pact with him, i. 311-324; i. 342
- Labatha (Bibl. Lo-debar), city in Palestine, *A.* vii. 113
- Laberius Maximus, L., Roman procurator, *B.* vii. 216

GENERAL INDEX

- Labimus (Bibl. Lehabim), son of Mizraim, *A. i.* 137
- Labina (Lobane; var. Tomane, Tomiane; Bibl. Libnah), region or city in Palestine, *A. ix.* 98; (Lobane) *x.* 81
- Laborosoardoch. See Labosordachos
- Labosordachos (Laborosoardoch; var. Labrosodachos), king of Babylonia, son of Nergalsareser, *A. x.* 231; (Laborosoardoch) is assassinated, *Ap. i.* 148
- Labrosodachos. See Labosordachos
- Lacedaemon (Lacedemon, Sparta) (Lacedaemonians, Spartans), *B. i.* 425, 513, 515, 532; *ii.* 359, 381; *vii.* 240, 243; letter of Areios, its king, to Onias, *A. xii.* 225-228; *xiii.* 164, 165; (Spartans) letter of Jonathan to them, *xiii.* 166-170; (Lacedaemonians) make alliance with Jews, *xiii.* 170; *xvi.* 301, 310; reviled by Polycrates, *Ap. i.* 221; (Lacedaemonians) bravest of the Greeks, their calamities, *ii.* 130; (Lacedaemonians) their education practical, not verbal, *ii.* 172; unduly admired, *ii.* 225-231; (Lacedaemonians) expulsion of foreigners by them, *ii.* 259-262; (Lacedaemonians) condemn their own constitution, *ii.* 273
- Lacedemon. See Lacedaemon
- Lacheis (Lacheisa; Bibl. Lachish), city in Palestine, *A. viii.* 246; (Lacheisa) *ix.* 203
- Lacheisa. See Lacheis
- Lachish. See Lacheis
- "Ladder of the Tyrians," coastline between Tyre and Ptolemais, *B. ii.* 188; *A. xiii.* 146
- Lagus, father of Ptolemy I (Soter), *A. xii.* 2, 3; *Ap. i.* 183, 185, 210; *ii.* 37, 44
- Laish. See Dan (3); Lisos
- lake (1), near Solymian hills, cited by Choerilus, identified by Josephus with Dead Sea, *Ap. i.* 173
- Lake (2) of Gennesar. See Gennesar, Lake of
- Lamech, son of Methuselah, *A. i.* 63, 65, 79, 86-87
- lamps, lighting of by Jews, imitated by non-Jews, *Ap. ii.* 282
- Land of Gold. See Gold, Land of
- Landing-place, place where Noah landed after flood, *A. i.* 92
- Laodice, queen of Samenians, *A. xiii.* 371
- Laodicea, city on coast of Syria, captured by Crassus, *B. i.* 231; aqueduct in it given by Herod, *i.* 422; letter of its magistrates to Gaius Rabirius, *A. xiv.* 241; captured by Cassius, *xiv.* 289; Antony goes there, *xv.* 64
- Larcus Lepidus, Roman commander under Titus, *B. vi.* 237
- Lasthenes the Cretan, probably governor of Coele-Syria, *A. xiii.* 86, 126-127
- Lathyrus, surname for Ptolemy VIII, *B. i.* 86; *A. xiii.* 278, 285, 328, 370
- Latin, Caesar's decrees concerning Jews written in it, *A. xiv.* 191, 197; edict of Antony to Tyre inscribed in it, *xiv.* 319; Gaius' proficiency in it, *xix.* 208
- Latousim(os) (Bibl. Letushim), son of Dedan, *A. i.* 238
- "law," the word, nowhere employed by Homer, *Ap. ii.* 154-155
- Law (laws) of Moses, septennial reading of, *A. iv.* 209-211; *xiii.* 297; copy of produced, *V.* 134; the five books, *Ap. i.* 39; degree of Jewish reverence for them, *i.* 43; Jewish observance of them, *i.* 60; willingness of Jews, according to Hecataeus of Abdera, to face death in defence of them, *i.* 190-191; Jewish observance of them, *i.* 212; given on Sinai, *ii.* 25; translated during reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, *ii.* 45 ff.; Jewish faithfulness to them, *ii.* 82; provisions therein concerning vessels in the temple, *ii.* 106; alleged by Apion to be unjust, *ii.* 125;

GENERAL INDEX

- attacks on them by Apollonius Molon and Lysimachus, ii. 145 ff.; Jewish observance of them, ii. 149-150; the Law as father and master, ii. 174; weekly reading thereof, prescribed by Moses, ii. 175; thorough knowledge of them by all Jews, ii. 178; requires no amendment, ii. 184; adopted by non-Jews, ii. 282-286; summary sketch of contents thereof, ii. 190-219; exacting requirements thereof, ii. 228; Jewish loyalty to them, ii. 271-272, 277-278; immortality thereof, ii. 277; encomium on them, ii. 291-295
- Law, oral, concerning bearing arms on Sabbath, *V.* 161; Pharisees experts on it, 191
- Laws (of non-Jews), Dracon's on homicide, *Ap.* i. 21; must not be changed by masses, ii. 153; violations of them by other nations, ii. 276; study of them prescribed by Plato, ii. 257
- Laws* by Theophrastus cited, *Ap.* i. 167
- Lazarus, father of Mannaëus, *B.* v. 567
- Leah, daughter of Laban, *A.* i. 302; bears children to Jacob, i. 303-304; gives her handmaid to Jacob as concubine, i. 306; gives mandrakes to Rachel, i. 307-308; i. 344; her descendants, ii. 179; ii. 182
- Lebanon (1) (Libanus), occupied by descendants of Ham, *A.* i. 130; xiii. 427; its mountainous region added to Agrippa I's kingdom, xix. 275; ruled by Soemus the tetrarch, *V.* 52
- Lebanon (2) (Libanos), Forest of, hall in Solomon's palace, *A.* viii. 169, 180
- Lebanon (3) (Libanos, Libanus), Mount, *A.* i. 130, 138; iii. 303; v. 63; border of Naphtali, v. 86; v. 178; viii. 16; border of territory governed by Ben Geber, viii. 36; trees from there sent to Solomon for building of the temple, viii. 52, 58; (Libanos) viii. 145, 147, 160; (Libanos) ix. 197; cedars sent from there for building of the temple, xi. 60, 78; timber from there used to complete the temple, xii. 141; xiv. 126, 129, 452; (Libanus) source of timber for roof of Solomon's temple, *Ap.* i. 110; its timber used for Tyrian temples, i. 113; its timber used for roofs of Tyrian temples, i. 118
- Lebanon (4) Valley, *B.* i. 185, 188, 329; iii. 57; v. 36
- Lehabim. See Labimus
- Lehi. See Jawbone
- Lemba (Libba), city in Moab, *A.* xiii. 397; (Libba) xiv. 18
- Lemonian tribe, *A.* xiv. 220 (*bis*)
- Lenaëon, month, *A.* xiv. 225
- Lentulus, Lucius Cornelius, Roman consul, grants privileges to Jews of Ephesus, *A.* xiv. 228, 230, 232, 234, 236, 237, 240
- Leon (var.), one of bearers of Claudius' letter to Jews, *A.* xx. 14
- Leontopolis, city in Egypt in nome of Heliopolis, site of temple established by Jewish high priest Onias, *A.* xiii. 65, 70
- lepers (leprosy), rules concerning, *A.* iii. 261-268; banished from Egypt with Jews, *Ap.* i. 229 ff.; story about them criticized by Josephus, i. 256 ff.; (leprosy) Jewish laws on it prove that Moses was no leper, i. 281-284; account in Lysimachus of Jewish lepers expelled from Egypt, i. 304-313
- Lepidus (1), friend of Vinicianus, killed by Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 20, 49
- Lepidus (2), Larcus. See Larcus Lepidus
- leprosy. See lepers
- Lesbos, island in Aegean Sea, *A.* xvi. 17, 62
- Lesser Armenia. See Armenia (3) Minor
- Letopolis. See Babylon (2)
- Letushim. See Latousim(os)

GENERAL INDEX

Leuce, projection of rock near Masada, *B.* vii. 305

Leummim. See Lououris

Levi (Levis) (1), born to Jacob and Leah, *A.* i. 304; slays the Shechemites, i. 339-340; his sons, ii. 178; Moses one of his descendants, ii. 229

Levi (2), tribe of, consecrated to serve the tabernacle, *A.* iii. 258; exempt from military service, iii. 287-288; iv. 19; exempt from military service, iv. 67; assists in administration of justice, iv. 214; tribe of Abinadab, vi. 18; pays homage to David, vii. 56; uncounted in David's census, vii. 320

Levi (3), father of John of Gischala, *B.* ii. 575, 585; iv. 85; *V.* 43, 122, 189

Levi (4), father of Jannaeus (special friend of Agrippa II), *V.* 131

Levi (5), bodyguard of Josephus, *B.* ii. 642; is ordered by Josephus to cut off a hand of the seditionist Cleitus, *V.* 171-172; appointed by Josephus to be commander of outpost at Dabaritta, 319

Levias, Judaeen noble, *B.* iv. 141

Levis. See Levi

Levite(s) (Levitical; see also Levi), *A.* iii. 287; their place in the camp, iii. 290; carry tabernacle, iii. 293; join Korah in rebelling against Moses, iv. 15; "Levite" inscribed on Aaron's rod, iv. 64; assigned cities, iv. 67-69; receive spoil of Midianites, iv. 164; their cities, iv. 173; receive tithes, iv. 205; iv. 222; receive tithes, iv. 240, 242; iv. 305; v. 17; sacrifice at Shechem, v. 69; receive cities allotted by Joshua, v. 91; given city of Hebron, v. 126; v. 136, 140, 142, 144; bring ark to Jerusalem, vii. 78; Obed-Edom one of them, vii. 83; vii. 200; taught by David to play musical instru-

ments in praise of God, vii. 305; numbered by David, vii. 363; tribe divided into parts by David, vii. 367; urged by David to assist Solomon, vii. 376; donate from their wealth to the temple, vii. 378; robes made for them for temple service, viii. 94; sacrifice in newly built temple, viii. 101; viii. 169; sing hymns with musical instruments, viii. 176; appointed by Jeroboam, viii. 228; righteous ones leave Jeroboam and come to Jerusalem, viii. 248; ix. 4, 11-12; guard Joash in the temple, ix. 144, 147-148; appointed to temple duty by Jehoiada, ix. 155; told to collect half-shekel for temple, ix. 161-162; addressed by Hezekiah, ix. 260-262; ix. 269; tithes restored to them by Hezekiah, ix. 273-274; x. 62, 71; return to Jerusalem, xi. 8; their instruments restored to them by Darius, xi. 62; return to Judaea, xi. 69-71, 74; in charge of building second temple, xi. 79; lament for first temple, xi. 80-81; bring sacrifices on completion of the temple, xi. 107; set porters at gateways of the temple, xi. 108; are allowed by Xerxes to accompany Ezra to Jerusalem, xi. 123; not to be taxed, xi. 128; come to Ezra, xi. 134; accused of mixed marriages, xi. 140; swear to send away foreign wives and children, xi. 146; send away foreign wives, xi. 151; urged by Nehemiah to move to Jerusalem, xi. 181; appointed to temple of Onias in Egypt, xiii. 63, 73; singers among them obtain permission to wear linen like priests, xx. 216

Levitical. See Levite(s)

Libanos. See Lebanon (2), Forest of, and Lebanon (3), Mount

Libanus. See Lebanon (1) and (3)

Libba. See Lemba

GENERAL INDEX

- Liberalius**, Roman centurion, *B.* vi. 262
Libnah. See *Labina*
Libya (Libyan, Libyans), *B.* ii. 115-116, 363, 494; iii. 107; iv. 608; vii. 439; colonized by Put, *A.* i. 132; settled by Lehabim, i. 137; occupied by Ephraim, i. 239; i. 241; mercenaries of Shishak from there, viii. 254; viii. 324; x. 227; xii. 414; xvi. 160, 169; xvii. 349, 350; region where Dido founds Carthage, *Ap.* i. 125; greater part of it subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, according to Megasthenes, i. 144; its cities settled by Jews sent by Ptolemy Lagus, ii. 44
Libys, son of Mizraim, gives name to Libya, *A.* i. 133
Life. See Josephus (1), works: *Vita*
light, in Jewish festivals, *Ap.* ii. 118
Lisos (Bibl. Laish), father of Phalti, *A.* vi. 309
Livia, Empress. See *Julia* (1)
Livius, Titus, author of history of Rome, *A.* xiv. 68
loans, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 267-270
Lobane. See *Labina*
Locrians, Zaleucus lawgiver of, *Ap.* ii. 154
Lo-debar. See *Labatha*
Lollius, Pompey's legate, *B.* i. 127; *A.* xiv. 29
longevity of patriarchs, *A.* i. 105-108
Longinus (1), Roman tribune, *B.* ii. 544
Longinus (2), Roman trooper, *B.* v. 312
Longinus (3), Cassius. See *Cassius Longinus*
Longinus (4), Titus Pompeius. See *Pompeius* (1), Titus Longinus
Longus, gallant Roman soldier, *B.* vi. 186-187
Lookout. See *Scopus*
lost property, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 274
Lot, son of Haran, *A.* i. 151; adopted by Abraham, i. 154; Abraham divides land with him, i. 169-170; taken prisoner by Assyrians, i. 175; rescued by Abraham, i. 176, 179; saved from Sodom, i. 200-204; his wife, i. 203; his children, i. 205-206
Lououris (Bibl. Leummim), son of Dedan, *A.* i. 238
Lous (= Hebrew Ab), Macedonian month, fifteenth day of, *B.* ii. 430; vi. 220, 250, 374; *A.* iv. 84
Lousoubak(os) (Bibl. Ishbak), son of Abraham and Keturah, *A.* i. 238
Lower Asia. See *Asia*, Lower
Lower City. See *Jerusalem*, topography of
Lower Egypt. See *Egypt*, Lower
Lucilius Bassus. See *Bassus*, Lucilius
Lucius (1), Roman soldier, *B.* vi. 188-189
Lucius (2), son of Publius, petitions Lentulus, *A.* xiv. 236
Lucullus, Sulla's quaestor, invades Armenia, *B.* i. 116; *A.* xiii. 421; xiv. 114
Lud. See *Ludas*
Ludas (Bibl. Lud), son of Shem, *A.* i. 144
Ludians, later called Lydians, *A.* i. 144
Ludim. See *Lumaeus*
Lumaeus (Bibl. Ludim), son of Mizraim, *A.* i. 137
Lupus (1), Roman official in control of Alexandria, destroys temple of Onias, *B.* vii. 420-421, 433; death of, vii. 434
Lupus (2), Julius, slays wife and daughter of Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 190-191, 194, 198-200; executed by Claudius, xix. 269-271
Lusa. See *Alusa*
Lusitanians, tribe in Spanish peninsula, *B.* ii. 374
Lus(s)a. See *Alusa*
Lycia (Lycians), *B.* i. 425; ii. 368
Lycurgus, Spartan lawgiver, much more recent than Moses, *Ap.* ii. 154; admiration for, ii. 225

GENERAL INDEX

- Lycus, river in Assyria, *A.* xiii. 251
- Lydda, city and district on western frontier of Judaea, *B.* i. 302; ii. 242, 244, 515, 567; iii. 55; iv. 444; district given to Jewish nation by Demetrius II, *A.* xiii. 127; xiv. 208, 275; Antigonus' army quartered there, xiv. 412; xx. 130
- Lydia, *A.* xi. 305; revolts against Antiochus the Great, xii. 147, 149
- Lydians, *A.* i. 144
- Lyons, city in Gaul, *A.* xviii. 252
- Lysanias, son of Ptolemy the son of Mennaëus, *B.* i. 248, 398, 440; ii. 215, 247; becomes ruler of Chalcis in Lebanon and forms pact of friendship with Antigonus, *A.* xiv. 330-332; killed by Cleopatra, xv. 92; his domain leased by Zenodorus, xv. 344; his tetrarchy given to Agrippa I, xviii. 237; ruler of Abila, xix. 275; his tetrarchy granted to Agrippa II, xx. 138
- Lysias (1), noble of high rank, left in command by Antiochus Epiphanes, *A.* xii. 295-315; xii. 361; commands Antiochus Eupator's army, xii. 367; makes peace with the Jews, xii. 379-381; urges Antiochus to slay Menelaus, xii. 384; xii. 387; killed by Demetrius, xii. 390; general of Antiochus Eupator, xx. 235
- Lysias (2), fortress in Lebanon, *A.* xiv. 40
- Lysimachus (1), rules Hellespont after Alexander the Great, *A.* xii. 2
- Lysimachus (2), brother of Apollodotus, general of Gazæans, *A.* xiii. 361
- Lysimachus (3), son of Pausanias, envoy from Hyrcanus to Roman Senate, *A.* xiv. 222; envoy of Jews to Antony, xiv. 307
- Lysimachus (4), friend of Herod, killed by him, *A.* xv. 252; accused by Salome of plotting against Herod, xv. 260
- Lysimachus (5), Alexandrian writer, his account of the exodus criticized by Josephus, *Ap.* i. 304-320; on date of Jewish exodus from Egypt, ii. 16; on number of fugitives driven from Egypt, ii. 20; his attacks on Moses and Jewish code, ii. 145; reprobate sophist, ii. 236
- Lyssa (Frenzy), deified by Greeks, *Ap.* ii. 248
- MAACAII. See Machaia; Machame; Machane; Machas; Micha
- Maachah. See Machaia; Machame; Machane; Machas
- Maalon. See Malaon
- Maaphe. See Mella
- Maaseiah. See Amasias (3) and (4)
- Mabatha, Jewish name of Neapolis (mod. Nablus), *B.* iv. 449
- Maccabæus (the Maccabee), surname of Judas, son of Mattathias, *A.* xii. 266
- Maccabee. See Maccabæus
- Macchida (Bibl. Makkedah), site of cave in Palestine, *A.* v. 61
- Macedon (Macedonia, Macedonians), *B.* i. 53; ii. 360, 365, 387; Macedonian Jews, ii. 488; *A.* i. 80, 138; ii. 311, 348; iii. 201, 239, iv. 84, 327; their months, viii. 61, 100; their months, xi. 107, 109, 148; xi. 286; Philip, king of, xi. 304; xi. 313, 315-317, 326, 334; xii. 1; falls to share of Cassander after Alexander the Great's death, xii. 2; (Macedonians) Jews in Alexandria given equal rights with them, xii. 8; (Macedonians) Jews in Antioch share citizen rights with them, xii. 119; xii. 248; their garrison stationed in Jerusalem, xii. 252; xii. 319; (Macedonians) fulfil Daniel's prophecy, xii. 322; xii. 354, 412, 434; (Macedonians) subjugate Judaea, xiii. 1, 3; xiii. 7, 29, 43, 62, 121, 185; (Macedonians)

GENERAL INDEX

- Judaea liberated from their rule, xiii. 213; (Macedonians) rebellion against them by Hyrcanus, xiii. 273; xiv. 187, 310, 336; Macedonian inhabitants of Seleucia, xviii. 372; (Macedonians) their king Philip assassinated on the very same day as Gaius Caligula, xix. 95; xix. 298; (Macedonians) found Antioch, xx. 68; (Macedonians) their war against Hasmonaeans, xx. 238; xx. 260; left by Stratonice, who goes to Syria, *Ap.* i. 206; (Macedonians) privileges of Jews in Alexandria on par with them, ii. 35-36; (Macedonians) ancestors (ironical) of Apion, ii. 48; (Macedonians) sedition among them in Alexandria, ii. 69; (Macedonians) strength of their character, ii. 70; (Macedonians) Egyptians as their slaves, ii. 133; (Macedonians) not indignant at slaughter of domestic animals, ii. 138
- "Macedonians" (1), bodyguard of Antiochus Epiphanes, *B.* v. 460-465
- "Macedonians" (2), name of local tribe of Jews in Alexandria, *Ap.* ii. 36
- Machaeras, Roman leader sent by Ventidius to aid Herod, *B.* i. 317-320, 323, 326, 334; sent to aid Herod, *A.* xiv. 434; hurts rather than helps Herod, xiv. 435-436, 438; xiv. 448; fortifies Gittha, xiv. 450; fights Pappas, xiv. 457
- Machaerus, strategic position adjacent to Arabian Mountains, fortified by Alexander son of Aristobulus, *B.* i. 161; surrendered by Alexander, i. 167; i. 171-172; ii. 485-486; iii. 46; iv. 439, 555; vii. 164-168, 170; description of, vii. 171-189; siege of, vii. 190-209; vii. 210; *A.* xiii. 417; xiv. 83, 89, 94, 96, 111-112, 119
- Machaia (Bibl. Maacah, Maachah), mother of Asa, *A.* viii. 286
- Machame (Bibl. Maacah, Maachah), wife of David, daughter of Talmi, *A.* vii. 21
- machanases (Heb. *miknesaim*), breeches worn by Jewish priests, *A.* iii. 152
- Machane (Bibl. Maacah, Maachah), daughter of Tamar, wife of Rehoboam, *A.* viii. 249-250
- Machas (Bibl. Maacah, Maachah), son of Nahor, *A.* i. 153
- Machellos. See Seidos
- Macheiros (Bibl. Machir), raises Jonathan's son, *A.* vii. 113; chief of Gilead, vii. 230
- Machir. See Macheiros
- Machma (Bibl. Michmash), city near Jerusalem, *A.* vi. 98, 103; xiii. 34
- Machon, Syrian city, *A.* vii. 105
- Macro, successor of Sejanus, *A.* xviii. 196; arrests Agrippa I, xviii. 189-191; grants concessions to Agrippa, xviii. 203-204
- Macrones, neighbours of Syrians, mentioned by Herodotus, *Ap.* i. 170
- Madaeans, race descended from Madai son of Japheth, called Medes by the Greeks, *A.* i. 124
- Madai. See Mados
- Madan(es) (Bibl. Medan), son of Abraham and Keturah, *A.* i. 238
- Madian (Midian), country east of Palestine, *A.* vi. 140
- Madian(e) (Bibl. Midian), town near Red Sea, *A.* ii. 257
- Madianites (Bibl. Midianites), *A.* iv. 101-103, 105; entreat Balaam to curse Israelites, iv. 105, 107; iv. 120, 123; their women seduce Hebrew youths, iv. 126-140; iv. 141, 156-157; their defeat, iv. 159-164; v. 127; attack Israelites, v. 210, 212; v. 218; defeated by Gideon, v. 229; their kings put to death by Gideon, v. 229
- Mados (Bibl. Madai), son of Japheth and eponymous ancestor of Medes, *A.* i. 124
- Maecian tribe, in Rome, *A.* xiv. 220

GENERAL INDEX

- Maeotis, Lake (modern Sea of Azov), *B. ii.* 366; *vii.* 244
- Magadates. See Bagadates
- Magaddatus, father of Archelaus the Jewish deserter, *B. vi.* 229
- Magassarus, soldier of King Agrippa II and henchman of Mariamme the sister of Agrippa II, *B. v.* 474
- Magedo (Mageddo; Bibl. Megiddo), city in Palestine built by Solomon, *A. viii.* 151; (Mageddo) *ix.* 121
- Mageddo. See Magedo
- Magi, fail to tell Nebuchadnezzar his dream, *A. x.* 195, 198-199, 203; fail to interpret Nebuchadnezzar's second dream, *x.* 216; unable to interpret handwriting on the wall, *x.* 234, 236; *xi.* 31
- Magnus. See Pompey
- Magog, son of Japheth, founder of Scythians, *A. i.* 123
- Magogians, founded by Magog, *A. i.* 123
- Mahalalel. See Malael
- Mahalath. See Basemath
- Mahanaim. See Manalis
- Mahlon. See Malaon
- Mahol. See Hemaon
- Makkedah. See Macchida
- Malachias, soldier of Simon's division, *B. vi.* 92
- Malael (Bibl. Mahalalel), son of Cain, *A. i.* 79, 84
- Malaon (Maalon; Bibl. Mahlon), son of Abimelech and Naomi, *A. v.* 318; marries Ruth, *v.* 319, 333
- Malatha, city in Idumaea, *A. xviii.* 147
- Malchiel. See Melchiel(os)
- Malchus (1) the Arab, tutor to Antiochus VI, *A. xiii.* 131-132
- Malchus (2), king of Arabs, *B. i.* 274-276, 278, 286, 360, 440; declines to aid Herod, *A. xiv.* 370-375; *xiv.* 390; his aid enlisted by Hyrcanus against Herod, *xv.* 167-168, 171-173, 175
- Malchus (3), king of Arabs, *B. iii.* 68
- Malchus (4). See Cleodorus
- Malichus, Jewish noble, enemy of Antipater, *B. i.* 162, 220, 222-224; poisons Antipater, *i.* 226; Herod's revenge on him, *i.* 227-237; *A. xiv.* 84, 273, 276; plots against Antipater's life, *xiv.* 277-279; poisons Antipater, *xiv.* 280-284; tries to keep Herod out of Jerusalem, *xiv.* 285-287; killed by Herod, *xiv.* 288-293; *xiv.* 296
- Malla. See Mella
- Mallius (1), Lucius, of Menenian tribe, father of Lucius Mallius, *A. xiii.* 260
- Mallius (2) (var. Mannius), Lucius, of Menenian tribe, son of Lucius Mallius, *A. xiii.* 260
- Malthace, wife of Herod, *B. i.* 562; her death, *ii.* 39; Archelaus' mother, her death, *A. xvii.* 250
- Mambres (Bibl. Mamre), comrade in arms of Abraham, *A. i.* 182
- Mamre. See Mambres
- man (1), Hebrew word for "what is this?", *A. iii.* 32
- man (2). See manna
- Manaemos (1) (Bibl. Menahem[1]), king of Israel, *A. ix.* 229, 232-233
- Manaemos (2). See Manaemos
- Manaemos (3). See Menahem (3)
- Manahem (Heb. Menahem), an Essene, predicts that Herod will be king, *A. xv.* 373-378
- Manalis (Bibl. Mahanaim), city in Transjordan, *A. vii.* 10
- Manasseh (1). See Manasses (1)
- Manasseh (2) (Manasses), tribe of (Manassites), awarded their part of land, *A. iv.* 166; *iv.* 174; *v.* 3, 80; territory of the half-tribe, *v.* 83; erects altar, *v.* 100; Gideon's tribe, *v.* 213; Jair's tribe, *v.* 254; pays homage to David, *vii.* 57, 59; their land ravaged by Syria, *ix.* 159; many of tribe converted to piety in days of King Hezekiah, *ix.* 267
- Manasseh (3), son of Hezekiah, king of Judah, *A. x.* 37; captured by Babylonians, *x.* 40; repents, *x.* 41-46

GENERAL INDEX

- Manasseh (4).** See **Manasses (4)**
Manasseh (5). See **Manasses (5)**
Manasseh (6), Jewish commander of Peraea, *B. ii.* 567
Manasses (1) (Bibl. **Manasseh**), Joseph's son, *A. ii.* 92, 180, 195; *iii.* 238; *xi.* 341
Manasses (2). See **Manasseh (2)**, tribe of
Manasses (3). See **Manasseh (3)**
Manasses (4) (Bibl. **Manasseh**), brother of Jaddua, *A. xi.* 302; marries Nikaso, *xi.* 303; *xi.* 308, 309, 311-312, 315, 322; appointed high priest, *xi.* 324; *xiii.* 256
Manasses (5), high priest who succeeds Eleazar, *A. xii.* 157
Manasses (6). See **Manasseh (6)**
Mandra, place in Palestine, *A. x.* 175
Manê (= "number"), one of the words written on Belshazzar's wall, *A. x.* 243
Manetho, Egyptian annalist, *A. i.* 107; author of *History of Egypt*, cited for his account of Hycsos dynasty, *Ap. i.* 73-105; his calumnies against Jews on exodus from Egypt, *i.* 227-287; agreements and discrepancies with Chaeremon's account of Exodus, *i.* 288 ff.; challenged by Josephus, *ii.* 1; on date of Jewish exodus from Egypt, *ii.* 16
Maniath(e) (Bibl. **Minnith**), city in Transjordan, *A. v.* 263
manna (Heb. *man*), food sent by God to Hebrews, *A. iii.* 26-32
Mannaeus, son of Lazarus, seeks refuge with Titus, counts Jewish dead in Jerusalem, *B. v.* 567
Mannius. See **Mallius (2)**
Manoah. See **Manoch**
Manoch (Bibl. **Manoah**), father of Samson, *A. v.* 276; angel appears to him, *v.* 280-284
Maon. See **Simon (29)**
Mar (Bibl. **Marah**), place in Desert of Sinai, *A. iii.* 3
Mara ("grief"), name which Naomi asks to be called, *A. v.* 323
Marah. See **Mar**
Maraiothos (Bibl. **Meraioth**), son of Jotham, father of Amariah, *A. viii.* 12
Marair(os) (Bibl. **Merari**), son of Levi, *A. ii.* 178
Marcellus (1), Gaius, Roman consul, *A. xiv.* 228, 237
Marcellus (2), appointed procurator of Judaea, *A. xviii.* 89
Marcus, Gaius Censorinus. See **Censorinus, Gaius Marcus**
Marcus (1), father of Marcus (2), *A. xiv.* 236
Marcus (2), son of Marcus (1), petitions Lentulus, *A. xiv.* 236
Marcus (3) Lucius (var.), son of Marcus Publius, *A. xiv.* 236
Marcus (4) Alexander. See **Alexander (18), Marcus**
Mardochoaios (1) (Bibl. **Mordecai**), leader of returning Jewish exiles, *A. xi.* 73; envoy of Jews to Darius, cited in Darius' letter, *xi.* 118
Mardochoaios (2). See **Mordecai (2)**
Mareotes, father of Judes the Jewish hero, *B. vi.* 148 (perhaps identical with Merton)
Mareotis, Lake. See **Alexandria, Lake of**
Mareshah. See **Marisa**
Margalothus. See **Margalus**
Margalus (Margalothus), father of Matthias the expert in Jewish law, *B. i.* 648; (**Margalothus**) *A. xvii.* 149
Marheshwan. See **Marsuan**
Mariam(e) (**Mariamme**; Bibl. **Miriam**), sister of Moses, watches basket from bank of river, *A. ii.* 221; offers to find a Hebrew woman to care for Moses, *ii.* 226; (**Mariamme**) married to Hur, *iii.* 54; (**Mariamme**) grandmother of Bezalel, *iii.* 105; (**Mariamme**) her death and burial, *iv.* 78
Mariamme (1). See **Mariam(e)**
Mariamme (2) I, daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, granddaughter of Hyrcanus, marries Herod, *B. i.* 241, 262, (264), (344), 432, 433; her children, *i.* 435; *i.* 436, 438,

GENERAL INDEX

- 443, 451, 480, 521, 563, 566, 586; ii. 222; *A.* (xiv. 300, 353, 467;) xv. 23; her beauty praised to Antony, xv. 25; urges Herod to restore high priesthood to her brother, xv. 31; discovers Herod's secret instructions concerning her, xv. 65, 68; xv. 73; Herod's jealousy of her, xv. 81-84; rebukes Herod for his instructions concerning her, xv. 85; placed in Alexandrion by Herod, xv. 185; doubts Herod's love for her, xv. 202-216; distrusted by Herod, xv. 218-231; put to death, xv. 232-236; her character, xv. 237-239; her death arouses remorse in Herod, xv. 241-246; ruined by calumnies, xvi. 8; her sons distrusted by Herod, xvi. 79, 85, 88; xvi. 133; calumniated by Nicolas the historian, xvi. 185; her sons pushed aside by Antipater, xvi. 192; her sons hated by Salome, xvi. 201, 203; xvii. 335; her daughters, xviii. 130; marries Herod, xx. 248
- Mariamme (3) II, daughter of Simon the high priest, wife of Herod, *B.* i. 562, 573, 588, 599; *A.* (xv. 320); xviii. 136
- Mariamme (4), wife of Herod, king of Chalcis, *B.* ii. 221; *A.* xviii. 134
- Mariamme (5), wife of Archelaus the ethnarch, *B.* ii. 115; divorced by Archelaus, *A.* xvii. 350
- Mariamme (6), daughter of Aristobulus and Berenice, *B.* i. 552 (perhaps identical with [5])
- Mariamme (7), daughter of Agrippa I and Cypros, *B.* ii. 220; v. 474; *A.* xviii. 132; xix. 354-355; married to Julius Archelaus the son of Helcias, xx. 140; leaves Archelaus and marries Demetrius, xx. 147
- Mariamme (8), tower of, in palace enclosure of Herod the Great in Jerusalem, *B.* ii. 439; v. 170; vii. 1
- Marion, despot of Tyre, *B.* i. 238-239; invades Galilee, xiv. 297-299
- Marisa (1). See Arydda
- Marisa (2) (Bibl. Mareshah), city in Palestine near Eleuthropolis, captured by John Hyrcanus, *B.* i. 63; liberated from Jews by Pompey, i. 156; rebuilt by Gabinius, i. 166; i. 269; *A.* viii. 246, 292; ravaged by Judas Maccabaeus, xii. 353; captured by John Hyrcanus, xiii. 257; xiii. 275, 396; xiv. 75, 88; destroyed by Parthians, xiv. 364
- Marmaridae, African tribe, *B.* ii. 381
- marriages, those forbidden by Jewish law, *A.* iii. 274-275; Jewish laws of, iv. 244-259; of Jewish priests, scrutiny of, *Ap.* i. 31-36; Jewish laws concerning, ii. 199-203; Spartan contempt for, ii. 273
- Marsuan (Heb. Marheshwan), Hebrew month, *A.* i. 80
- Marsus, governor of Syria, *A.* xix. 316; informs Claudius of Agrippa I's fortification of walls of Jerusalem, xix. 326; orders Agrippa to depart from Tiberias, xix. 340-342; his quarrel with Agrippa, xix. 363; succeeded by Cassius Longinus as governor of Syria, xx. 1
- Marsyas, Agrippa I's freedman, attempts to raise funds for him, *A.* xviii. 155-157; xviii. 204; informs Agrippa of Tiberius' death, xviii. 223-230
- Maruel (Bibl. Mehujael), son of Irad, *A.* i. 63
- Marullus, appointed commander of Roman cavalry in Judaea by Gaius Caligula, *A.* xviii. 237
- Mary, daughter of Eleazar, eats her own child, *B.* vi. 201-213
- Masada, fortress on western shore of Dead Sea, *B.* i. 237-238, 264, 266; besieged by Antigonus, i. 286; i. 292; its siege relieved by Herod, i. 293-294; i. 303; ii. 408, 433, 447, 653; iv. 399-404, 504, 506, 516, 555; vii. 252, 275;

GENERAL INDEX

- description of, vii. 280-303; besieged and captured by Romans, vii. 304-406; guarded by Malichus' brother, *A.* xiv. 296; Herod leaves his family there, xiv. 358, 361; besieged by Antigonus, xiv. 390; Herod rescues his relatives from there, xiv. 396-397, 400, 413; Herod places his family there, xv. 184
- Masbalus, father of Ananias the Jewish priest, *B.* v. 532
- Mash. See Mesas
- Masmas (Bibl. Mishma), son of Ishmael, *A.* i. 220
- Masmes (Bibl. Massa), son of Ishmael, *A.* i. 220
- masnaephthes*, turban of Jewish priests, *A.* iii. 157
- Maspha. See Masphath(e)
- Masphate. See Masphath(e)
- Masphatha. See Masphath(e)
- Masphath(e) (Maspha, Masphate, Masphatha; Bibl. Mizpah), city in Palestine, *A.* v. 261; vi. 22, 60; viii. 306; city where Jeremiah dwells, x. 158; x. 159, 168, 172-173
- Massa. See Masmes
- massabazanes*, tunic of Jewish priests, *A.* iii. 156
- Massagetæ, a people living beyond the Araxes River, with whom Cyrus warred, *A.* xi. 20
- Massam (Bibl. Mibsam), son of Ishmael, *A.* i. 220
- Master of the horse, probably a reference to Mark Antony, *A.* xiv. 210
- Masthera, a pass in Palestine, *A.* vi. 291
- Mathan (Bibl. Mattan), priest of Baal, *A.* ix. 154
- Mathusalas (Bibl. Methushael), son of Mehujael, *A.* i. 63
- Mathuel (Bibl. Kemuel), son of Nahor, *A.* i. 153
- Mathusalas (Bibl. Methuselah), son of Enoch, *A.* i. 79; lives 969 years, i. 86
- Matri. See Matris
- Matris (Bibl. Matri), name of Saul's family, *A.* vi. 62
- Mattan. See Mathan
- Mattathias. See Matthias (1)
- Matthias (1) (Mattathias), son of Asamonaeus, priest of village of Modein, slays Bacchides, *B.* i. 36; *A.* xii. 265; urges his sons to defy Antiochus Epiphanes, xii. 267; defies Antiochus' decrees, xii. 268-270; urges Jews to fight back on Sabbath, xii. 275-278; his death, (xii. 279-285); xii. 305, 433
- Matthias (2), son of Absalom, commander of army of Jonathan Maccabaeus, *A.* xiii. 161
- Matthias (3), father of Josephus the historian, *B.* i. 3; ii. 568; (v. 533); *V.* 5; distinguished for his upright character, 7; warns Josephus of plot, (204)
- Matthias (4), high priest, son of Boethus, *B.* iv. 574; v. 527-531; vi. 114
- Matthias (5), son of Margalus, expert in Jewish law, urges Jews to pull down golden eagle from the temple, *B.* i. 648-650, (655); urges Jews to destroy golden eagle built by Herod, *A.* xvii. 149, 151; captured by Herod, xvii. 157; burned alive by Herod, xvii. 167; lamented by Jews, xvii. 206, 214
- Matthias (6), son of Theophilus, succeeds Jesus as high priest, *A.* xx. 223
- Matthias (7), high priest, *B.* vi. 114
- Matthias (8), son of high priest Simon Psellus, said to be son of Ephaeus, *V.* 4
- Matthias (9), surnamed Curtus, son of Matthias (son of Simon Psellus), *V.* 4
- Matthias (10), son of Ananus, appointed high priest by Agrippa I, *A.* xix. 316, 342
- Matthias (11), son of Theophilus, appointed high priest by Herod, *A.* xvii. 78; deposed by Herod, xvii. 164-166
- Matthias (12), brother of Josephus, his education, *V.* 8
- Matthis. See Thatis

GENERAL INDEX

Mauretania, region in North Africa, *A. i.* 133

Maurians, African tribe, *B. ii.* 381

Mazaca, city of the Meschenians (later called Cappadocians), *A. i.* 125

Mechônôth, Hebrew name for bases of lavers in temple in Jerusalem, *A. viii.* 85

Medaba. See Medabe

Medabe (Medaba; Bibl. Medeba), city east of Dead Sea, captured by John Hyrcanus, *B. i.* 63; (Medaba) *A. xiii.* 11, 19; (Medaba) captured by Hyrcanus, *xiii.* 255; (Medaba) *xiii.* 397; (Medaba) *xiv.* 18

Medan. See Madan(es)

Medeba. See Medabe

Medes. See Media

Media (Medes, Median Empire), *B. i.* 13, 50, 62; *iv.* 176; *vii.* 245-246; *A. i.* 124; place to which Damascenes are transported by Tiglath-Pileser, *ix.* 253; Israelites exiled there, *ix.* 278; destroy Assyrian empire, *x.* 30; attacked by Egypt, *x.* 74-75; their defeat of Babylonia prophesied, *x.* 113; Cuthaeans (Samaritans) come from its interior, *x.* 184; *x.* 226, 232; their conquest of Babylonia foretold by Daniel, *x.* 244; Daniel taken from there by Darius, *x.* 249; *x.* 264-265, 272; Samaritans come from there, *xi.* 19; *xi.* 33, 37; Cuthaeans (Samaritans) come from there, *xi.* 85; location of Ectabana, *xi.* 99; letter of Xerxes sent to Jews there, *xi.* 131; *xi.* 203 (var.), 338; *xii.* 257; *xviii.* 48; given to Pacorus, *xx.* 74, 86; their domination of Asia, *Ap. i.* 64; successfully attacked by Egyptian king Sethosis (Ramesses II), *i.* 99; wife of Nebuchadnezzar brought up there, *i.* 141

medimni (*medimnoi*), Attic measure, *A. iii.* 321; *xv.* 314

medimnoi. See *medimni*

meir, tunic of Jewish high priests, *A. iii.* 159

Megalopolis (Megalopolitan), city in Greece, *A. xii.* 135; Polybius from there, *xii.* 358-359, *Ap. ii.* 84

Megasthenes, author of *History of India*, *A. x.* 227; compare Nebuchadnezzar with Heracles, *Ap. i.* 144

Megiddo. See Magedo; Mende

Mehujael. See Maruel

Meirus, son of Belgas, Jewish hero, is consumed with the temple, *B. vi.* 280

Meisa (Bibl. Mesha), Moabite king, *A. ix.* 29

Melas, prince of Cappadocia, *A. xvi.* 325, 328

Melcha (1) (Bibl. Milcah), daughter of Haran, married to Nahor, *A. i.* 151; her children, *i.* 153

Melcha (2) (Melchale, Michael, Michale; Bibl. Michal), daughter of Saul, *A. vi.* 129; marries David, *vi.* 204; helps David to escape from Saul, *vi.* 215-220; *vi.* 309; returns to David, *vii.* 25; reproaches David for dancing before ark, *vii.* 85, 87; *vii.* 89

Melchale. See Melcha (2)

Melchiel(os) (Bibl. Malchiel), son of Asher, *A. ii.* 183

Melchis (Bibl. Melchishua), son of Saul, *A. vi.* 129, 369

Melchisedek (Bibl. Melchizedek), king of Solyma (Salem), called "Righteous King," (*B. vi.* 438;) *A. i.* 180-181

Melchishua. See Melchis

Melchizedek. See Melchisedek

Melitene, district beside the Euphrates on confines of Armenia and Cappadocia, *B. vii.* 18

Mella (var. Maaphe, Malla), city in Judaea, *A. xii.* 340

Melos (Melians), island in Aegean Sea, *B. ii.* 103, 105, 110; its Jews welcome false Alexander, *A. xvii.* 327, 338; Diagoras from there, *Ap. ii.* 266

Memmius Regulus, Roman consul, *A. xix.* 9

Memnon (1), tomb of, near city of Ptolemais, *B. ii.* 189

Memnon (2), son of Aristides,

GENERAL INDEX

- priest in Halicarnassus, *A.* xiv. 256
- Memphibosthos (Bibl. Mephibosheth), son of Jonathan, *A.* vii. 113-116, 205-206; excuses his conduct to David, vii. 267-271; erroneously called Jebosthos, vii. 296
- Memphis, city in Egypt, *B.* i. 190; iv. 530; vii. 426; *A.* ii. 240; viii. 155, 157; xii. 170; captured by Antiochus Epiphanes, xii. 243; xiv. 132; residence of Salitis, first Hycsos king, *Ap.* i. 77; Amenophis, king of Egypt, returns there with his army, i. 246
- Memucan. See Muchaios
- Menahem (1). See Manaemos (1)
- Menahem (2). See Manaemos
- Menahem (3), son of Judas the Galilaean, Jewish revolutionary leader, slain by partisans of Eleazar, *B.* ii. 433-449; put to death with chieftains of brigands, *V.* 21; is prevented from slaying Philip son of Jacimus, 46-47
- Menander (1), translator of Tyrian records from Phoenician into Greek, mentions Hiram, *A.* viii. 144-146; viii. 324; ix. 283-287
- Menander (2) of Ephesus, records events of each reign in both Greek and non-Greek countries, *Ap.* i. 116-120
- Menander (3) (var.) of Athens, father of Eucles, of Aithalidean deme, *A.* xiv. 150
- Menander (4). See Ampius (2)
- Menas, Appius. See Appius Menas
- Mende (Bibl. Megiddo), city in Josiah's empire, *A.* x. 75
- Mendesian canton, nome in Egypt of which Mendes was capital, *B.* iv. 659
- Menedemus, philosopher, admires Jewish elders who are about to produce Septuagint, *A.* xii. 101
- Menelaus, name adopted by Onias, son of Simon the high priest, *A.* xii. 239-241, 383; executed by Antiochus Eupa-
- tor, xii. 384-385, 387; surname of Onias, xx. 235
- Menenian (Mentina, Tromentina), Roman tribe, *A.* xiii. 260; xiv. 220
- Menes. See Minaias
- Mennaëus (1), father of Ptolemy who was king of Chalcis in Lebanon region, *B.* i. 103, 185; *A.* xiii. 392, 418; xiv. 39, 126, 297, 330
- Mennaëus (2), a Jew, father of Josephus the envoy of Hyrcanus to Mark Antony, *A.* xiv. 307
- Menollus. See Euonymus
- Menophilus, president of Ephesus, *A.* xiv. 262
- Mentina. See Menenian
- Mephibosheth. See Memphibosthos
- Mephramouthosis, Egyptian king, son of Mephres, *Ap.* i. 95
- Mephres, Egyptian king, son of Queen Amesess, *Ap.* i. 95
- Merab. See Merobe
- Meraioth. See Maraiiothos
- Merari. See Marair(os)
- Merbal, king of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 158
- meridarch(es), governor of a district, office held by Apollonius, *A.* xii. 261, 264; xv. 216
- Mero. See Meroth
- Merobe (Bibl. Merab), daughter of Saul, *A.* vi. 129
- Merodach-baladan. See Baladas
- Meroe, Ethiopian city formerly called Saba, *A.* ii. 249
- Meroth (Ameroth, Berothe, Merro), village in Upper Galilee, fortified by Josephus, (Mero) *B.* ii. 573; iii. 40; (Berothe) *A.* v. 63; (Ameroth) *V.* 188
- Mersaeans (var. Mestraeans; Bibl. Mizraim), another name for Egyptians, *A.* i. 132
- Mersaeus (var. Mestramus; Bibl. Mizraim), son of Ham, *A.* i. 133; his descendants, i. 136
- Merse (var. Mestre), another name for Egypt, *A.* i. 132
- Merton, father of Judas, Jewish hero, perhaps identical with Marcotes, *B.* vi. 92
- Mesanaeans, founded by Mash the son of Aram, *A.* i. 145

GENERAL INDEX

- Mesas (Bibl. Mash), son of Aram, *A. i.* 145
- Meschenians, now called Cappadocians, *A. i.* 125
- Meschos (Bibl. Meshech), son of Japheth, *A. i.* 125
- Mesha. See Meisa
- Meshach. See Misaelos
- Meshech. See Meschos
- Meshullam. See Messalamus; Mosollamus
- Meshullemeth. See Emaselmē
- mesiltayim*. See *kymbala*
- Mesopotamia (Mesopotamian[s]), *B. iv.* 531; Charran located there, *A. i.* 152; its people, *i.* 157; *i.* 187, 244, 276; Jacob sets out for there, *i.* 278; *i.* 281, 285, 341, 342; *ii.* 173, 177, 213; ally with Ammanites against David, *vii.* 121; surrender to David, *vii.* 129; *viii.* 61; some of its Jews sent to Phrygia, *xii.* 149; *xii.* 393; *xiii.* 184; massacre of Jews there, *xviii.* 310; controlled by Asinaeus and Anilaus, *xviii.* 339
- Mesopotamians. See Mesopotamia
- Messala Corvinus, Valerius, Roman orator and patron of literature, *B. i.* 243, 284; *A. xiv.* 325, 384
- Messalamus (var. Messalomos; Heb. Meshullam), father of Andronicus, *A. xiii.* 75
- Messalina, wife of Claudius, *B. ii.* 249; put to death by Claudius, *A. xx.* 149
- Messalomos. See Messalamus (1)
- Messiah, Jesus as the, *A. xviii.* 64
- Mestracans. See Mersacans
- Mestramus. See Mersaeus
- Mestre. See Merse
- Metellus (1), Quintus, Roman consul, surnamed Creticus, *A. xiv.* 4
- Metellus (2), Pompey's legate, *B. i.* 127; *A. xiv.* 29
- Methusastartus, son of Deleasartus, gains kingship of Tyre by conspiring against Abdastatus, *Ap. i.* 122
- Methuselah. See Mathusalas
- Methushael. See Mathousalas
- Metilius, Roman commander, *B. ii.* 450-455
- Metten, king of Tyre, son of Balzor, *Ap. i.* 125
- Mia. See Zia
- Miamoun. See Harnesses Miamoun
- Miarus, father of Herod the leader of a pro-Roman Jewish faction at Tiberias in 66, *V. 66*
- Mibsam. See Massam
- Micah. See Michaias
- Micha (1) (Bibl. Maacah), region north-east of Lake Huleh, *A. vii.* 121
- Micha (2). See Michanos
- Michaal. See Melcha (2)
- Michaiah. See Michaias
- Michaias (Bibl. Micah, Michaiah), Hebrew prophet, rebukes Ahab, *A. viii.* 389-392; son of Imlah, *viii.* 403-410; prophecies Ahab's doom, *viii.* 412, 417; *x.* 92
- Michal. See Melcha (2)
- Michale. See Melcha (2)
- Michanos (Bibl. Micha), son of Memphibosheth, *A. vii.* 116
- Michmash. See Machma
- Middle, God the, of all things, *Ap. ii.* 190
- Midian. See Madian; Madian(e)
- Midianites. See Madianites
- miknesaim*. See *machanases*
- Milcah. See Melcha (1)
- Milesius, delivers up Damascus to Antiochus Dionysius (Antiochus XII), *A. xiii.* 388-389
- Miletus, city in Asia Minor, *A. xiv.* 244; Cadmus of, *Ap. i.* 13
- Minaias (= Menes), Egyptian king, *A. viii.* 155; builder of Memphis, *viii.* 157
- Minni. See Minyas
- Minnith. See Maniath(e)
- Minos, Greek legislator, *Ap. ii.* 161
- Minucianus. See Vinicius, Marcus
- Minyas (Bibl. Minni), district in Armenia, *A. i.* 95
- Miriam. See Mariam(e)
- Misaches. See Misaelos
- Misaelos (Bibl. Mishael), called Misaches (Bibl. Meshach) by

GENERAL INDEX

- King Nebuchadnezzar, *A.* x. 188-189
- Misenum, maritime city in Italy, bridge built there by Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 5
- Mishael. See Misaelos
- Mishma. See Masmas
- Misphragmouthis, Egyptian king, defeats Hycsos, *Ap.* i. 86; father of Thoummosis, i. 88
- Mithridates (1), treasurer of Cyrus, *A.* xi. 11, 13, 14, 92
- Mithridates (2) Sinakes, holds Demetrius Akairos captive, *A.* xiii. 384-386
- Mithridates (3) (VI Eupator), king of Pontus, *B.* i. 138; *A.* xiii. 421; his death, xiv. 53; xiv. 112-114; Mithridatic war, xvi. 18
- Mithridates (4) (III of Parthia), fugitive from Parthia, *B.* i. 178; *A.* xiv. 103
- Mithridates (5) of Pergamus (Pergamum), *B.* i. 187-192; *A.* xiv. 128-136, 138-139, 193
- Mithridates (6), king of Parthia, *A.* xvi. 253
- Mithridates (7), Parthian leader, captured and released by Anilaus, *A.* xviii. 353-360; defeats Anilaus, xviii. 362-363, 365-366
- Mitylene (Mytilene), city on the island of Lesbos, *A.* xv. 350; xvi. 20
- Mizpah. See Masphath(e)
- Mizraim. See Mersaeans; Mersaeus
- Mnaseas, disciple of Eratosthenes, *A.* i. 94; testifies to antiquity of the Jews, *Ap.* i. 216; cited by Apion for story of theft of ass's head by an Idumaeen dressed as Apollo, ii. 112
- Moab (1), born of Lot and his daughter, *A.* i. 205
- Moab (2) (Moabites), *B.* i. 89; iii. 47; iv. 454; descended from Moab (1), inhabit Coele-Syria, *A.* i. 206; iv. 85, 102, 130; attack Israelites, v. 186; v. 187, 196; defeated by Israelites, v. 197; v. 198, 318-319; vi. 90, 129; shelter David, vi. 248; defeated by David, vii. 98; vii. 315; attack Jehoshaphat, ix. 7; revolt against Ahaziah, ix. 19; attacked and defeated by Jehoram and Jehoshaphat, ix. 29-43; ix. 46; defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 181; send letter to Cambyses, xi. 21; hear of building of walls of Jerusalem, xi. 174; subdued by Alexander Jannaeus, xiii. 374; xiii. 382, 397
- Mochus, Phoenician historian, *A.* i. 107
- Modai. See Modein
- Modaiei. See Modein
- Modeel. See Modein
- Modeeim. See Modein
- Modeein. See Modein
- Modein (Modai, Modeein, Modeei; var. Modiaiei, Modeeim, Modin), village near Lydda, home of Maccabees, *B.* i. 36; (Modai) *A.* xii. 265, 268; (Modai) Mattathias is buried there, xii. 285; (Modeein) Judas is buried there, xii. 432; (Modeei) Jonathan buried there, xiii. 210
- Modin. See Modein
- Modius, Aequus, sent by Agrippa II to replace Varus, *V.* 61; shuts up Jews of Caesarea Philippi, 74; commander of force sent by Agrippa II to destroy fortress of Gamala, 114; friend and comrade of Philip son of Jacimus, 180-181
- Moesia, region (modern Serbia and Bulgaria), *B.* iv. 619, 633, 643; vii. 92-95, 117
- Molon, Apollonius, on date of Jewish exodus from Egypt, *Ap.* ii. 16; his calumnies about the temple in Jerusalem, ii. 79; his attacks on Moses and on Jewish code, ii. 145; his contradictory attacks on Jews, ii. 148; a reprobate sophist, ii. 236; a crazy fool, ii. 255; condemns Jewish exclusiveness, ii. 258; his ignorance of Athenian intolerance, ii. 262; has high opinion of Persians, ii. 270; his lies, ii. 295

GENERAL INDEX

Monobazus (1), surnamed Bazaeus, king of Adiabene, brother and husband of Helena, father of Monobazus and Izates, *A.* xx. 18; his death, xx. 24, 26

Monobazus (2), king of Adiabene, brother of Izates, *B.* ii. 520; v. 252-253; *A.* xx. 20; appointed trustee of realm after his father's death, xx. 32-33; converts to Judaism, xx. 75; succeeds Izates, xx. 93, 95-96

Monobazus (3), kinsman of Monobazus king of Adiabene, distinguished for valour on side of Jews in war against Romans, *B.* ii. 520

Mopsuestia, place in Cilicia, *A.* xiii. 368

Mordecai (1). See Mardochoaios (1)

Mordecai (2) (Grk. Mardochoaios), one of chief men among Jews, Esther's uncle, *A.* xi. 198; moves from Babylon to Susa, (xi. 204;) discovers plot against King Ahasuerus, xi. 207; his name noted in archives, xi. 208; refuses to bow before Haman, xi. 210; Haman seeks revenge against him, xi. 211; learns of edict against the Jews and mourns, xi. 221; xi. 222, 224; urges Esther to intercede in Jews' behalf, xi. 225-228; leads fast of people, xi. 229; shows Haman no honour, xi. 244; xi. 246, 249, 251; Haman ordered to honour him, xi. 255-256; changes into regal clothing, (xi. 258;) xi. 259; cross set up for him, xi. 261; receives king's ring, xi. 269; receives Haman's possessions, xi. 270; xi. 278, 284; feared by rulers, xi. 287; writes to Jews in kingdom of Ahasuerus, xi. 293; a great man, xi. 295

Morian Mount, place where Abraham is commanded to sacrifice his son, *A.* i. 224

Mosaic code (Jewish law), *A.* iv. 199; holy city, iv. 200-201; blasphemy, iv. 202; three

annual pilgrim festivals, iv. 203-204; tithes, iv. 205; wages not to be expended on sacrifices, iv. 206; foreign cults, iv. 207; forbidden clothes, iv. 208; septennial reading of the Laws, iv. 209-211; daily prayer, iv. 212-213; administration of justice, iv. 214-218; witnesses, iv. 219; undetected murder, iv. 220-222; laws pertaining to kings, iv. 223-224; laws pertaining to land and agriculture, iv. 225-230; rights of poor, iv. 231-232; rights of animals, iv. 233; rights of poor, iv. 234-240; ceremony of tithes, iv. 241-243; laws of marriage, iv. 244-259; rebellious children, iv. 260-265; usury, iv. 266; loans and pledges, iv. 267-270; theft, iv. 271-272; slavery, iv. 273; lost property, iv. 274; assistance to people and beasts in distress, iv. 275-276; respect for blind, iv. 276; damages, iv. 277-284; deposits, iv. 285-287; wages, iv. 288; individual responsibility, iv. 289; eunuchs, iv. 290-291; provisions for war and prayers for peace, iv. 292-300; costumes of the sexes, iv. 301

Moses (see also Law), teacher of God's works to the Jews, *A.* iv. 18, 21, 26, 29, 33-34, 81, 95; length of his life fixed as limit for man, i. 152; i. 240; found by Pharaoh's daughter, ii. 225; derivation of his name, ii. 228; raised in Pharaoh's palace, ii. 231-238; appointed general of Egyptian army, ii. 241-242; defeats Ethiopians, ii. 243-251; marries Ethiopian princess Tharbis, ii. 252-253; flees to Midian, ii. 254-257; helps daughters of Jethro, ii. 260-261; sees the burning bush and is commanded to lead Hebrews out of Egypt, ii. 264-276; convinces the Hebrews by performing miracles, ii. 280; goes before Pharaoh and is

GENERAL INDEX

rebuked, ii. 281-288; blamed by Jews for their increased hardships, ii. 289; his words disdained by Pharaoh, ii. 293-294; asks Pharaoh to let Hebrews go and is refused, ii. 298, 302, 307-310; instructs Hebrews to prepare Paschal lamb, ii. 311-312; ordered by Pharaoh to take Hebrews out of Egypt, ii. 314; is eighty years old when exodus takes place, ii. 319; ii. 320; reasons for route taken by him out of Egypt, ii. 322; blamed by Hebrews for leading them out of Egypt, ii. 326; exhorts Hebrews to have faith in God and not fear Egyptians, ii. 329-333; prays to God to save Hebrews from pursuing Egyptians, ii. 334-337; first to cross Red Sea, ii. 339; composes song of thankfulness to God, ii. 346; collects armour of the Egyptians from Red Sea, ii. 349; makes water of Marah drinkable, iii. 5; blamed by the mob for their distress, iii. 12; promises Hebrews deliverance from their distress, iii. 24; thanks God for succouring the Hebrews, iii. 25; iii. 26, 31; blamed by the Hebrews for their distress at Rephidim, iii. 33; brings forth water out of the rock, iii. 35-38; leads the Hebrews to victory over the Amalekites, iii. 43-54; collects armour of the Amalekites, iii. 59; iii. 61; welcomed by his father-in-law, iii. 63; iii. 65; advised by Reuel, iii. 66-74; ascends Mt. Sinai, iii. 75-82; descends from Mt. Sinai and addresses the people, iii. 83-88; inscribes tablets of stone, iii. 90; iii. 93; reascends Mt. Sinai for forty days, iii. 95-98; builds tabernacle, iii. 103-108, 115-137; iii. 156, 181; appoints Aaron high priest, iii. 188; makes protective coverings for tabernacle, iii. 193; imposes contribution of one

shekel for each man, iii. 195-196; consecrates tabernacle, iii. 204-211; devotes self to service of God and writes out laws, iii. 212; iii. 214; compiles laws, iii. 222; iii. 244; consecrates tribe of Levi, iii. 258; iii. 265; teaches people laws concerning purity, iii. 273; teaches people law about Sabbatical year and Jubilee, iii. 280-286; makes silver trumpets, iii. 291; keeps the Passover for the first time in the wilderness, iii. 294; reproached by the multitude for their trials, iii. 295-297; promises to procure meat for Hebrews, iii. 298; leads Hebrews up to frontier of Canaan and sends out scouts, iii. 300-303; blamed by Hebrews for leading them out of Egypt, iii. 307; iii. 310; announces that Hebrews must wander in desert for forty years, iii. 311-316; his commandments obeyed to this day, iii. 318-319, 322; defied by the Hebrews, iv. 1-5; leads Hebrews into desert, iv. 9; Jews revolt against him, iv. 12-13; his authority challenged by Korah, iv. 14-34; iv. 35-36; opposed by Dathan and Abiram, iv. 37-39; iv. 54, 57-58; quells sedition of Korah, iv. 60-66; assigns cities to Levites, iv. 67; iv. 74; is refused passage through Edomite land, iv. 76-77; purifies people after death of Miriam, iv. 78-81; reveals to Aaron that his death is near, iv. 83; leads people toward land of Amorites, iv. 85-87; leads Hebrew army against Amorites, iv. 87; overruns realm of Og, iv. 97; pitches camp opposite Jericho, iv. 100; attacks Midianites, iv. 101; remonstrates with Zimri about Midianite women, iv. 141-142; defied by Zimri, iv. 145; (iv. 152;) attacks Midianites, iv.

GENERAL INDEX

156; records prophecies of Balaam, iv. 157; attacks Midianites, iv. 159; iv. 162; divides spoils of Midianites, iv. 164; appoints Joshua to succeed him, iv. 165; awards lands to tribes, iv. 166, 171; builds ten cities of refuge, iv. 172-173; decides law of inheritance, iv. 174-175; addresses Hebrews before his death, iv. 176-193; iv. 194-197, 243; delivers the laws to the people, iv. 302; iv. 306, 308, 311-312; his last words, iv. 320; his death, iv. 323; iv. 330-331; v. 1, 4, 39, 40, 69, 89-91, 96, 98, 117, 126-127, 262; vi. 84, 86, 89, 93, 133, 140; vii. 91; his injunction ignored by David, vii. 318; vii. 338; his descendants, Levites, honoured by David, vii. 367; vii. 379, 384; Solomon sacrifices on his bronze altar, viii. 22; lampstands in the temple made according to his commandment, viii. 90; viii. 92; the temple built according to his commandment, viii. 93-94; viii. 101, 104, 120; his laws disregarded by Solomon, viii. 191; viii. 349; his laws kept by Jehoshaphat, viii. 395; ix. 2, 153, 187; x. 43; his sacred book found in days of King Josiah, x. 58; x. 59; his laws publicly read by Josiah, x. 63; x. 72; xi. 17, 76, 108; his death, xi. 112; his laws known by Ezra, xi. 121; his laws read by Ezra, xi. 154; xiii. 74, 79, 297; xvii. 159; xviii. 81; is said to have deposited holy vessels in Samaritan territory, xviii. 85; xx. 44, 115, 225, 228, 230; copy of his laws held by Jesus, son of Sapphias, in speech to instigate Jews of Tarichaeae to punish Josephus, V. 134; his five books, *Ap.* i. 39; his death as terminus beginning prophetic books, i. 40; Berosus' account of flood similar to

his, i. 130; called a native of Heliopolis by Manetho, (i. 238;) name adopted by Osariph, Egyptian priest of Heliopolis, according to Manetho, i. 250; Manetho's account of him contradicted by Josephus, i. 253; name adopted by Osariph, i. 265; Manetho's account of him criticized by Josephus, i. 279 ff.; etymology of his name: "one saved out of the water," i. 286; called Tisithen by Chaeremon, i. 290; associated by Chaeremon with Joseph, i. 299; leader of unclean Egyptians, according to Lysimachus, i. 309; called a native of Heliopolis by Apion, ii. 10; Apion on prayer-houses and sundials erected by him, ii. 10-14; refutation of Apion's statement that he was a Heliopolitan, ii. 13; leads Jews in exodus, according to Apion, ii. 15; ascends Mt. Sinai, according to Apion, ii. 25; Apion's account of him, ii. 28; attacks on him by Apollonius Molon and Lysimachus, ii. 145; most ancient of legislators, ii. 154-156; his work as a general, ii. 157-158; his constitution, ii. 159-175; his influence on Greek philosophers, ii. 168; Greek philosophers as his disciples, ii. 281; his merits, ii. 290
 Mosollamus (Heb. Meshullam), Jewish archer, participates in campaigns of Alexander the Great and of his successors, *Ap.* i. 200-204
mou, Egyptian word for water, *Ap.* i. 286
 Muchaios (var. Amuchaïos; Bibl. Memucan), interpreter of Persian laws, *A.* xi. 193
 Mucianus, Roman governor of Syria, *B.* iv. 32, 495, 605, 621, 624, 632, 654; v. 43; *A.* xii. 120
 Muia (Fly-god), *A.* ix. 19
 Mundus, Decius, has intimate relations with Paulina by

GENERAL INDEX

- assuming guise of the god
Anubis, *A.* xviii. 67-77; exiled
by Tiberius, xviii. 80
- Munychion, Macedonian month,
A. xiv. 150
- Muppim. See Nomphtes
- Murcus, Roman governor of
Syria, *B.* i. 217, 219, 224-225;
A. xiv. 270; supports Cassius,
xiv. 272; xiv. 279; makes
Herod governor of Coele-Syria,
xiv. 280
- murder, undetected, Jewish law
on, *A.* iv. 220-222
- Myrrha, character in play *Cinyras*,
A. xix. 94
- Mysia, region in Asia Minor, *B.* i.
425
- mysteries, Greek, *Ap.* ii. 189; of
Athenians, jeered at by Dia-
goras of Melos, ii. 266; of
foreign gods, Ninus the priest-
ess put to death for allegedly
initiating people into them, ii.
267
- Mytilene. See Mitylene
- Mytyn, judge of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 157
- NAAMAH. See Noema; Nooma
- Naaman. See Neeman(es)
- Naamis (Bibl. Naomi), wife of
Abimelech, *A.* v. 318; returns
home, v. 320; takes Ruth
with her, v. 322; v. 323,
326-328, 336
- Naas (Naases; Bibl. Nahash),
king of Ammanites, *A.* vi. 68;
harasses Israelites and neigh-
bouring people, vi. 73; killed
by Saul, vi. 79; (Naases) vii.
117
- Naases. See Naas
- Naba (Bibl. Nob), city near
Jerusalem, *A.* vi. 242, 254; its
inhabitants slain by Saul, vi.
260
- Nabad (Bibl. Nadab), son of
Aaron the brother of Moses,
A. iii. 192; burnt to death,
iii. 209
- Nabadath. See Nabatha
- Nabados (var. Nadabos; Bibl.
Nadab), Jewish king, son and
successor of Jeroboam, *A.* viii.
287; his death, viii. 298
- Nabaioth(es) (Bibl. Nebaioth),
son of Ishmael, *A.* i. 220
- Nabal, wealthy Jew, refuses to
give presents to David, *A.* vi.
296-299; vi. 300, 302-303,
305; his death, vi. 306-307
- Naballo. See Dabaloth
- Nabaloth. See Dabaloth
- Nabataeans (Nabatene), Arab
tribe, *B.* i. 178; (Nabatene) *A.*
i. 221; xii. 335; xiii. 10-11;
attacked by Jonathan, xiii.
179; xiv. 31, 46, 48, 103
- Nabataeus of Adiabene, his son
boldly attacks Romans, *B.* v.
474
- Nabataios (Bibl. Nebat), father of
Jeroboam, *A.* viii. 205; ix. 109
- Nabatene. See Nabataeans
- Nabatha (var. Nadabath, Naba-
dath, Gabadan), Arab city,
A. xiii. 18
- nabla* (Bibl. *nēbel*) twelve-note
Hebrew musical instrument,
A. vii. 306; viii. 94
- Naboandelos (Nabonnedus), ano-
ther name for Belshazzar, *A.*
x. 231; succeeds Laborosoar-
doch as king of Babylon, *Ap.* i.
149; defeated by Cyrus, i.
151-152; humanely treated by
Cyrus, i. 153; his death, i. 153
- Nabonnedus. See Naboandelos
- Nabopalassaros (Nabopalassar;
var. Nabuchodonosoros), father
of Nebuchadnezzar, *A.* x. 220-
221; (Nabopalassar) king of
Babylon and Chaldaea, *Ap.* i.
131; (Nabopalassar) sends his
son Nebuchadnezzar to put
down rebellion of satrap in
charge of Egypt, Coele-Syria,
and Phoenicia, i. 135; (Nabo-
palassar) his death, i. 136
- Nabopalassar. See Nabopalasa-
ros
- Nabosaris, Babylonian comman-
der assigned to sack of Jeru-
salem, *A.* x. 135
- Naboth, killed through Jezebel's
plot and his vineyard taken by
Ahab, *A.* viii. 355-361; viii.
407; Jehoram of Israel is
killed in his field, ix. 118-119
- Nabro. See Hebron

GENERAL INDEX

- Nabrodes. See Nebrodes
 Nabuchodonosor. See Nebuchadnezzar
 Nabuchodonosoros I. See Nabopalasaros
 Nabuchodonosoros II. See Nebuchadnezzar
 Nabuzardanes (Bibl. Nebuzardan), Babylonian general, *A.* x. 144-149; appoints governor of Judaea, x. 155; x. 158-159, 172
 Nacatelas. See Cathlas
 Nachon. See Cheidon
 Nachor(es) (1) (Nahor), son of Serug, *A.* i. 148-149
 Nachor (2) (Bibl. Nahor), son of Terah, brother of Abraham, *A.* i. 151; his children, i. 153; grandfather of Rebecca, i. 242; i. 252, 289
 Nadab (1). See Nabad
 Nadab (2). See Nabados
 Nadabath. See Nabatha
 Nadabos. See Nabados
 Naera, village in Judaea, *A.* xvii. 340
 Nahash. See Naas
 Nahor. See Nachor (1) and (2)
 Nahum. See Naum
 Naia (var. Aia, An[n]a; Bibl. Ai) (Naietans), Canaanite city attacked by Joshua, *A.* v. 35; (Naietans) defeat Hebrews, v. 35; (Naietans) defeated by Joshua, v. 48; v. 49
 Naietans. See Naia
 Nain (var. Ain), Idumaeon village, *B.* iv. 511, 517
 Naioth. See Galbouath
 Nakebos, Arab leader, captured by Herod, *A.* xvi. 284; killed by Herod, xvi. 288; xvi. 350
 Naomi. See Naamis
 Naphais (Bibl. Naphish), son of Ishmael, *A.* i. 220
 Naphes, son of David, *A.* vii. 70
 Naphish. See Naphais
 Naphtali. See Nephthali
 Naphtuhim. See Nedemus
 Narbata, Jewish district sixty furlongs from Caesarea, *B.* ii. 291
 Narbatene, toparchy bordering on Caesarea, *B.* ii. 509
 Nasamons, African people unable to defeat Rome, *B.* ii. 381
 Nathan (1), son of David, *A.* vii. 70
 Nathan (2), Hebrew prophet, tells David not to build the temple, *A.* vii. 91-92; his parable of the poor man's lamb, vii. 147, 150, 153; vii. 158; his prophecy fulfilled, vii. 214; opposes Adonijah, vii. 346-347; warns Bathsheba, vii. 348-349; warns David, vii. 351, 353; anoints Solomon king, vii. 354-355; prevents David from building the temple, vii. 371
 Nathanael (1) (Bibl. Nethanel), son of Jesse, brother of David, *A.* vi. 161
 Nathanael (2), father of Dorotheus (the bearer of a letter from the Emperor Claudius to the Jews of Jerusalem), *A.* xx. 14
 Naue. See Nauekos
 Nauechos. See Nauekos
 Nauekos (Naue, Nauechos; Bibl. Nun), father of Joshua, (Naue) *B.* iv. 459; *A.* iii. 49; (Nauechos) iii. 308
 Naum (Bibl. Nahum), Hebrew prophet, prophesies against Nineveh, *A.* ix. 239
 Nazirites, *A.* iv. 72; xix. 294
 Neapolis, city in Judaea, *B.* iv. 449
 Neapolitanus, tribune, investigator sent by Cestus, *B.* ii. 335-341 (perhaps identical with Neopolitanus, *V.* 120-121)
 Nearda (var. Neerda; = Talmudic Nehardea) (Neardaeans), treasure-city of Jews in Babylon, *A.* xviii. 311, 314, 369; refuse to deliver up Anilaus to Mithridates, xviii. 369; haven for Jews, xviii. 379
 Nebaioth. See Nabaioth(es)
 Nebat. See Nabataios
 Nebadaeus. See Nedebaeus
 nêbel. See nabla
 Nebrodes (Nabrodes; Bibl. Nimrod), son of Cush, builds tower of Babel, *A.* i. 113, 115; (Nabrodes) i. 135
 Nebron. See Hebron

GENERAL INDEX

- Nebuchadnezzar** (**Nabuchodonosor**; = **Nabuchodonosoros** [II]), king of Babylon, defeats Egypt, marches against Jehoiakim, *A.* x. 84-87; (*x.* 101;) besieges Jerusalem, *x.* 116-135; captures Zedekiah, *x.* 138; destroys Jerusalem, *x.* 146; captures Egypt, exiles Judah, *x.* 181-183; his treatment of Jewish captives, notably Daniel, *x.* 186-216; his dream, *x.* 195-211; his death, *x.* 219-229; *x.* 233, 237, 242, 248; *xi.* 2, 10; vessels taken by him are returned by Cyrus to the temple, *xi.* 14; *xi.* 58, 91-92; takes vessels from the temple to Babylon, *xi.* 100; exiles Jewish people, *xx.* 231; (**Nabuchodonosor**) suppresses Jewish revolt, burns the temple in Jerusalem, transports entire Jewish population to Babylon, *Ap.* i. 131; (**Nabuchodonosor**) puts down rebellion of satrap in charge of Egypt, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, i. 135 ff.; (**Nabuchodonosor**) his death, i. 146 (**Nabuchodonosor**) devastates the temple in Jerusalem, i. 154; (**Nabuchodonosor**) besieges Tyre under King Ithobal, i. 156; (**Nabuchodonosor**) begins siege of Tyre, i. 159
- Nebuzaradan.** See **Nabuzardanes**
- Nechao** (var. **Nechos**; *Bibl.* **Necho**), king of Egypt, *A.* x. 74-76; (*x.* 82;) Egyptian king defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, *x.* 84-85
- Nehaos** (1) (= **Necho**), Egyptian Pharaoh, carries off Sarah, wife of Abraham, *B.* v. 379
- Nehaos** (2). See **Nechao**
- Necho** (1). See **Nechao**
- Necho** (2). See **Nehaos**
- necropolis**, region of Alexandria, *Ap.* ii. 36
- Nedebaeus** (var. **Nebedaeus**), father of Ananias the high priest, *A.* xx. 103
- Nedemus** (*Bibl.* **Naphtuhim**), son of Mizraim, *A.* i. 137
- Neeman(es)** (*Bibl.* **Naaman**), son of Benjamin, *A.* ii. 180
- Neerda.** See **Nearda**
- Nehardea.** See **Nearda**
- Nehemiah**, Jewish cupbearer to King Xerxes, *A.* xi. 159; cries over countrymen's misfortunes, *xi.* 162; king sees his gloomy face, *xi.* 164; asks to go to Jerusalem, *xi.* 165-167; arrives in Jerusalem, *xi.* 168; summons people to Jerusalem, *xi.* 168; attempt to kill him, *xi.* 174; not deterred by hostile neighbours, *xi.* 176; orders arming of workers, *xi.* 177; sacrifices to God, *xi.* 180; urges people to move to the city, *xi.* 181-182; his death, *xi.* 183
- Nehushta.** See **Nooste**
- Nemesaios** (var. **Amases**; *Bibl.* **Nimshi**), father of Jehu, *A.* viii. 352; *ix.* 105
- Neopolitanus**, commander of a squadron of horse, ravages district of Tiberias, is halted by Josephus, *V.* 120-121 (perhaps identical with **Neapolitanus**, *B.* ii. 335-341)
- Nephthali(s)** (1) (*Bibl.* **Naphtali**), born to Bilhah and Jacob, *A.* i. 305; *ii.* 181
- Nephthali(s)** (2), tribe of, its territory, *A.* v. 86; city of, *v.* 91; tribe of Barak, *v.* 201; pays homage to David, *vii.* 58; Hiram, the Tyrian craftsman, descended therefrom, *viii.* 76
- Ner**, uncle of Saul, father of Abner, *A.* vi. 130; *vii.* 9, 386
- Neraiah.** See **Neros**
- Neregalsaros** (var. **Regalsaros**), Babylonian commander assigned to sack of Jerusalem, *A.* x. 135
- Nergal-sareser.** See **Neriglisar**
- Nerias**, high priest, son of Uriah, *A.* x. 153
- Neriglisar** (**Eglisaros**; var. **Iglisaros**, **Niglisaros**; *Bibl.* **Nergal-sareser**), assassinates Evilmerodach, his brother-in-law, whom he succeeds as king of Babylon,

GENERAL INDEX

- (Eglisaros) *A.* x. 231; *Ap.* i. 147
- Nero (Caesar), Roman Emperor, *B.* i. 5, 20-21, 23; ii. 248-249; his accession and character, ii. 250-251; enlarges Agrippa II's kingdom, ii. 252; appoints Felix procurator of rest of Judaea, ii. 253; ii. 270, 284, (294); makes Alexander governor of Egypt, ii. 309; ii. 342, (352), (403), (406), (415), 490, 555, 558; receives news of Roman reverses in Judaea, iii. 1-4; iii. 7-8, 339, 398, 401, 540; iv. 440; his death, iv. 491-493; iv. 497, 623; vi. 337, 341, 422; during his reign height of temple of Herod is raised, *A.* xv. 391; makes Tigranes king of Armenia, xviii. 140; adopted by Claudius, xx. 150; proclaimed emperor, xx. 152; murders his mother, xx. 153; attitudes of historians toward him, xx. 154-155; xx. 158-159, 162; cancels Jewish rights in Caesarea, xx. 182-184; supports inhabitants of Jerusalem in their quarrel with Agrippa over temple wall, xx. 194-195; (xx. 197) Caesarea Philippi renamed Neronias in his honour, xx. 211; appoints Florus as successor to Albinus, xx. 252; xx. 257, 259; priests sent in bonds by Felix to render an account to him, *V.* 13; has a special favourite, the Jewish actor Aliturus, 16; hands over Tiberias as a present to Agrippa the Younger, 38; does not have audience with Philip son of Jacimus because of prevailing disorders and civil war, 408-409
- Neronias, name given to Caesarea Philippi by Agrippa II, *A.* xx. 211
- Neros (Bibl. Neraiah), father of Baruch, *A.* x. 158
- Nethanel. See Nathanael (1)
- Netiras, Galilaeen Jewish hero, *B.* iii. 233
- Neus, high priest, *B.* ii. 566
- New City. See Jerusalem, topography
- New Town. See Jerusalem, topography
- Nicanor (1), officer of Ptolemy Philadelphus, *A.* xii. 94
- Nicanor (2), royal agent in Jerusalem of Antiochus Epiphanes, *A.* xii. 261-262; sent against Judas, xii. 298
- Nicanor (3) (perhaps same as Nicanor [2]), attempts to capture Judas by deceit, *A.* xii. 402-405; threatens Jews of Jerusalem, xii. 406; killed by Judas at Adasa, xii. 407, 409; his death, xii. 420
- Nicanor (4) of Ephesus, *A.* xiv. 262
- Nicanor (5), tribune of Titus, speaks to Josephus, *B.* iii. 346-355; iii. 392; v. 261
- Nicator. See Seleucus Nicator
- Nicodemus, envoy of Aristobulus the son of Alexander Jannaeus, *A.* xiv. 37
- Nicolas of Damascus, historian, friend of Herod, *B.* i. 574, 629, 637-638; friend of Archelaus, ii. 14, 21, 34-35, 92; *A.* i. 94, 108; tells story of Abraham, i. 159; vii. 101; advocate for Jews of Asia Minor, xii. 126-127; xiii. 250, 347; apologist for Herod, xiv. 9; xiv. 68, 104; addresses Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa on behalf of Ionian Jews, xvi. 29-58; his partiality to Herod, xvi. 183-186; is sent by Herod on mission to Rome, xvi. 299; envoy to Augustus, xvi. 333; reconciles Augustus with Herod, xvi. 335-355; advises Herod not to punish his sons rashly, xvi. 370-372; accuses Syllaenus before Augustus, xvii. 54; accuses Antipater, xvii. 99; denounces Antipater, xvii. 106-121, 127; accompanies Archelaus to Rome, xvii. 219; brother of Ptolemy, xvii. 225; defends Archelaus before Augustus, xvii. 240-248; defends

GENERAL INDEX

- Herod and Archelaus before Augustus, xvii. 315-316; cited on motive of Antiochus Epiphanes in plundering the temple in Jerusalem, *Ap.* ii. 84
- Nicomedes, a Jew, father of Gorian, *B.* ii. 451
- Nicon. See Victor
- Nicopolis (1), city in Egypt, *B.* iv. 659
- Nicopolis (2), city in Greece, benefited by Herod, *B.* i. 425; *A.* xvi. 147
- Niger of Peraea, distinguished for valour in Jewish ranks against Romans, *B.* ii. 520, 566; iii. 11, 20, 25, 27-28; iv. 359-363
- Niglisaros. See Neriglisar
- Nikaso, daughter of Sanballat, married to Manasseh the brother of the high priest Jaddua, *A.* xi. 303, 309
- Nikaule, queen of Egypt, rules after Pharaohs, *A.* viii. 158
- Nike. See Victoria
- Nile River, *B.* iii. 520; iv. 608, 611, 659; v. 383; Greek name for Gihon River, *A.* i. 39; surrounds Saba, ii. 249; iii. 86; near site of stone-quarries in Egypt, *Ap.* i. 235; crossed by Amenophis, king of Egypt, with his army, i. 245; charge of it given to Jews, (ii. 64)
- Nimrod. See Nebrodes
- Nimshi. See Nemesaios
- Nineveh (Ninus, Ninos), (Ninus) *A.* i. 143; (Ninos) ix. 208, 214; its downfall prophesied by Nahum, ix. 239, 241-242; (Ninos) x. 22
- Ninos. See Nineveh
- Ninus (1). See Nineveh
- Ninus (2), priestess, condemned to death by Athenians, *Ap.* ii. 276
- Niphates, Armenian mountains, *A.* xviii. 51
- Nisan, Hebrew month, *A.* i. 81; corresponds to Macedonian Xanthicus, ii. 311; tabernacle consecrated then, iii. 201; Passover celebrated then, iii. 248; first month, people stream to Jerusalem during it, xi. 109
- Nisibis (1), treasure-city of Jews in Babylonia on the Euphrates, *A.* xviii. 312; haven for Jews, xviii. 379
- Nisibis (2), district (probably) in north-eastern Babylonia, taken from king of Armenia and given to King Izates of Adiabene by Parthian king Artabanus, *A.* xx. 68
- Nisroch. See Araske
- Noah (Grk. Nochos), urges wicked to reform their ways, *A.* i. 74; loved by God, i. 75; saved from flood, i. 76, 78; i. 80; his genealogy from Adam, i. 87; determines whether flood has subsided and leaves ark, i. 90-92; sacrifices to God after flood, i. 96; God grants his prayer, i. 99; dies, i. 104; his sons, i. 109; i. 113, 122; Hebrew equivalent is Noe, i. 129; plants vine, i. 140; curses Canaan, i. 142; Abraham is tenth in descent from him, i. 148; iii. 87; remains of his ark, xx. 25; his ark mentioned by Berosus, Chaldaean writer, *Ap.* i. 130; his descendants enumerated by Berosus, i. 131
- Noarus. See Varus (2)
- Nob. See Naba
- Nochos. See Noah
- Noe, Hebrew equivalent of Noah, *A.* i. 129
- Noema (Bibl. Naamah), daughter of Lamech, *A.* i. 65
- Nomicus, a Jew, father of Joesdrus, *B.* ii. 628
- Numidians, African nation, *B.* ii. 381
- Nomos, nowhere employed by Homer, *Ap.* ii. 154-155
- Nomphthes (Bibl. Muppim), son of Benjamin, *A.* ii. 180
- Nooma (Bibl. Naamah), mother of Rehoboam, *A.* viii. 212
- Nooste (Bibl. Nehushta), mother of Jehoachin, *A.* x. 98
- Norbanus (1), Gaius Flaccus, proconsul of Asia, *A.* xvi. 166, 171
- Norbanus (2), noble Roman

GENERAL INDEX

- citizen, killed by German body-guard in revenge for assassination of Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 123
- Numenius (1), son of Antiochus (var. Antimachus), Jewish envoy sent to Romans by Jonathán the Jewish high priest, *A.* xiii. 169; sent to Rome by Hyrcanus II as envoy, xiv. 146
- Nun. See Nauekos
- Nymphidius, prefect of pretorian guard in Nero's reign, *B.* iv. 492
- OAK-COPPICE. See Drymus
- Oaks of Mamre. See Ogyges
- Oasis, (Great), in Egypt, birth-place of Apion, *Ap.* ii. 29
- oath, Antiochus violates his oaths when he enters the temple, *A.* xii. 383; awe-inspiring oaths of Jews, *V.* 275; Jewish "Corban," *Ap.* i. 167; alleged Jewish oath of enmity against mankind, i. 318; of hostility to Greeks allegedly sworn by Jews, ii. 95; of hostility to aliens by Jews, alleged by Apion, ii. 121-124; of Socrates, ii. 263
- Oba (Bibl. Hobab), city in country of the Damascenes, *A.* i. 178
- Obadaïos (Bibl. Obed-edom), ark deposited at his house, *A.* vii. 83-84
- Obadas (Obedas), king of Arabia, (Obedas) *B.* i. 90; i. 487; (Obedas) *A.* xiii. 375; xvi. 220, 279-280, 288; his death, xvi. 294; reported poisoned by Syllaëus, xvi. 296, 337
- Obadiah. See Obedias
- Obal. See Ebal
- Obdoïlos. See Zodmielos
- Obed, son of Boaz and Ruth, *A.* v. 336; vi. 157
- Obedas. See Obadas
- Obed-edom. See Obadaïos
- Obedias (Bibl. Obadiah), Ahab's steward, *A.* viii. 329-331, 335; ix. 47
- obelisks, of Heliopolis, replaced by sundials by Moses, *Ap.* ii. 11
- Obime (Bibl. Abijah), son of Jeroboam, *A.* viii. 266
- Ocean, *B.* ii. 363, 371, 374, 378; iii. 107
- Ochobatos (Bibl. Jehozabad), commander of army under Jehoshaphat, *A.* viii. 397
- Ochozias (1) I (Bibl. Ahaziah), son and successor of Ahab, *A.* viii. 420; ix. 18; his illness, ix. 19; (ix. 27)
- Ochozias (2) II (Bibl. Ahaziah), son and successor of Jehoram, *A.* ix. 102, 104, 112; king of Jerusalem, ix. 117-118, 120-121; his relatives slain by Jehu, ix. 130-131; son of Athaliah, ix. 140; father of Joash, ix. 141
- Ochus (Bibl. Evi), a king of the Midianites, *A.* iv. 161
- Octavia, daughter of Claudius and Messalina and wife of Nero, *B.* ii. 249; *A.* xx. 149; betrothed to Nero, xx. 150; put to death by Nero, xx. 153
- Octavian. See Augustus (1)
- Octavian Walks (Porticus Octaviae), in Rome, named after Octavia, Augustus' sister, *B.* vii. 124
- Octavius. See Augustus (1)
- October, Kalends of, *A.* xiv. 228
- Odaïas, high priest, son of Nerias, *A.* x. 153
- Oded. See Odedas
- Odedas (Bibl. Oded), Hebrew prophet, *A.* ix. 248
- Odollam (Bibl. Adullam), city in Judaea, (Adullam) *A.* vi. 247; fortified by Rehoboam, *A.* viii. 246
- Og, king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, *A.* iv. 96-98
- Ogyges (Bibl. Oaks [or Terebinths] of Mamre), place near Hebron, *A.* i. 186
- Ohad. See Pouthod(os)
- Oholiab. See Elibaz (1) and (2)
- Oholibamah. See Alibame
- oil, use of Grecian, prohibited to Jews, *V.* 74
- Old Tyre, city in Phoenicia, revolts against Tyre and surrenders to the king of Assyria, *A.* ix. 285
- Olives, Mount of, near Jerusalem,

GENERAL INDEX

- B.* ii. 262; *v.* 70, 135, 504; *vi.* 157; *A.* vii. 202; *xx.* 169
- Olsa. See Osa
- Olympia, abode of Greek gods, *A.* xix. 8
- Olympiad, measure of time, the 92nd, *B.* i. 415; *A.* xii. 248, 321; xiii. 236; *xiv.* 4, 66, 389, 487; *xv.* 109; *xvi.* 136; the 117th, *Ap.* i. 184; Jewish exodus from Egypt and Phoenician foundation of Carthage dated in seventh Olympiad by Apion, ii. 17
- Olympian Zeus (Zeus Olympios), Greek god, *B.* i. 414; (Zeus Olympios), *A.* viii. 147; *xix.* 8; *Ap.* i. 113; see also Zeus
- Olympias, daughter of Herod the Great by his Samaritan wife Malthace, *B.* i. 562; *A.* xvii. 20; mother of Mariamme, xviii. 134
- Olympic games, *B.* i. 426; benefited by Herod, *A.* xvi. 149
- Olympus, friend of Herod, *B.* i. 535; *A.* xvi. 332; delivers letter from Herod to Caesar, *xvi.* 354
- Omar. See Omer(os)
- Omblaios. See Jemblaïos
- omer. See assaron
- Omer(os) (Bibl. Omar), son of Esau, *A.* ii. 5
- Ommaton. See Ammata
- Omri. See Amarinos
- Onias (1) I, son of Jaddua, high priest, *A.* xi. 347; his death, *xii.* 43
- Onias (2), II, son of Simon the Just, high priest, *A.* xii. 44, 156; rouses anger of Ptolemy by his avarice, *xii.* 158-159; uncle of Joseph the Tobiad, *xii.* 160; upbraided by Joseph, *xii.* 161; offers to give up priesthood, *xii.* 163-164; his arrogance reported to Ptolemy, *xii.* 167, 172; his death, *xii.* 224; father of Simon II, *xix.* 298
- Onias (3), III, son of Simon II, high priest, *A.* xii. 225; receives letter from Areios, *xii.* 226; his death, *xii.* 237; *xii.* 238; *xiii.* 62, 167
- Onias (4), called Menelaus, son of Simon the Just, high priest, *A.* xii. 238; changes name to Menelaus, *xii.* 239; (Menelaus) taken by Antiochus Eupator to Antioch, *xii.* 383-385; (Menelaus) appointed high priest by Antiochus Epiphanes, *xv.* 41; surnamed Menelaus, first high priest to be deposed, *xx.* 235-236
- Onias (5) IV, high priest, *B.* i. 31, 33; son of Simon, *vii.* 422-432; *A.* (xii. 237); son of high priest Onias III, *xii.* 387-388; seeks site for temple in Egypt and builds it, *xiii.* 62-73, 285; nephew of Onias surnamed Menelaus, builds temple at Heliopolis, *xx.* 236
- Onias (6), Jewish general of army of Ptolemy Philometor, *Ap.* ii. 49-53
- Onias (7), righteous Jew, successfully prays for rain, refuses to curse Aristobulus, is stoned to death by villains, *A.* xiv. 22-25
- Onias (8), a Jew, father of Jonathan the envoy of Hyrcanus to the Roman Senate, *A.* xiv. 222
- Onias (9), district of, in Egypt, *B.* i. 190; *vii.* 421; *A.* xii. 287; *xiv.* 131
- Oolda (Bibl. Huldah), Hebrew prophetess, *A.* x. 59
- Ophellius, friend of Phasaël, to whom he gives warning, *B.* i. 259; *A.* xiv. 345
- Opheltias. See Pheltias
- Ophir (1), son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
- Ophir (2). See Gold, Land of
- Ophla. See Ophlas
- Ophlas (Ophla), region in Jerusalem, *B.* ii. 448; *v.* 145, 254; *vi.* 354
- Ophra(h). See Ephra (2)
- Oppais (Bibl. Huppim), son of Benjamin, *A.* ii. 180
- Or. See Orus
- Oreb, king of the Midianites, *A.* v. 227
- Oresa. See Rhesa

GENERAL INDEX

- Orestae, a Macedonian family, *A.* xi. 304
- Orniza, place of refuge for survivors of Battle of Canatha, *B.* i. 368
- Ornan. See Oronnas
- Orodes (1), offered the Parthian throne, *A.* xviii. 44
- Orodes (2), son of Artabanus, becomes ruler of Armenia, *A.* xviii. 52
- Oronaim (Oronain), city in Moab, *A.* xiii. 397; (Oronain), *xiv.* 18
- Oronain. See Oronaim
- Oronnas (Bibl. Arauna or Ornan), Jebusite spared by David, *A.* vii. 69, 329-331; sells threshing floor to David, *vii.* 332
- Orpah. See Orpha
- Orpha (Bibl. Orpah), Moabite woman, marries Chilion, *A.* v. 319, 322
- Orsanus, fugitive from Parthia, *B.* i. 178; *A.* xiv. 103
- Orus (Or), Egyptian king, son of Amenophis II, *Ap.* i. 96; (Or) has vision of the gods, *i.* 232
- Orybda, Arab city, *A.* xiv. 18
- Osa (var. Olsa; Bibl. Arza), steward of Elah, *A.* viii. 308
- Osabethe (Bibl. Jehosheba), wife of high priest Jehoiada, *A.* ix. 141
- Osarsiph (= Moses), one of priests of Heliopolis, leader of lepers in Egypt, according to Manetho, *Ap.* i. 238 ff.; gives Solymites a code of laws, *i.* 250; changes name to Moses, *i.* 265; Egyptian name of Moses, Manetho's account of him criticized by Josephus, *i.* 286
- Osees. See Oseos
- Oseos (var. Osees; Bibl. Hoshea), king of Israel, *A.* ix. 258-260; exiled by Shalmaneser, *ix.* 277-280; *x.* 183
- Osiris, Egyptian god of Heliopolis, Osarsiph (= Moses) named after him, *Ap.* i. 250, 265
- Ostracine, unidentified place on road from Alexandria to Caesarea, *B.* iv. 661
- Othlia (Gotholia[h]; Bibl. Athaliah), daughter of Ahab, wife of Jehoram, *A.* viii. 398; *ix.* 96; kills sons of Ahaziah, *ix.* 140, 142; plotted against by Jehoiada, *ix.* 143; her death, *ix.* 150-153; *ix.* 154, 156, 158; allows temple to deteriorate, *ix.* 161
- Otho, emperor of Rome in the year of the four emperors, *B.* iv. 494, 499, 546, 547; his death, *iv.* 548; *iv.* 634
- Ougis (Bibl. Haggi), son of Gad, *A.* ii. 182
- Ousis (Bibl. Hushim), son of Dan, *A.* ii. 181
- Ozas (Bibl. Uzzah), touches ark and dies, *A.* vii. 81-82
- Ozas, Breach of. See Breach of Ozas
- Ozem. See Asam
- Ozias (Bibl. Uzziah), son and successor to Amaziah, *A.* ix. 204; begins rule over two tribes in Jerusalem in fourteenth year of Jeroboam's reign, *ix.* 216; afflicted with leprosy, *ix.* 225; *ix.* 236
- Ozis (Bibl. Uzzi), son of Bukki, high priest, *A.* v. 362
- PAAPIS, father of Amenophis, Egyptian soothsayer, *Ap.* i. 232, 243
- Paccius (1), Lucius, father of Paccius (2) Capito, Lucius, *A.* xiv. 239
- Paccius (2) Capito, Lucius, present at promulgation of Lentulus' decree exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service, *A.* xiv. 239
- Pacorus (1), prince of Parthia, *B.* i. 248-249, 260-263; his death, *i.* 317; son of Parthian king, occupies Syria, *A.* xiv. 330; his friendship with Antigonus, marches against Judaea, *xiv.* 332-333; *xiv.* 347; falls in battle, *xiv.* 434
- Pacorus (2), cupbearer to Parthian prince Pacorus, *B.* (i. 249; *i.* 254; (*i.* 261;)) helps Antigonus, *A.* xiv. 333, 340-341; aids Antigonus against

GENERAL INDEX

- Phasaël and Herod, *xiv.* 342 ; plots against Phasaël, *xiv.* 349 ; captures Hyrcanus, *xv.* 12 ; captures Hyrcanus, *xx.* 245
- Paëcorus (3), king of Media, *B. vii.* 247 ; brother of Vologeses, given Media, *A. xx.* 74
- Paëtina. See Petina
- Paëtus, Caesennius, governor of Syria, *B. vii.* 59, 220, 225, 230, 238
- Palace in Alexandria, Jewish quarter near it, *Ap. ii.* 36
- Palaestes (var. Galestes), leading man of Agaba, gives shelter to Aristobulus, *A. xiii.* 424
- Palatine Apollo, *B. ii.* 81 ; *A. xvii.* 301
- Palatine, hill in Rome, planned location of Gaius' assassination, *A. xix.* 75, 85-86 ; Claudius declared emperor there by soldiers, *xix.* 223, 266, 268
- Palestine, Greek name for country occupied by Phylistinus, *A. i.* 136 ; its relation to Damascus, *i.* 145 ; *i.* 207 ; *ii.* 323 ; *viii.* 262 ; its fortresses strengthened by Simon, *xiii.* 180 ; *xx.* 259 ; not a maritime country, *Ap. (i. 60 ;)* practice of circumcision by Syrians thereof learned from Egyptians, *i.* 169 ; Syrians thereof mentioned by Herodotus, identified with Jews by Josephus, *i.* 171
- Palestinian Syria, *A. viii.* 260
- Pallas (1), brother of Felix the procurator of Judaea, *B. ii.* 247 ; Antonia's slave, *A. xviii.* 182 ; *xx.* 137 ; pleads on behalf of Felix before Nero, *xx.* 182
- Pallas (2), wife of Herod, *B. i.* 562 ; *A. xvii.* 21
- Pallu. See Phalaus ; Phalus
- Palmyra, city in Syria, Greek name for Thadamora, *A. viii.* 154
- Palti. See Pheltias
- Paltiel. See Pheltias
- Pamphylia, region in Asia Minor, *B. i.* 280 ; Pamphylian nation, *ii.* 368 ; Pamphylian Sea retires before Alexander's army, *A. ii.* 348 ; *xi.* 305 ; *xiv.* 377
- Panathenæan, Greek festival, *A. xiv.* 153
- Paneas (Panias), district south-east of Caesarea Philippi, (Panias) *B. ii.* 95 ; *ii.* 168 ; given to Herod, *A. xv.* 360 ; bequeathed by Herod as tetrarchy to Philip, *xvii.* 189 ; city renamed Caesarea, *xviii.* 28
- Paneion (Panion), place near sources of Jordan River, *B. i.* 404 ; *iii.* 509, 513-514 ; *A. xv.* 363
- Panemus, month of the Romans, *B. iii.* 339, 409 ; *v.* 567 ; *vi.* 22, 67, 94, (177) ; *A. xiv.* 148 ; month of the Macedonians, *xiv.* 149
- Panias. See Paneas
- Panion. See Paneion
- Pannonia, Roman province on south bank of Danube, *B. iv.* 619 ; *vii.* 117
- Pannychis, concubine of Herod, *B. i.* 511
- Papha (text corrupt), village in Lower Galilee, fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188
- Paphlagonia, region in northern Asia Minor, *A. xvi.* 23
- Paphlagonians, formerly the Riphataeans, nation founded by Riphath, son of Gomer, *A. i.* 126
- Papinius (1), Roman military tribune, Chaerea plots with him against Gaius Caligula, *A. xix.* 37, 41
- Papinius (2). See Servius Sulpicius Quintus
- Papirian, Roman tribe, *A. xiv.* 220
- Papirius, member of Quirine tribe, present at promulgation of decree by the Roman Senate honouring Antipater and Hyrcanus, *A. xiv.* 146
- Pappus, comrade and general of Antigonus, *B. i.* 333-339, 342 ; his head cut off by Herod, *A. xiv.* 457
- Papyron, place in Judaea, where Aristobulus wins victory, *B. i.* 130 ; *A. xiv.* 33

GENERAL INDEX

Paradise, expulsion of Adam and Eve from, *A. i.* 40-51
 Paran. See Ravine (2)
 Parembolai, Greek equivalent of Manalis, an unidentified city which in Greek means "Camps," the royal residence of Ish-bosheth, *A. vii.* 10
 parents, honour of, prescribed by Jewish Law, *Ap. ii.* 206
 Parium, region on the coast of the Troad, east of the Hellespont, receives order from Julius Caesar to grant Jews special privileges, *A. xiv.* 213
 Parmenion, Macedonian general, second in command to Alexander the Great, *A. xi.* 333, 336
 Parthenius, river near which Syrians practising circumcision dwell, *Ap. i.* 170
 Parthia (Parthians), *B. i.* 6, 175, 178, 180, 182, 248, 254, 256-269, 273, 276, 284, 288-291, 309, 317, 362, 363, 433, 484, 486; *ii.* 46, 379, 389; *vii.* 105, 221, 224, 237; *A. x.* 265; capture Demetrius II, *xiii.* 185-186, 219; opposed by Hyrcanus and Antiochus Sidetes, *xiii.* 250-251; *xiii.* 253, 271; at war with Samenians, *xiii.* 371; ally with Philip against Demetrius Akairos, *xiii.* 384-385; *xiii.* 386; *xiv.* 98, 103, 105, 119, 330; ally with Antigonus, *xiv.* 331-332; *xiv.* 340; support Antigonus, *xiv.* 343-344; put Phasaël and Hyrcanus in chains, *xiv.* 348-349, 351-352; harass Herod in his flight to Idumaea, *xiv.* 358; plunder Jerusalem, *xiv.* 363-364; their king invades Judaea *xiv.* 365; *xiv.* 366, 372; seize Phasaël, *xiv.* 379; support Antigonus, *xiv.* 384; opposed by Romans, *xiv.* 392-393; disturbances created by them quelled by Ventidius, *xiv.* 395; give kingship to Antigonus, *xiv.* 404; battle Antony and Silo, *xiv.* 420; defeated by Ventidius, *xiv.* 434; release Hyrcanus from captivity, *xv.*

11; *xv.* 12, 14, 21; Antony's campaign against them, *xv.* 80; *xv.* 92; take Hyrcanus prisoner, *xv.* 181; *xvi.* 253; kill Phasaël, *xvii.* 257; death of their king Phraates, *xviii.* 39, 41; attempt to choose new king, *xviii.* 44, 47, 51; their treaty of friendship with the Romans, *xviii.* 96; defeated by Alan, *xviii.* 98; *xviii.* 101, 250; Babylonia subject to them, *xviii.* 313; routed by Anilaëus and Asinaëus, *xviii.* 317-318, 325; their realm ravaged by Anilaëus and Asinaëus, *xviii.* 334; *xviii.* 335; their generals court Asinaëus' favour, *xviii.* 339; wife of Ctillon Ctition, Parthian general, involved in scandal with Anilaëus, *xviii.* 340; their gods worshipped by Anilaëus' wife, *xviii.* 348; their leader, Mithridates, captured by Anilaëus, *xviii.* 353; defeated by Anilaëus, *xviii.* 355, 357; Artabanus, king of, *xx.* 37, 54; Artabanus restored to throne thereof with help of Izates, *xx.* 59, 62-63, 67-68; Vardanes, king of, *xx.* 72; kill Vardanes, *xx.* 73; attack Izates, *xx.* 81; their king Vologeses attacks Izates but is forced to withdraw, *xx.* 82, 84, 86-87, 91; *xx.* 245; take Hyrcanus captive, *xx.* 248
 Parting of the Rivers, district in Babylonia, *A. xviii.* 315
Pascha (1) (*Phaska*) ("passing over"), Hebrew name of Jewish holiday of Passover, *A. ii.* 313; (*Phaska*) *xiv.* 21, 25 (see also Passover)
Pascha (2) (*Phaska*), Hebrew name for sacrifice brought on Passover, *A. iii.* 248, 294; (*Phaska*) offered in days of King Hezekiah, *ix.* 271; offered in Jerusalem, *xi.* 110
 Pas-dammim. See Erasmós
 Passover, Jewish holiday (see also Festival of Unleavened Bread, *Pascha*), *B. ii.* 10, 224,

GENERAL INDEX

- 244, 280; iv. 402; v. 99; vi. 290, 421, 423; when and how celebrated, *A.* iii. 248-251; kept by Joshua and people, v. 20; festival of unleavened bread, ix. 263-264; celebrated by Josiah, x. 70-71; disturbances in the temple during it, xvii. 213; disturbance during it caused by Samaritans, xviii. 29; xviii. 90; uprising of Jews during it, xx. 106
- Pathrusim. See Pethrosimus
- Patrocles, son of Chaireas, envoy from Hyrcanus to Roman Senate, *A.* xiv. 222
- Paulina, noble Roman lady, beloved by Decius Mundus, tricked into having relations with him disguised as the god Anubis, *A.* xviii. 66-77
- Paulinus (1), tribune under Vespasian, *B.* iii. 344
- Paulinus (2), successor of Lupus in Alexandria, *B.* vii. 434
- Paulus Arruntius. See Arruntius, Paulus
- Pausanias (1), father of Lysimachus who was envoy of Hyrcanus the high priest, *A.* xiv. 222, 307
- Pausanias (2), slayer of Philip the king of Macedonia, *A.* xi. 304; xix. 95
- Peace, Temple of, erected by Vespasian in Rome, *B.* vii. 158
- Pedanius (1), Roman legate, *B.* i. 538
- Pedanius (2), Roman trooper, *B.* vi. 161-163
- Pegae, city northeast of Joppa, restored to Jews by Rome, *A.* xiii. 261
- Peitholaus, commander of Jewish troops, *B.* i. 162, 172; his death, i. 180; leader of the Jews, *A.* xiv. 84, 93; killed by Cassius, xiv. 120
- Pekah. See Phakeas (2)
- Pekahiah. See Phakeas (1)
- Peleg. See Phaleg
- Peleth. See Phalaus
- Pella, city in Transjordan, *B.* i. 104, 134; liberated by Pompey, i. 156; sacked by parties of Jews, ii. 458, iii. 46-47, 55; part of Jewish territory under Alexander Jannaeus, *A.* xiii. 397; Pompey passes through it to get to Coreae, xiv. 49; Pompey restores it to its own inhabitants, xiv. 75
- Pelusium, city in Egypt, *B.* i. 175; the Pelusian Frontier, i. 187; i. 189-190, 278, 362, 395; iv. 610, 660, 661; *A.* vi. 140; x. 17-19, 86; xii. 243; xiv. 99, 128, 130, 375; site in Egypt where King Sethosis (Ramesses II) returns to recover his kingdom, *Ap.* i. 101; son of Amenophis (actually Amenophis himself) marches to it, i. 274; place where afflicted persons expelled from Egypt meet persons left there by Amenophis, i. 291; place where Egyptian cripples join 380,000 persons left there by King Amenophis, i. 297; 380,000 persons there join lepers, i. 302
- Peniel. See Phanuel
- Peninnah. See Phenanna
- Pentapolis, Libyan, group of five of the chief cities of Cyrenaica on the northern coast of Africa (Apollonia, Arsinoë, Berenice, Cyrene, and Ptolemais), *B.* vii. 439
- Pentecost, Jewish holiday, *B.* i. 253; ii. 42; vi. 299; referred to as "Weeks," *A.* iii. 252; xiii. 252; xiv. 337; fight between Romans and Jews thereon, xvii. 254
- Pentephres (var. Petephres; Bibl. Potiphar), an Egyptian, *A.* ii. 39, 49; Joseph falsely accused before him by his wife, ii. 54-58; ii. 73; priest of Heliopolis, ii. 91
- People of Rome. See Roman(s)
- Peraea (Peraeans), region in Palestine, *B.* i. 586; ii. 43, 57, 59, 95, 168, 247, 252, 520, 566, 567; description of, iii. 44-47; iv. 413, 439, 450; vi. 209, 274; *A.* v. 255; xiii. 50; xv. 294; bequeathed by Herod as tetrarchy to Antipas, xvii. 188;

GENERAL INDEX

- xvii. 276; given to Antipas by Caesar, xvii. 318; tetrarchy of Herod, xviii. 240; dispute between its Jewish inhabitants and people of Philadelphia, xx. 2-3; xx. 159
- Perath. See Phoras
- Perez. See Phares(os)
- Perez-Uzzah. See Breach of Ozas
- Pergamum (Pergamus), city in northwest Asia Minor, *B. i.* 187, 425; *A. xiv.* 128; decree of its people regarding Jews, *xiv.* 247-255
- Pergamus. See Pergamum
- Peristreon, Rock of, place near the temple in Jerusalem, *B. v.* 505
- Peritius, month in Macedonian calendar, *A. viii.* 146, *Ap. i.* 119
- persecution (torture) of Jews, *Ap. i.* 43, 191-192; *ii.* 219, 232 ff.
- Perseus, Macedonian king, conquered by Rome, *A. xii.* 414
- Persia (Persian[s]), descended from Shem, *A. i.* 143; *ii.* 348; Israelites exiled to it, *ix.* 278; *ix.* 279, 288; their defeat of Babylonia prophesied, *x.* 113; Chuthaeans come from there, *x.* 184; *x.* 232, 244, 247, 265, 269; their defeat by Greeks foretold by Daniel, *x.* 272-273; *xi.* 17; Samaritans come from there, *xi.* 19; *xi.* 30; appoint Darius king, *xi.* 31; *xi.* 33, 37, 92, 96; their welfare to be prayed for by Jews, *xi.* 102; their king favourably disposed to Jews, *xi.* 110; related to Samaritans, *xi.* 114, 119, 144; Susa its metropolis, *xi.* 159; their empire ruled by Ahasuerus, *xi.* 184, 186; their custom of drinking, *xi.* 188; their laws, *xi.* 191; their seven interpreters of laws, *xi.* 192; affected by Queen Vashti's insult, *xi.* 193; entertained by Ahasuerus, *xi.* 203-204; bow before Haman, *xi.* 209-210; Haman an alien among them, *xi.* 277; defile the temple, *xi.* 300; *xi.* 315-316, 334-335, 337; their empire overthrown by Alexander the Great, *xii.* 1; *xii.* 45, 257; marched upon by Antiochus Epiphanes, *xii.* 294, 297, 354; *xii.* 358, 379; *xiv.* 187; *xx.* 186, 233, 260; Cadmus of Miletus and Acusilaus of Argos lived a short time before their wars against Greece, *Ap. i.* 13; contradictions among the historians of their invasion of Greece, *i.* 18; Xerxes and Artaxerxes, its kings, *i.* 40; their domination in Asia, their invasion of Europe, *i.* 64; Cyrus, its king, *i.* 132; Cyrus advances from there against Babylonia, *i.* 150; Cyrus becomes its monarch, *i.* 158; Cyrus comes into power there, *i.* 159; Xerxes, its king, *i.* 172; outrages of its kings and satraps against Jews, *i.* 191; deportation of Jews to Babylon by them (mistake for Chaldaeans), according to Hecataeus of Abdera, *i.* 194; repeated sackings of Egypt by them, *ii.* 129; Egyptians their slaves, *ii.* 133; punishment of impiety by them, *ii.* 269; their intolerance, *ii.* 270
- Petephres. See Pentephres
- Peteseeph, Egyptian name for Joseph, *Ap. i.* 290
- Pethrosimus (Bibl. Pathrusim), son of Mizraim, *A. i.* 137
- Petilius, Cerealius. See Cerealius (2) Petilius
- Petina (var. Paetina), first wife of Claudius, bears Antonia to Claudius, *B. ii.* 249; *A. xx.* 150
- Petra, capital of Arabia, *B. i.* 125, 159, 267, 574, 590; *iv.* 454 land of the Amalekites, *A. iii.* 40; formerly Arce, *iv.* 82; formerly called Rekeme, *iv.* 161; *xiv.* 16, 80, 362; *xvii.* 54, 287; *xviii.* 109, 120, 125
- Petronius (1), Roman governor of Syria, sent by Caligula to put up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem, *B. ii.* 185-203, *A. xviii.* 261-263; hears petitions from Jews not to set up image, *xviii.* 265-266, 269-270,

GENERAL INDEX

- 273; writes to Gaius, advocating Jewish request, xviii. 276, 284, 286, 288; ordered to set up statue of Gaius in the temple, xviii. 297; ordered by Gaius to desist from setting up statue, xviii. 300, 302; incurs Gaius' wrath, xviii. 303, 305-307; saved by the providence of God, xviii. 308-309; rebukes people of Dora for setting up statue of emperor in synagogue, xix. 301, 303, 312; succeeded by Marsus, xix. 316
- Petronius (2), prefect of Egypt, supplies Herod with provisions to relieve starvation, A. xv. 307
- Pettius, Lucius, member of Pergamum Council (or perhaps member of a Commission of the Roman Senate), A. xiv. 251
- Phabes (var. Phoabis, Foavis, Fav-
es, Phiabi), father of Jesus (7),
A. xv. 322
- Phabi, father of Ishmael the high
priest, A. xviii. 34; xx. 179
- Phaedra, wife of Herod, B. i.
563; A. xvii. 21
- Phakeas (1) (Bibl. Pekahiah), son
and successor of Menahem,
king of Israel, A. ix. 233
- Phakeas (2) (Bibl. Pekah), slayer
of Pekahiah, king of Israel, son
of Remaliah, A. ix. 234, 244;
his death, ix. 258
- Phalaus (probably Bibl. Peleth;
perhaps Bibl. Pallu), one of the
eldest members of the tribe of
Reuben, A. iv. 19
- Phaleg (Bibl. Peleg), son of Eber,
A. i. 146, 148-150
- Phalek*, Hebrew word meaning
division, from which Peleg gets
his name, A. i. 146
- Phalerum, port of Athens, De-
metrius of, *Ap.* ii. 46
- Phallion, Antipater's brother, B.
i. 130; A. xiv. 33
- Phalnagres, son of David, A. vii.
70
- Phalti. See Pheltias
- Phaltiel. See Pheltias
- Phalus (Bibl. Pallu), son of
Reuben, B. ii. 178
- Phanasus. See Phanni
- Phanni (Phanasus; var. Phen-
asus, Phineesus, Finasus), son
of Samuel, last high priest, B.
iv. 155; (Phanasus) A. xx. 227
- Phanuel (Bibl. Peniel), place near
river Jabbok where Jacob
wrestled with the angel, A. i.
334; city where Jeroboam con-
structed palace, viii. 225
- Pharao*, Egyptian word for
"king," A. viii. 155
- Pharaoh. See Pharaohes (2)
- Pharaohai, titles of Egyptian
kings starting with Minaias,
A. viii. 155, 157, 159
- Pharaohes (1), first Egyptian
king in period before Minaias,
A. viii. 155
- Pharaohes (2) (Pharao, Pharaoh),
title of Egyptian kings, king of
Egypt when Abraham goes
there, elsewhere identified by
Josephus with Nechaos, A. i.
163; king of Egyptians, ii. 39;
dreams, ii. 75; appoints
Joseph minister in charge of
distributing grain, ii. 89;
(Pharaoh) ii. 117; greets Jacob,
ii. 187, 271; his death, ii. 277;
refuses to let Hebrews leave
Egypt, ii. 299-310; asks He-
brews to leave Egypt, ii. 313-
314; iv. 44; Solomon marries
his daughter, viii. 21; viii. 159;
(Pharao) captures Gezer and
gives it to Solomon, A. viii.
151; (Pharao) viii. 155; (Pha-
rao) receives Hadad kindly,
viii. 200, 202-203
- Pharatho(n) (Bibl. Pirathon),
city in Judaea, A. v. 273-274;
(Pharatho) fortified by Bac-
chides, xiii. 15
- Phares*, word written on Bel-
shazzar's wall, interpreted as
"a break" by Daniel, A. x. 244
- Phares(os) (Bibl. Perez), son of
Judah, A. ii. 178
- Pharisee(s), rise of their power
and influence, B. i. 110-114;
i. 571; ii. 119; described, ii.
162-164; ii. 166, 411; one of
the three Jewish schools of
thought, A. xiii. 171; their
attitude towards Fate, xiii.

GENERAL INDEX

- 172; ask Hyrcanus to give up the high priesthood, xiii. 288-289, 292; forsaken by Hyrcanus, xiii. 293-294, 296; how they differ from Sadducees, xiii. 297-298; appealed by Alexander, xiii. 401, 405; their power under Alexandra, xiii. 408-410, 415; xiii. 423; Pollion the, xv. 3, 370; refuse to swear allegiance to Caesar and Herod, wherefore some are put to death, xvii. 41, 44, 46; Saddok the, xviii. 4; one of the three ancient Jewish philosophies, xviii. 11; their doctrines, xviii. 12-17; fourth philosophy in substantial agreement with them, xviii. 23; one of the three sects of the Jews, V. 10; Josephus submits to hard training for this sect, 11; Josephus resolves to join them, 12; Josephus consorts with them, 21; sect of Jews, reported to be unrivalled experts in Jewish laws, 191; three of them in deputation sent by Ananus to depose Josephus from command of Galilee, 197 ff.
- Pharmuthi, Egyptian month corresponding to the Macedonian name of Xanthicus, A. ii. 311
- Pharnabazos. See Barnabazos
- Pharnaces, son of Mithridates the king of Pontus, slays his father, A. xiv. 53
- Pharos, island near Alexandria, B. iv. 613; v. 169; A. xvi. 144
- Phasaël (1), son of Antipater, B. i. 181; governor of Jerusalem, i. 203; i. 206, 214, 224, 228; attacked by Helix, i. 236; i. 237, 242, 244, 251, 253-255, 259, 260, 261, 269; his death, i. 271, 272, 274-275, 418; ii. 46; A. xiv. 121; appointed governor of Jerusalem, xiv. 158, 161; xiv. 278; resolves to avenge his father's death, xiv. 282; attacked by Helix, xiv. 294-295; accused by Jews before Antony, xiv. 302; appointed tetrarch by Antony, xiv. 326; leads attacks against Antigonus, xiv. 334, 339-341; envoy to Parthians, who plot against him, xiv. 342-343, 345-347; put in chains by Parthians, xiv. 348-351; killed by Antigonus, xiv. 365, 367, 369; xiv. 371; his death, xiv. 379; kills himself, xv. 12-13; monument built in his honour by Herod, xvi. 144; fortress named in his honour, xvii. 257; Herod's brother, xviii. 130
- Phasaël (2), son of Herod and Pallas, B. i. 562; A. xvii. 21
- Phasaël (3), son of Herod's brother Phasaël, B. (i. 275); i. 566; A. (xiv. 371); marries Herod's daughter (Salampsio), xvi. 196; xvii. 22; marries Salampsio, xviii. 130; his children, xviii. 131; his descendants, xviii. 138
- Phasaël (4), tower of, B. i. 418; ii. 46, 439; description of, v. 166-169; vii. 1; built by Herod in honour of his brother, A. xvi. 144; fortress, xvii. 257
- Phasaëlis, city north of Jericho built by Herod, B. i. 418; ii. 98, 167; A. xvi. 145; bequeathed by Herod to Salome, xvii. 189, 321; bequeathed to Julia by Salome, xviii. 31
- Phaselis, a maritime town of Lycia, its people, B. i. 428
- Phaska. See Pascha (1) and (2)
- Phelles, seizes throne of Tyre by slaying his brother Astarymus, Ap. i. 123
- Pheltias, (Bibl. Phalti or Palti), husband of Saul's daughter Michal (who was betrothed to David), A. vi. 309; also called Opheltias (Bibl. Phaltiel or Paltiel), vii. 26
- Phenanna (Bibl. Peninnah), wife of Elkanah, A. v. 342
- Phenassus. See Phanassus
- Pherecydes of Syros, among the first Greek astronomers and theologians, Ap. i. 14
- Pheratae, a valley near Jerusalem, B. iv. 512
- Pheroras, son of Antipater,

GENERAL INDEX

- Herod's youngest brother, *B.* i. 181, 308; offers to redeem brother's head, i. 325; i. 342, 475, 483, 485-487, 498, 502, 504-508, 538, 545, 554, 557, 559, 561, 565, 567-572; his death, i. 578-581; i. 582-583, 585, 586, 589-593, 595-596, 601, 609, 638; ii. 99; *A.* xiv. 121, 419; ransoms Joseph's severed head, xiv. 450; receives head of Pappas, xiv. 464; Herod entrusts his affairs to him, xv. 184, 186; receives tetrarchy, xv. 362; stirs up Herod's distrust of his sons, xvi. 68, 73; quarrels with Herod, xvi. 194-200; incites Alexander, Herod's son, against Herod, xvi. 206-212; distrusted by Herod, xvi. 213-219; accuses Salome of licentiousness, xvi. 223, 226; marries his son to Herod's daughter (Salampsio), xvi. 227-228; accused by Alexander, xvi. 256; reconciled with Herod by Archelaus, xvi. 267, 269; xvii. 321; his daughter promised in marriage to son of Alexander, xvii. 14, 16, 18; refuses to marry Herod's daughters, xvii. 22; comes under influence of Antipater, xvii. 33-35; his wife pays the fine for Pharisees, xvii. 42-43; his wife accused by Herod, xvii. 46, 48-51; his dismissal to his tetrarchy and his death, xvii. 58-59, 61; circumstances of his death revealed, xvii. 62-67, 68-70, 73-74, 76; his death, xvii. 79; his death reported to Antipater, xvii. 85; xvii. 121; his sons married to Herod's daughters, xvii. 322
- Phiabi. See Phabes
- Phiale, one of sources of Jordan, *B.* iii. 509, 511, 513
- Phichola, village from which Joseph the Tobiad came, *A.* xii. 161
- Phicol. See Philoch
- Phideas, high priest, son of Axiaramos, *A.* x. 158
- Phidias of Athens, sculptor of Olympian Zeus, *A.* xix. 8
- Philadelphia (Philadelphians), city in Transjordan, *B.* i. 60, 129, 380; ii. 458; iii. 46-47; *A.* xiii. 235; their dispute with Peraean Jews, xx. 2-3
- Philadelphus (1). See Antiochus (11)
- Philadelphus (2). See Philip (4)
- Philadelphus (3). See Ptolemy (2)
- Philhellene, title of Aristobulus, *A.* xiii. 318
- Philip (1), of Macedon, son of Amyntas, *B.* ii. 360; king of Macedon, his death, *A.* xi. 304; xii. 354; his assassination on same day as that of Gaius Caligula, xix. 95
- Philip (2), father of Perseus, conquered by Rome, *A.* xii. 414
- Philip (3), of Persia, appointed regent of Seleucid kingdom, *A.* xii. 360; threatens Antiochus Eupator, xii. 379-380
- Philip (4), Epiphanes Philadelphus, rules part of Syria, *A.* xiii. 369, 371; brother of Demetrius, xiii. 384, 386; xiii. 387, 389
- Philip (5), father of Sosipater the Jewish envoy to Rome, *A.* xiv. 249
- Philip (6), son of Herod and Cleopatra of Jerusalem, *B.* i. 562, 602, 646, 668; ii. 14, 83; made tetrarch, ii. 94; his tetrarchy, ii. 95; ii. 167-168; his death, ii. 181; ii. 247; iii. 512; *A.* xvii. 21; succeeds to kingship of Jews and subjects Bathyra to taxation, xvii. 27; denounced by Antipater to Herod, xvii. 80; Herod's hatred for him, xvii. 146; Herod's bequests to him, xvii. 189; regent during Archelaus' visit to Rome, xvii. 219; xvii. 303; receives a portion of Herod's kingdom from Augustus, xvii. 318-319; builds cities, xviii. 27-28; brother of Herod the tetrarch, his death, xviii. 106-108; xviii. 114; tetrarch of Trachonitis, married to Salome, xviii.

GENERAL INDEX

- 137; his tetrarchy given to Agrippa, xviii. 237; Agrippa rules over his tetrarchy, xix. 351; his tetrarchy given to Agrippa II, xx. 138
- Philip (7), son of Jacimus, general, *B.* ii. 421, 556; iv. 81; *A.* xvii. 30; King Agrippa's lieutenant, escapes from Jerusalem, *V.* 46; is saved from Menahem and his brigands by Babylonian kinsmen in Jerusalem, 47; enters fortress of Gamala, 59; persuades Jews of Ecbatana not to go to war against Romans, 60; his kinsman Chares and his brother Jesus killed by people of Gamala, 177; leaves Gamala, writes to Modius Aequus, joins Agrippa II, 179-184; Agrippa II's commander-in-chief, betrays, under orders from Agrippa, the royal palace and the Roman forces in Jerusalem, 407; Vespasian advises Agrippa II that he be sent to Rome to render an account of his action to Nero, 408; is dispatched to Rome, 409
- Philip (8), brother of Eleazar the son of Sameas, *B.* iii. 233
- Philippi (1), place in Macedonia, *B.* i. 242; *A.* xiv. 301, 310-311
- Philippi (2), Caesarea. See Caesarea (2) Philippi
- Philippion, son of Ptolemy the son of Mennaes, *B.* i. 185; *A.* xiv. 126
- Philistines (Philistia), people inhabiting region of southwestern Palestine, *B.* v. 384; *A.* ii. 322; mass against Joshua, v. 63; attack Israelites, v. 255; conquer Israel, v. 275; v. 277, 286; unable to solve Samson's riddle, v. 291; v. 294; their crops destroyed by Samson, v. 295-296; many of them slain by Samson, v. 297; v. 298-300, 304, 306; urge Delilah to discover Samson's secret, v. 307; v. 309, 314; attacked by Hebrews, v. 338; defeat Israelites, v. 352; capture ark, v. 356, vi. 1; punished for capturing and keeping ark, vi. 6; return ark, vi. 13; vi. 15, 17; hold ark for four months, vi. 18; vi. 20; defeated by Hebrews at Mizpah, vi. 22; vi. 24-25; defeated by Samuel, vi. 26; vi. 29, 36, 54, 90, 95; forbid subjugated people to carry anything made of iron, vi. 96; fight against Saul, vi. 97; vi. 98, 99; ravage Hebrews' land, vi. 105-106; vi. 111, 115, 117, 120, 127, 129, 165, 170-171, 175; their champion Goliath, vi. 177, 188; flee after Goliath's death, vi. 191; vi. 193, 198, 201, 209, 213, 244-245; raid country of Killanians, vi. 271; vi. 281-282, 319, 323; attack Israelites, vi. 325; vi. 327, 351-352, 354; compel Achish to dismiss David from his army, vi. 351-352, 354; vi. 356; defeat Israelites at Gilboa, vi. 368-370, 373; mutilate body of Saul, vi. 374; vii. 1, 25, 27, 53; defeated by David, vii. 71, 73-74, 96-97; vii. 298; their wars with David, vii. 301-302, 304; vii. 309-311, 313; Gezer taken from them by Pharaoh, viii. 151; viii. 288, 308; pay tribute to Jehoshaphat, viii. 396; attack Jehoram, ix. 102; defeated by Uzziah, ix. 217; defeated by Hezekiah, ix. 275
- Philistus, writer on Sicilian history, contradicted by Timaeus, *Ap.* i. 17
- Philo (1) the Elder, praised for accuracy, *Ap.* i. 218
- Philo (2), Jewish philosopher, heads delegation of Alexandrian Jews to Gaius Caligula, *A.* xviii. 259-260
- Philoche (Bibl. Phicol), one of Abimelech's generals, *A.* i. 263
- Philometor (1). See Antiochus (8)
- Philometor (2). See Ptolemy (6)
- Philopator (1). See Antiochus (10)
- Philopator (2), name given to

GENERAL INDEX

- Antipater (4) by Caesar, *B. i.* 633
- Philopator (3). See Ptolemy (4)
- philosophers, Greek, disciples of Egyptians and Chaldeans, *Ap. i.* 14; in accord with Moses, *ii.* 168, 281 ff.
- philosophy, Greek, addressed to the few, *Ap. ii.* 169
- Philostephanus, tactician with Ptolemy Lathyrus, *A. xiii.* 340-341
- Philostratos, author of *History of India* and of *History of Phoenicia*, *A. x.* 228; author of *History* mentioning siege of Tyre, *Ap. i.* 144
- Phineas (1), son of Clusoth, Idumæan general, *B. iv.* 235
- Phineas (2), temple treasurer, *B. vi.* 390
- Phinees (1) (Bibl. Phinehas), son of Eleazar the high priest, *A. iv.* 152; kills Zimri, *iv.* 153-154; appointed general to lead Hebrew army against Midianites, *iv.* 159; *iv.* 162; sent to investigate the building of an altar beyond the Jordan, *v.* 104-105; *v.* 111, 114; becomes high priest, *v.* 119-120, 159, 361; *vii.* 110; his family regains high priesthood, *viii.* 11; his family, *viii.* 12
- Phinees (2) (Bibl. Phinehas), son of Eli, *A. v.* 338, 354; his wife's death, *v.* 360
- Phineesus. See Phanasus
- Phinehas. See Phinees
- Phison (Bibl. Pishon), called the Ganges by the Greeks, one of the four rivers of Eden, *A. i.* 38
- Phoabis. See Phabes
- Phobos (Fear), deified by the Greeks, *Ap. ii.* 248
- Phoebus, friend of Agrippa II, *B. ii.* 524, 526
- Phoenicia (Phoenician[s]), *B. i.* 345, 409; *ii.* 380; *iii.* 35, 416; *vii.* 39; *A. i.* 94; their histories, *i.* 107; where Sidonius built Sidon, the city named after him, *i.* 138; fights with Philistines against David, *vii.* 74; *vii.* 101; their tongue, *viii.* 142; original language of Tyrian records, *viii.* 144; *viii.* 262, 324; invaded by Assyria, *ix.* 283-284; *ix.* 285; *x.* 220, 222; its history, *x.* 228; sends letter to Cambyzes, *xi.* 21-22, 25-27; *xi.* 60, 89; Sheshbazzar its governor, *xi.* 101; its treasurers written to by Xerxes, *xi.* 127; *xi.* 129; its eparchs receive Xerxes' letter, *xi.* 138; Addaios eparch thereof, *xi.* 167; *xi.* 330; *xii.* 28; given to Cleopatra as dowry, *xii.* 154; *xii.* 169, 175; its taxes controlled by Joseph the Tobiad, *xii.* 224; *xiii.* 65, 87, 148; Tryphon takes refuge there, *xiii.* 223; *xiii.* 350, 395; *xiv.* 209, 290, 468; site of Caesarea (Strato's Tower), *xv.* 333; *xvi.* 285; *V.* 31; admitted even by Greeks to possess a very ancient record of the past, *Ap. i.* 8-9; teach the Greeks the alphabet, *i.* 10; use of writing by them, *i.* 28; their commercial contact with Greeks, *i.* 61, 63; adduced by Josephus as witnesses of Jews' antiquity, *i.* 70; successful campaign against them by Egyptian king Sethosis (Rameses II), *i.* 99; allusions to Jews in their chronicles, *i.* 106-127; conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, *i.* 133; its satrap rebels against Nabopalassar, king of Babylon, *i.* 135; *i.* 137; subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, *i.* 143; their archives agree with account of Berosus, *i.* 143; their records cited for chronology of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, *i.* 155-160; their practice of circumcision learned from Egyptians, *i.* 169; their language spoken by Jews in Xerxes' expedition, *i.* 173; Jews migrate there after Alexander's death, *i.* 194; their records establish antiquity of Jews, *i.* 215; their writings demonstrate antiquity of Jews,

GENERAL INDEX

- ii. 1; foundation of Carthage by them, ii. 17; their trustworthy evidence for Jewish history, ii. 18-19; their chronicles on King Hiram, ii. 18; has town named Dora, ii. 116
- Phoras (Bibl. Perath), name for Euphrates River, *A.* i. 39
- Phraataces, son of Phraates the king of Parthia, overthrows his father, *A.* xviii. 39-40, 42
- Phraates, Parthian king, releases Hyrcanus, *A.* xv. 14, 18-19; his death, xviii. 39-42
- Phritobautes, Egyptian sacred scribe, tells King Amenophis to banish afflicted persons, according to Chaeremon, *Ap.* i. 289; corresponds to Amenophis, son of Paapis, in Manetho's account, i. 295
- Phrouras (Bibl. Puvah), son of Issachar, *A.* ii. 178
- Phruaioi* (Heb. Purim), holiday celebrated by Jews in commemoration of deliverance from Haman, *A.* xi. 295
- Phruras (Bibl. Purah), servant of Gideon, *A.* v. 219
- Phrygia (1) (Phrygians), region in Asia Minor, *B.* iv. 632; Babylonian Jews transported there by Antiochus the Great, *A.* xii. 147, 149; name given by the Greeks to Thugramaeans, *A.* i. 126
- Phrygia (2) Great, region in Asia Minor, *A.* xvi. 23
- Phrygius, Titus, commander of the fifteenth legion under Titus Caesar, *B.* vi. 237
- Phulos (Bibl. Pul), king of Assyria, *A.* ix. 232
- Phut (Bibl. Put), son of Ham, *A.* i. 132
- Phute, region in Africa colonized by Put, *A.* i. 133
- Phutians, inhabitants of Libya, *A.* i. 132
- phylarch, tribal chief (sheikh), office held by Azizus, *A.* xiii. 384
- Phylistinus, son of Mizraim, after whom Palestine is named, *A.* i. 136
- Physcon. See Ptolemy (7)
- pig, not sacrificed by Egyptians, *Ap.* ii. 141
- Pilate, Pontius, procurator of Judaea, *B.* ii. 169-170; introduces effigies of emperor into Jerusalem, ii. 169-174; expends upon the construction of an aqueduct the sacred treasure known as *Corbonas*, ii. 175-177; appointed procurator of Judaea, *A.* xviii. 35; introduces busts of emperor into Judaea and is forced to remove them, xviii. 55-59; punishes Jewish rioters against aqueduct, xviii. 62; crucifies Jesus, xviii. 64; puts down disturbance of Samaritans, xviii. 87; sent to Rome by Vitellius, xviii. 88-89; appointed governor of Judaea by Tiberius, xviii. 177
- Pildash. See Iadelpas
- Pillars of Hercules, *B.* ii. 375, 382
- Pious (Eusebes). See Antiochus (7)
- piracy, lack of among Jews, *Ap.* i. 62
- Piraeus, seaport of Athens, *B.* i. 410; Caesarea compared to it, *A.* xv. 332
- Pirathon. See Pharatho(n)
- Pishon. See Phison
- Pisidia (Pisidians), country in southern Asia Minor, *B.* i. 88; *A.* xiii. 374
- Pisistratus, Athenian tyrant shortly after Dracon, *Ap.* i. 21
- Piso (1), one of Pompey's lieutenant-generals, *B.* i. 143; *A.* xiv. 59
- Piso (2), Lucius Calpurnius, Roman senator, *A.* xiv. 220
- Piso (3), Marcus, legate, *A.* xiv. 231
- Piso (4), Gnaeus Calpurnius, responsible for poisoning Germanicus, *A.* xviii. 54
- Piso (5), L. Calpurnius, prefect of the city of Rome, *A.* xviii. 169; ordered to release Agrippa from prison, xviii. 235
- Pistus, leader of faction in Tiberias favouring revolt against

GENERAL INDEX

- Romans, *V.* 34; father of Justus, 36; eager to desert Josephus and join John of Gischala, 88; held as prisoner by Josephus, sups with Josephus, 175-178; father of Justus, 390
- Placidus, Roman tribune, *B.* iii. 59, 110-114, 144, 325; at Mt. Tabor, iv. 57-61; in Peraea, iv. 419-439; preparations for engagement with him feigned by Josephus, sent by Cestius Gallus to burn Galilaean villages, declines battle with Josephus, *V.* 213-214; meditates incursion into Galilee, is watched by Josephus, 227; commander of garrison given to Sepphorites, 411
- Plain (1), the Great, of Asochis, *V.* 207
- Plain (2), the Great, of Esdraelon, *B.* ii. 188, 232, 595; iii. 39, 48, 59; iv. 54, 455-458; *A.* iv. 100; v. 83; viii. 36; xii. 348; xiv. 207; xv. 294; xviii. 122; xx. 118; entrusted to decurion Aebutius, *V.* 115; crossed by wife of Ptolemy, overseer of Agrippa II, and her baggage plundered, 126; situated on the confines of Galilee, reached by Jonathan's party on way from Tiberias to Jerusalem, 318
- plain (3), royal. See "royal plain"
- Plancinus (1), Marcus Quintus, father of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe, *A.* xiv. 220
- Plancinus (2), Marcus Quintus, son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe, present at promulgation of decree of the Roman Senate confirming Julius Caesar's decisions regarding the Jews, *A.* xiv. 220
- Plataea, city in Greece, *B.* ii. 359
- Platana, Sidonian village, *B.* i. 539; *A.* xvi. 361
- Plato, Greek philosopher, similar to Moses in his view of God's nature, *Ap.* ii. 168; his ideal constitution ridiculed by statesmen, ii. 223-224; criticism of his dialogues, ii. 225; excludes poets from the republic, ii. 256; follows Moses' example in prescribing study of laws and in preventing foreigners from mixing at random, ii. 257-261
- Plautius (1), Publius, father of Publius Plautius, of Papirian tribe, *A.* xiv. 220
- Plautius (2), Publius, Roman of Papirian tribe, present during promulgation of decree of Roman Senate regarding Jews, *A.* xiv. 220
- pledges, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 267-270
- Pleiades, stars, *A.* xiii. 237
- Plinthine, Libyan frontier of Egypt, *B.* iv. 610
- "Plowland." See Arura
- Polemo (1), king of Pontus, entertained by Agrippa I at Tiberias, *A.* xix. 338
- Polemo (2), king of Cilicia, marries Berenice, *A.* xx. 145-146
- Poliorectes. See Demetrius (2)
- Pollian tribe, a Roman tribe, *A.* xiv. 220
- Pollio (1), Herod's friend, presumably Asinius Pollio. See Asinius Pollio
- Pollio (2), Rufrius, praetorian prefect under the Emperor Claudius, *A.* xix. 267
- Pollion the Pharisee, honoured by Herod, *A.* xv. 3-4; Herod tries to persuade him to swear loyalty to him, xv. 370
- Polybius of Megalopolis, Greek historian, corroborates Josephus' account of Jews' aid to Antiochus the Great, *A.* xii. 135-137; xii. 358-359; cited on Antiochus Epiphanes' motive in plundering the temple in Jerusalem, *Ap.* ii. 84
- Polycrates, Greek writer, reviles Lacedaemon, *Ap.* i. 221
- Polydeuces, slave of Claudius, *A.* xix. 13
- Pompedius, Roman of senatorial rank, accused of insulting Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 32-33, 36
- Pompeius (1), Titus, father of Pompeius (2) Longinus, *A.* xiv. 229, 238

GENERAL INDEX

- Pompeius (2) Longinus, Titus, legate, present when Lentulus promulgates decree exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service, *A.* xiv. 229, 238
- Pompeius (3), Gaius, father of Gaius Pompeius of Sabatine tribe, *A.* xiv. 239
- Pompeius (4), Gaius, Roman, of Sabatine tribe, present when Lentulus promulgates decree exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service, *A.* xiv. 239
- Pompeius (4), Silvanus. See Silvanus
- Pompey, *B.* i. 19, 127-128, 131; conducts war against Aristobulus, i. 133-154; reinstates Hyrcanus as high priest, i. 153; redistributes territory of the Jews, i. 155-158; i. 160, 179, 183-185, 187, 195-196, 201, 216, 343; ii. 356, 392; v. 396, 408-409, 506; vi. 329, 436; forces Aretas to raise siege of the temple, favouring Aristobulus, xiv. 29; receives gifts from Jews at Damascus, xiv. 34; hears charges of Jews against Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, xiv. 38-39, 46-47; orders Aristobulus to yield, xiv. 48-52; arrests Aristobulus, xiv. 55-57; invades Jerusalem, xiv. 58-59; besieges the temple, xiv. 60-61; xiv. 68; respects sanctity of the temple, xiv. 72; restores cities of Coele-Syria to their inhabitants, xiv. 76; takes Aristobulus to Rome as captive, xiv. 79; xiv. 82, 104-105, 123-125; defeated by Julius Caesar, xiv. 127; xiv. 144, 156, 268; his strategy copied by Herod, xiv. 466; Herod and Sossius capture Jerusalem on the same day (of the Fast) that he did, xiv. 487; restores high priesthood to Hyrcanus, xv. 180; xix. 228; restores high priesthood to Hyrcanus, xx. 244; his invasion of Judaea, *Ap.* i. 34; occupies the temple in Jerusalem, ii. 82; Judaea free until his time, ii. 134
- Pomponius Secundus, Quintus, Roman consul, declares war on Claudius, *B.* ii. 205; opposes Claudius, *A.* xix. 263-264
- Pontifex Maximus, Julius Caesar's title, *A.* xiv. 190, 192
- Pontius, father of Marcus Junius Brutus, *A.* xiv. 263
- Pontus (see also Euxine), country in north-eastern Asia Minor, *B.* ii. 366; *A.* ix. 17; xiv. 53; xvi. 21, 23; ruled by Polemo, xix. 338; xix. 365
- poor, rights of, according to Jewish law, *A.* iv. 231-232, 234-240
- Poplas, friend of Archelaus, *B.* ii. 14; called Ptollas, *A.* xvii. 219
- Poppaea, wife of Nero, intercedes on behalf of Jews of Jerusalem, *A.* xx. 195; xx. 252; Nero's consort, aids Josephus in securing liberation of Jewish priests in Rome, c. 61, and gives large gifts to Josephus in Rome, *V.* 16
- population, vast Jewish, *Ap.* i. 194; of Jerusalem, 120,000, i. 197
- Porcius Festus. See Festus
- pork, Jewish abstention from it denounced by Apion, *Ap.* ii. 137; abstention from it by Egyptian priests, ii. 141
- Port of Augustus. See Sebastos
- porters of the temple, not to be taxed, *A.* xi. 128; come to Ezra, xi. 134
- Poseidon, Greek god, brother of Zeus, conspires against him, (*Ap.* ii. 241); hired as builder, (ii. 247)
- Posidonius, philosopher and historian, his calumnies about the Jewish temple, *Ap.* ii. 79
- Potiphar. See Pentephres
- Pouthod(os) (Bibl. Ohad), son of Simeon, *A.* ii. 178
- Praetor, Julius Caesar's title, *A.* xiv. 213
- prayer, prescribed by Jewish Law, *A.* iv. 212-213; proper

GENERAL INDEX

- context of Jewish, *Ap.* ii. 196-197
- Prayer-houses (*προσευχαί*), erected by Moses in Heliopolis, Egypt, *Ap.* ii. 10
- priests (1), Egyptian, chronicles kept by them, *Ap.* i. 28; their wisdom, ii. 140-141
- priests (2), Jewish, vestments of, *A.* iii. 151-178; symbolism of their vestments, iii. 184-187; their vestments, iii. 214-218; special laws concerning them, iii. 276-279; their dues from the people, iv. 69-75; not to be taxed, xi. 128; come to Ezra, xi. 134; accused of mixed marriages, xi. 140; urged to move to the city, xi. 181; quarrel between high priests and ordinary priests, xx. 179-181; their twenty-four courses, *V.* 2; their liberation by Josephus, 13-16; their care in keeping their lineage pure, *Ap.* i. 30-36; number of them receiving tithes (1500), i. 188; their qualifications and functions, i. 199, 284; alone admitted to fourth court of the temple, ii. 104; hours of their service in the temple, ii. 105; their number, ii. 108; their four tribes, ii. 108; administer highest affairs of Jews, ii. 185, 188; their qualifications, gifted with eloquence and discretion, ii. 186; their duties, ii. 187; their functions, ii. 193-194
- Primus, Antonius. See Antonius (6) Primus
- Priscus (1), Roman centurion, slays Jonathan, *B.* vi. 175
- Priscus (2), Tyrannius, Roman camp-prefect, *B.* ii. 531 (perhaps identical with [3])
- Priscus (3), Roman commander of sixth legion, *B.* ii. 544 (perhaps identical with [2])
- prisoners, attitude to, prescribed by Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 212
- problems, exchanged by Solomon and Hiram, king of Tyre, *Ap.* i. 111
- Proclus Vitellius. See Vitellius (3)
- "Prominence." See *Exoche*
- prophet (1), false, Sedekias (*Zedekiah*), *A.* viii. 406
- prophet (2), false, Egyptian, *B.* ii. 261-263; *A.* xx. 169-172
- prophet (3), false, brings about destruction of 6,000 Jewish refugees by deluding them with false hopes of deliverance, *B.* vi. 285
- prophetic books, thirteen in Jewish Scripture, *Ap.* i. 40
- prophets (1), Hebrew, as keepers of records, *Ap.* i. 29; sole writers of records, i. 37; as writers of Jewish history in thirteen books after Moses, i. 40; failure of exact succession of them since Artaxerxes, i. 41
- prophets (2), false, deceive Sackias (*Zedekiah*) by saying that the Babylonian king will not make war on him again, *A.* x. 111
- proselytes (proselytism), from the Greeks to Judaism, *Ap.* ii. 123-124; favourable attitude of Jews toward them, ii. 210, 261; success of Jews in winning them, ii. 282-286
- Proseuche* (Prayer-house), at Tiberias, *V.* 277, 280, 293 ff.; alleged to have been erected by Moses at Heliopolis, *Ap.* ii. 10
- Protagoras, Greek sophist of Abdera, would have been condemned to death by Athenians, *Ap.* ii. 266
- Protos, Berenice's freedman, refuses to lend money to Agrippa I, *A.* xviii. 156-157
- Prytanis, son of Hermas, citizen of Miletus, *A.* xiv. 245
- Psellus. See Simon (5)
- Psephinus, tower in Jerusalem, *B.* v. 55, 133, 147; description of, v. 159
- Pseudo-Alexander, passes himself off as Herod's son Alexander, *B.* ii. 101-110, *A.* xvii. 324-338
- Psonthomphanech(os), name given to Joseph, *A.* ii. 91
- Ptolemaeus, father of Lysanias

GENERAL INDEX

- (put to death by Cleopatra), *A.* xv. 92 (identified by Niese with Ptolemy [14])
- Ptolemais (Bibl. Accho), city in north-western Palestine, *B.* i. 49, 116; admits Pacorus, i. 249; i. 290, 394, 422; ii. 67-68, 187; description of, ii. 188-191; ii. 192, 201, 459, 477, 501-507; iii. 29, 35, 38, 53, 64, 110, 115, 409; *A.* xii. 331, 334, 350; xiii. 35, 37, 81-83, 106, 123, 190-192, 203, 268; besieged by Alexander Jannaeus, xiii. 324-326, 328-329; xiii. 330, 332-333; attacked by Ptolemy Lathyrus, xiii. 336; captured by Ptolemy Lathyrus, xiii. 347; besieged by Cleopatra, xiii. 350, 353; xiii. 419, 421; admits Pacorus, xiv. 333; Herod collects large army there, xiv. 394; xiv. 452; Herod receives Octavian there, xv. 199; xvii. 287-288; occupied by Vitellius, xviii. 120; xviii. 155, 262-263; borderland where Jesus the brigand chief was active, *V.* 105; its borders reached by Josephus after stopping troops of Aebutius, 118; its frontier has village named Chabolo, 213; its neighbourhood ravaged by Placidus, who refuses to leave his post there, 214-215; Vespasian there is pressed to punish Justus of Tiberias, 342; Vespasian receives remonstrances there from the leaders of the Syrian Decapolis against Justus of Tiberias, 410
- Ptolemies, name of kings of Egypt, *A.* vii. 102; viii. 156; testimonials to Jews by them, *Ap.* ii. 62
- Ptolemy (1) I (Soter), son of Lagus, takes Egyptian part of Alexander the Great's empire, *A.* xii. 2; called Soter (Saviour), xii. 3; seizes Jerusalem, xii. 6; brings Jewish captives to Egypt, xii. 7; his liberality to the Jews, xii. 9; length of his reign, xii. 11; Hecataeus of Abdera associated with him, *Ap.* i. 183; defeats Demetrius in battle of Gaza and becomes master of Syria, i. 184-186; his humanity, i. 186; captures Jerusalem on Sabbath, i. 210; his letter bestows rights on Jews of Alexandria, ii. 37; honours Alexandrian Jews, ii. 44
- Ptolemy (2) II (Philadelphus), arranges to have Jewish law translated, *A.* i. 10; his reign, xii. 11; has Jewish law translated, xii. 13; his letter to Eleazar the high priest, xii. 45; has Jewish law translated, xii. 51; his gifts to the high priest Eleazar, xii. 58-85; welcomes the seventy Jewish elders, xii. 86; elders pay their respects daily to him, xii. 106; honours translators of the law, xii. 118; requisitions Jewish deputies to interpret Scriptures to him, *Ap.* ii. 45-47
- Ptolemy (3) III (Euergetes), *A.* xii. 158 (var.); offers sacrifice in Jerusalem, *Ap.* ii. 48
- Ptolemy (4) (Philopator), defeated by Antiochus the Great, *A.* xii. 130-131
- Ptolemy (5) (Epiphanes), defeated by Antiochus the Great, *A.* xii. 130-131; xii. 135; marries Cleopatra, Antiochus' daughter, xii. 154; angered by Onias, xii. 158; receives Joseph the Tobiad as envoy of Jews, xii. 165-174; grants Joseph the Tobiad tax-farming rights, xii. 178, 182; a son is born to him, xii. 196; sends for Hyrcanus, xii. 205-207; impressed by Hyrcanus' lavishness, xii. 219; his death, xii. 234; xii. 242
- Ptolemy (6) VI (Philometor), disputes with Antiochus Epiphanes the suzerainty of Syria, *B.* i. 31-33; vii. 423-424, 426; *A.* xii. 235; circumvented by Antiochus, xii. 243; receives Onias IV with honour, xii. 387; xiii. 62-63, 65; allows Onias

GENERAL INDEX

- to build temple at Leontopolis, xiii. 69-70; favours Alexandrian Jews in their dispute with Samaritans, xiii. 74, 76; xiv. 79; gives his daughter in marriage to Alexander Balas, xiii. 80-82; comes to aid of Alexander Balas, xiii. 103-105; discovers Alexander Balas' plot against him, xiii. 106-107; deserts Alexander Balas for Demetrius II, xiii. 109-113; his death, xiii. 116-119; his troops destroyed by Demetrius Nicator, xiii. 120; builds temple at Heliopolis, xx. 236; appoints Jewish generals for his entire army, *Ap.* ii. 49; his death, ii. 51
- Ptolemy (7) VII (Physcon), younger son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, *A.* xii. 235, 243; his surname Physcon, xiii. 267; brother of Ptolemy Philometor, xiii. 267-268; xiv. 250 (perhaps); usurps Egyptian throne after death of his brother Ptolemy Philometor, *Ap.* ii. 51; attempts to get Jews of Alexandria trampled by elephants, ii. 53-54; his friends trampled by elephants, ii. 54
- Ptolemy (8) (Lathyrus), his encounter with Alexander Jannaeus, *B.* i. 86; *A.* xiii. 278, 285, 287; ruler of Cyprus, xiii. 328; sails for Syria, xiii. 331-332; deceived by Alexander Jannaeus, xiii. 334-335; defeats Alexander Jannaeus, xiii. 337, 339, 342; invades Judaea, xiii. 345, 347; leaves Syria, xiii. 351; xiii. 353, 356; withdraws from Gaza, xiii. 358; xiii. 359, 370
- Ptolemy (9) XI (Auletes), *B.* i. 175; *A.* xiv. 98
- Ptolemy (10), probably son of Thraseas, governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, instructed by Antiochus III to aid the Jews in the reconstruction of Jerusalem, *A.* xii. 138
- Ptolemy (11), son of Dorymenes, commander sent by Lysias against Judas the Maccabee, *A.* xii. 298
- Ptolemy (12), son-in-law of Simon, brother-in-law of John Hyrcanus, murders Simon, *B.* i. 54; struggles with John Hyrcanus, i. 55-60; flees to Zeno Cotulas the despot of Philadelphia, i. 60; kills Simon, *A.* xiii. 228; tries to kill Hyrcanus, xiii. 229; attacked by Hyrcanus, xiii. 230; kills brothers and mother of Hyrcanus, xiii. 231, 235
- Ptolemy (13), son of Sohemus, *B.* i. 188; Syrian prince, *A.* xiv. 129
- Ptolemy (14), son of Mennaues, king of Chalcis, *B.* i. 103, 115, 185-186, 239, 248; *A.* xiii. 392, 418; xiv. 39, 126; brings Antigonos back to his country, xiv. 297; his death, xiv. 330
- Ptolemy (15), Herod's general, *B.* i. 314-315; appointed general in Galilee by Herod, *A.* xiv. 431-432
- Ptolemy (16), friend of Herod and of Archelaus, *B.* i. 280, 473, 667; Archelaus' friend, ii. 14, 16, 24, 64, 69; friend of Herod, *A.* xiv. 378; minister of royal finances, xvi. 191; xvi. 197; accused by Alexander, xvi. 257; xvi. 321, 330; reads Herod's will to army, xvii. 195; accompanies Archelaus to Rome, xvii. 219, 221, 228; xvii. 284, 289
- Ptolemy (17), brother of Nicolas of Damascus, *B.* ii. 21; accompanies Antipas to Rome, *A.* xvii. 225
- Ptolemy (18), Agrippa II's overseer, *B.* ii. 595; his wife's baggage plundered by highwaymen of Dabaritta, *V.* 126-127; Josephus' desire to keep spoils for him, 128
- Ptollas. See Poplas
- Publius (1) Tedetius. See Tedetius, Publius
- Publius (2) Plautius. See Plautius (1), Publius
- Publius (3) Plautius. See Plautius (2), Publius

GENERAL INDEX

- Publius (4) Serrius. See Serrius, Publius
- Publius (5). See Gallus (4) and (5), Publius Clusius
- Publius (6) Servilius Galba. See Servilius (4) and (5) Galba, Publius
- Publius (7) Marcus, son of Spurius, informs Lentulus of statement made by Dositheus the son of Cleopatriides, *A.* xiv. 236
- Publius (8), father of Lucius (who petitions Lentulus), *A.* xiv. 236
- Publius (9) Servilius Strabo. See Servilius (6) and (7) Strabo, Publius
- Pudens, Roman trooper, challenges Jonathan in single combat and is slain, *B.* vi. 172
- Pul. See Phulos
- Purah. See Phruras
- purifications, Jewish, *Ap.* i. 199 ; ii. 198, 203
- Purim. See *Phruraioi*
- purity, Jewish laws of, *A.* iii. 258-273
- Put. See Phut
- Puteoli. See Dicaearchia
- Puvah. See Phrouras
- Pyas (var. Pylas), alternate name of Elulaios the king of Tyre, *A.* ix. 284
- Pygmalion, king of Tyre, son of Metten, *Ap.* i. 125
- Pylas. See Pyas
- Pyrenees mountains, *B.* ii. 371, 375
- Pyrrhic dances, *A.* xix. 104
- Pythagoras, Greek philosopher, his teachings followed by Essenes, *A.* xv. 371 ; among first Greek astronomers and theologians, indebted to Egyptians and Chaldaeans, *Ap.* i. 14 ; philosopher of Samos, appropriates doctrines of Jews and Thracians, i. 162-165 ; his birthplace in dispute, ii. 14 ; similar to Moses in his view of God's nature, ii. 168
- Pythian temple at Rhodes, rebuilt by Herod, *B.* i. 424, *A.* xvi. 147
- QUADRATUS, Ummidius, governor of Syria, *B.* ii. 239, 241-244 ; hears quarrel between Jews and Samaritans, *A.* xx. 125-130
- quarries, stone, in Egypt, *Ap.* i. 235, 237, 257, 267, 296
- Quintilia, actress, tortured by Cassius Chaerea upon orders from Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 33-35
- Quintilius Varus. See Varus (1)
- Quintus (1) Plancinus, Marcus. See Plancinus, Marcus
- Quintus (2), Servius Sulpicius. See Servius Sulpicius
- Quirine, Roman tribe, *A.* xiv. 145
- Quirinius, Roman senator, Syrian legate sent by Augustus, *B.* ii. 433 ; vii. 253 ; sent to Syria to take a census, *A.* xvii. 355 ; consul, assesses property in Judaea, xviii. 1-2, 29 ; liquidates estate of Archelaus, xviii. 26 ; takes census in Judaea, xx. 102
- RAAMAH. See Ramus
- Rabatha (1) (Bibl. Rabbah, Aramaic Rabbath), capital of Ammonite country, where Og's bed was, *A.* iv. 98 ; vii. 123 ; besieged by Joab, vii. 129 ; falls to David, vii. 160
- Rabatha (2). See Arabatha (2)
- Rabbah. See Rabatha (1)
- Rabbath. See Rabatha (1)
- Rabbath Moab. See Arabatha (2)
- Rabellius, Gaius. See Rabirius (2), Gaius
- Rabezakos Themasio, father of Darius' concubine Apame, *A.* xi. 54
- Rabirius (1), Gaius, father of Rabirius (2), Gaius, *A.* xiv. 241
- Rabirius (2), Gaius, Roman proconsul, receives letter from magistrates of Laodicea, *A.* xiv. 241
- Rab-saris. See Aracharis
- Rab-shakeh. See Rapsakes
- Rachel, daughter of Laban, wife of Jacob, Jacob asks for her hand in marriage, *A.* i. 298 ; younger than Leah, i. 301 ; marries Jacob, i. 302 ; i. 303 ;

GENERAL INDEX

- gives her handmaid to Jacob as a concubine, *i.* 305; begs for mandrakes from Leah, *i.* 307-308; bears Joseph, *i.* 308; steals father's idols, *i.* 310-311; hides idols from Laban, *i.* 322-323; idols she stole are discovered by Jacob, *i.* 342; her death, *i.* 343; *i.* 344; *ii.* 9, 95; her descendants, *ii.* 180; *ii.* 181
- "Rachel's tomb," name of place in Palestine, *A.* vi. 56
- Raddai. See Rael
- Raecius. See Caesius (1) and (2)
- Rael (Bibl. Raddai), son of Jesse, brother of David, *A.* vi. 161
- Raesius. See Caesius (1) and (2)
- Ragab. See Ragaba
- Ragaba (Heb. Ragab, Regeb), fortress of the Gerasenes in Transjordan, *A.* xiii. 398 (perhaps identical with Agaba, xiii. 424)
- Ragauos. See Reus
- Raguel (Bibl. Reuel), priest of Midian, also called Jethro, *A.* ii. 258; father-in-law of Moses, *ii.* 261-264; *ii.* 277; visits Moses near Mt. Sinai, *iii.* 63-74; *iv.* 42; *v.* 127; *vi.* 140
- Rahab, woman of Jericho, conceals spies sent by Joshua, *A.* v. 8-9, 11, 15; spared by Hebrews, *v.* 26, 30
- "ram" (= battering-ram), applied by Vespasian against walls of Jotapata, *B.* iii. 213-221
- Ramaeans, an African people, *A.* i. 135
- Ramah. See Armatha
- Ramatha. See Ramathain
- Ramathaim-zophin. See Armatha
- Ramathain (var. Armathaim, Ramatha), district near Lydda in Palestine, given to Jewish nation by Demetrius II, *A.* xiii. 127
- Ramesses (1) I, Egyptian king, son of Harmais, *Ap.* i. 97
- Ramesses (2) II, Egyptian king, alternate name for Sethosis (Sethos), son of Amenophis, *Ap.* i. 98-102, 245
- Ramesses (3) (perhaps = Rameses II), son of Egyptian king Amenophis, according to Chaeremon, *Ap.* i. 288; born in cavern, drives Jews into Syria, *i.* 292; discrepancies in accounts of Manetho and Chaeremon concerning him, *i.* 300-301
- Ramoth. See Aramatha (1)
- Rampses (1), son of Sethos, king of Egypt, *Ap.* i. 231
- Rampses (2), son of Amenophis, king of Egypt, *Ap.* i. 245; advances from Egypt with army and defeats Hycsos, *i.* 251
- Ramus (Bibl. Raamah), son of Cush, *A.* i. 135
- Raphah. See Araphos
- Raphanaeae (Raphanea), Syrian city, *B.* vii. 18, 97
- Raphia, Palestinian city taken by Alexander Jannaeus, *B.* i. 87; rebuilt by Gabinius, *i.* 166; *iv.* 662; captured by Alexander Jannaeus, *A.* xiii. 357; xiii. 395; *xiv.* 88
- Raphidin (Bibl. Rephidim), place in the area of Sinai, *A.* iii. 33
- Raphon. See Romphon
- Rapsakes (Bibl. Rab-shakeh), general of Assyrian king Sena-cheirimos, encamps before Jerusalem, *A.* x. 4-14; fails to capture Jerusalem, *x.* 21
- Rasius. See Caesius (1) and (2)
- Rathotis, Egyptian king, brother of Queen Akencheres, *Ap.* i. 96
- Rathymos (Bibl. Rehun), Syrian scribe who protests rebuilding of Jerusalem, *A.* xi. 22-29
- Rael(os) (Bibl. Reuel), son of Esau, *A.* ii. 4
- Ravine (1), place near Gerar, *A.* i. 260
- Ravine (2) (Bibl. Paran), desert north of Sinai, near Canaanite border, *A.* iii. 300
- "Ravine (3) of Antiochus." See Antiochus (21), Ravine of
- Razos (Bibl. Rezon), ex-slave, companion of Hadad, *A.* viii. 204
- Reba. See Robees
- Rebecca, daughter of Bethuel, *A.*

GENERAL INDEX

- i. 153; meets servant of Abraham, *i.* 242-243, 245-251; introduces servant to parents, marries Isaac, *i.* 252-255; bears twins, *i.* 257-258; helps Jacob receive blessing, *i.* 269; urges Isaac to go to Mesopotamia, *i.* 276; *i.* 290-292, 294-299; her death, *i.* 345
- Rebilus, Gaius Caninius, Roman senator, *A.* xiv. 220
- Rechab. See Thaeos
- Red Sea (Erythraean Sea), *B.* ii. 382; *iv.* 608; *A.* i. 39, 221, 239; *ii.* 257, 315; *vi.* 140; Solomon builds his fleet there, *viii.* 163; where Elath is, *ix.* 217, 245; Aelius Gallus leads troops there, *xv.* 317; incident of Mosollamus on march toward there, *Ap.* i. 201
- refugees, treatment of by Josephus, *V.* 113, 149 ff.
- Rega, town of the Philistines, *A.* vi. 325
- Regalsaros. See Neregalsaros
- Regeb. See Ragaba
- Reginians, Greek name for Aschanaxians, *A.* i. 126
- registers, Jewish public, *V.* 6
- Regulus, Aemilius. See Aemilius Regulus
- Rehob. See Araos
- Rehoboam. See Roboamos
- Rehoboth. See Rooboth
- Rehum. See Rathymos
- Rekem, king of Midianites, *A.* iv. 161
- Rekeme (called Arce, *A.* iv. 82), Arabian city called Petra by the Greeks, *A.* iv. 161
- Remaliah. See Romelias
- Rephaim (1). See Giants
- Rephaim (2), Valley of. See Giants, Valley of the
- Rephidim. See Raphidin
- Republic of Plato, ridiculed by statesmen, *Ap.* ii. 223-224
- Respha (Bibl. Rizpah), Saul's concubine, *A.* vii. 23
- Reu. See Reus
- Reuben. See Rubel
- Reuel. See Raguel; Rael(os)
- Reumah. See Ruma (1)
- Reus (Rumus; var. Ragauos; Bibl. Reu), son of Peleg, *A.* i. 148; (Rumus) *i.* 149
- reward for good deeds, according to Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 217-219
- Rezin. See Arases
- Rezon. See Razos
- Rhaēpta, Arab fortress captured by Herod, *A.* xvi. 283, 288
- Rhegium, Italian harbour city, *A.* xix. 205
- Rhesa (Oresa; var. Thresa; Bibl. Horeshah), Idumaeen fortress where Herod meets Joseph, *B.* i. 266; recovered by Herod, *i.* 294; *A.* xiv. 361, 400
- Rhine, river-boundary of Roman Empire, *B.* ii. 371, 377; *iii.* 107
- Rhinocorura (Rhinocoroura), maritime town between Egypt and Palestine, Herod learns of brother's death there, *B.* i. 277; Titus stops there on way to Caesarea, *iv.* 662; *A.* xiii. 395; (Rhinocoroura) *xiv.* 374
- Rhoa (Bibl. Rimmon), a rock of the desert near Gibeah, *A.* v. 166
- Rhodes, island in Aegean Sea, Herod welcomed there by Ptolemy on way to Rome, *B.* i. 280; Herod presents himself there to Caesar, *i.* 387; supported by Herod, *i.* 424; *vii.* 21; Herod arrives there, *A.* xiv. 377; Herod meets Octavian there, *xv.* 187; *xvi.* 17; Herod's benefactions for it, *xvi.* 147
- Riblah. See Amathe; Arablathas
- riddles, exchanged by Hiram of Tyre and Solomon, *Ap.* i. 114-115
- Rimmon. See Eremmon; Rhoa
- Riphataeans, nation founded by Riphath, descendant of Japheth, *A.* i. 126
- Riphath. See Riphathes
- Riphathes (Bibl. Riphath), son of Gomer, *A.* i. 126
- Rizpah. See Respha
- Robees (Bibl. Reba), king of Midianites, *A.* iv. 161
- Roboamos (Bibl. Rehoboam), grandson of David, *A.* vii. 105,

GENERAL INDEX

190; son of Solomon, married to Tamar, vii. 244; viii. 212; northern tribes revolt against him, viii. 219-223; viii. 224; fortifies his kingdom, viii. 246-247; receives Israelite priests, viii. 248; his wives and children, viii. 249-250; his degeneracy, viii. 251-253; his land invaded by Shishak, viii. 254-255; defeated by Shishak, viii. 258, 261; his death, viii. 263-264; viii. 274, 287; ix. 280, 282

Roman(s) (1) (Roman people, people of Rome), mentioned throughout *B.*; see in particular these passages: i. 1-11, 16, 20-22, 27, 29, 38, 48, 55, 127-128, 133, 135, 142-143, 146, 151-152, 172-173, 185, 194, 198, 202, 216, 218, 232, 282, 284, 288, 301-303, 324, 329, 332, 349, 351, 355, 665; ii. 22, 25, 44, 50-52, 62-63, 73-74, 81, 90, 101, 117, 152, 168, 197, 199, 218, 224, 262-263, 264, 268, 296, 304, 308, 320-321, 326, 329, 340-341, 345, 352, 356, 357-401, 402-403, 408, 409-417, 418, 421, 433, 438-439, 443, 450-456, 484, 488, 493-498, 512, 518-519, 521-524, 535, 537, 550, 554-555, 559, 562, 564, 573, 577, 580, 594, 633, 638, 647-648, 650; iii. 4, 8, 17-31, 61-62, 70-109, 112-113, 115-126, 129, 133, 137, 139, 148-338, 340-393, 410, 418-428, 438, 441, 453-454, 464, 468-469, 472, 523-530, 538; iv. 1, 15-53, 62-83, 86, 93-94, 96, 100, 106, 111, 120, 122, 126-127, 131, 134, 146, 173, 177, 180, 182, 184, 226, 229, 245, 248-249, 251, 268, 273, 282, 320-321, 336, 347, 352, 359, 361, 366, 370, 378, 397, 401, 410-411, 415-436, 486, 490, 496, 502, 546, 555, 558, 565, 587, 596, 649, 657; v. 19, 24, 28, 30, 39, 47-50, 71-97, 109-127, 183, 194, 244, 255-257, 265, 269-302, 305-346, 349-356, 363-374, 376-408, 421,

423, 437, 439, 444-445, 453, 458, 461-462, 466-490, 501, 520, 530-531, 536, 538, 540, 548-561, 563, 566, 572; vi. 5-32, 38, 71-91, 101-123, 126, 128, 137-192, 206, 214, 227-284, 303, 316, 318, 326, 329, 333-334, 353-373, 392-408, 429-434; vii. 2, 7, 9, 14-15, 26, 29, 33-34, 38-39, 52, 73-79, 89-90, 115, 133, 154, 157-158, 192-206, 214, 221-222, 228, 231, 235, 242, 254-255, 257, 275, 297, 303, 304-406, 410, 413-414, 454; their war with the Jews, *A. i.* 4, 6; ruled by Claudius, iii. 320; their emperors called Caesars, viii. 157; their rule over Jews foretold by Daniel, x. 276; xi. 133; their fairness toward the Jews, xii. 122, 127; frustrate Antiochus Epiphanes' attempt on Egypt, xii. 244, 246; make treaty with Jews, xii. 414-419; respected by Ptolemy, xiii. 114; receive envoys from Jonathan to reaffirm treaty with Jews, xiii. 163; mentioned in Jews' letter to Spartans, xiii. 169; Simon makes alliance with them, xiii. 227; receive embassy from Hyrcanus to renew friendship with Jews, xiii. 259; their treaty with Jews renewed in time of Hyrcanus, xiii. 260-265; xiv. 32; Aristobulus' men urge him not to go to war with them, xiv. 50; cut timber for earthworks against Jerusalem, xiv. 61; capture Jerusalem under Pompey, xiv. 64, 66; slaughter defenders of the temple, xiv. 69-71; make Jerusalem tributary to them, xiv. 74; subjugate Jerusalem, xiv. 77-78; stop Alexander the son of Aristobulus from rebuilding wall of Jerusalem, xiv. 83; under Gabinius defeat an army led by Alexander son of Aristobulus, xiv. 84-85; kill many at Alexandreion, xiv. 86; ally with Alexander's mother, xiv. 90; defeat Aris-

GENERAL INDEX

tobulus again, xiv. 95; killed by Alexander son of Aristobulus, xiv. 100; Alexander charged with offences against them by Scipio, xiv. 125; Antipater declares himself their friend and Aristobulus their enemy, xiv. 142; renew treaty of friendship with Hyrcanus and Antipater, xiv. 146; pay honour to Hyrcanus, xiv. 155; Antipater warns Jews that they will be enemies to those who revolt, xiv. 157; bestow honours on Jews, xiv. 186, 188; xiv. 199; let Jews keep Joppa, xiv. 205; allied with kings of Syria and Phoenicia, xiv. 209; called on by Julius Caesar to show gratitude to Jews and Hyrcanus, xiv. 212; reaffirm Jews' rights to observe their laws, xiv. 247; protect rights of Jews against King Antiochus (IX ?) son of Antiochus of Syria, xiv. 249; "allies" of people of Pergamum, xiv. 253; emulated by people of Halicarnassus, xiv. 257; mentioned by people of Sardis as having restored rights to Jews, xiv. 260; influence people of Ephesus to grant Jews privileges of religious worship, xiv. 264; pass resolutions concerning Jews, xiv. 265; promulgate decrees favourable to Jews, xiv. 266-267; courted by Herod, xiv. 274; their adversaries overrun Asia, xiv. 309; their friendship with Jews, xiv. 320; show thoughtfulness for Jewish nation, xiv. 323; attack Herod's opponents, xiv. 329; consider Antigonus an enemy, xiv. 382; favour Herod over Antigonus, xiv. 384, 386; xiv. 404; plunder Jericho, xiv. 410-411; spend the winter in Judaea, xiv. 412; starved out by Antigonus, xiv. 418; their war with Parthians, xiv. 420; aid Herod against Antigonus, xiv. 456, 474, 477; massacre

inhabitants of Jerusalem, xiv. 479; plunder Jerusalem, xiv. 484; Herod fears that they will not punish Antigonus for crimes against them, xiv. 490; behead a king (Antigonus) for the first time, xv. 9; Antony the most powerful of them, xv. 29; Alexandra and Joseph plan to flee to them, xv. 73, 80; befriend Herod, xv. 196; receive flattering attention from Herod, xv. 328, 330; called by Herod "masters of the world," xv. 387; have custody of robes of Jewish priests, xv. 404; seek to resume control of priestly robes, xv. 406; ruled by Antony, xv. 409; permit Jews to live in accordance with their laws, xvi. 28; Nicolas of Damascus says their power protects cities, xvi. 38; provided with spectacles and doles by Augustus, xvi. 128; their friendship with Jews recalled by Augustus, xvi. 162-164; Alexander son of Herod says that Herod and Mithridates are hostile to them, xvi. 253; xvi. 281; uphold Herod in his fight with Arabs, xvi. 285; colonists at Berytus, xvi. 357; crush freedom of inhabitants of Bathyra, xvii. 28; appoint Herod king, xvii. 191; attacked by Jews on Pentecost, xvii. 255; rout Jews, xvii. 257-264; besieged in the temple by Jews, xvii. 265-268; put down revolt of the pretender Simon, xvii. 275; attacked by Athronges, xvii. 281-283; fight brigandage in Judaea after death of Herod, xvii. 285, 287; besieged in Jerusalem, xvii. 293-294; receive envoy of Jews asking to end rule of Herodians, xvii. 301; rebellion of Jews against them, xviii. 25; xviii. 32; Vonones asks them for territory, xviii. 50; ancestors of Paulina, xviii. 66; xviii. 88; take over control of

GENERAL INDEX

vestments of Jewish priests, xviii. 93; xviii. 105; call a certain bird "bubo," xviii. 195; prediction that they are to be ruled by Galba, xviii. 216; rejoice at Tiberius' death, xviii. 225; their nobles wronged by Tiberius, xviii. 226; Gaius' popularity among them, xviii. 256; defied by Jews, xviii. 270, 302; all their subjects suffer under Gaius Caligula, xix. 1; their devotion to chariot races, xix. 24; outrages against them by Gaius, xix. 41-42; their proud record mentioned by Chaerea, xix. 81; Euarestus Arruntius among the wealthiest of them, xix. 145; addressed by Sentius Saturninus, xix. 167; ruled by Gaius, xix. 201; several of them executed by Claudius, xix. 269; honour Chaerea, xix. 272; privileges of Jews in their empire, xix. 288; loyalty and friendship of Jews to them, xix. 289; honoured by Agrippa, xix. 340; custodians of priestly robes, xx. 6; Vardanes, Parthian king, contemplates war with them, xx. 69-71, 73; revolt of Judas the Galilaean against them, xx. 102; contempt shown by Jews to them, xx. 126, 130; Doetus the Jew leads revolt against them, xx. 130; reason they were set by God upon Jewish people, xx. 166; brigands incite Jews to war against them, xx. 172; their rule at Caesarea, xx. 176; xx. 186; post guards around the temple, xx. 192; feared by builders of the temple, xx. 220; war with Jews, xx. 223; give kingdom to Herod, xx. 247; follow Herod's policy of appointing undistinguished high priests, xx. 249; war with Jews, xx. 257; their harsh treatments of Jews one of the subjects on which Josephus writes, xx. 260; mentioned throughout *V.*: see,

in particular, these passages: 17, 24-30, 34, 38-39, 43, 46, 50, 52, 60-61, 72, 78, 100, 104, 124, 126, 129, 132, 149-150, 154, 157, 175, 182-183, 209, 232, 269, 281, 285, 287, 340, 344-357, 378, 391, 395, 396-397, 407-408, 414, 416, 423-424; Josephus a prisoner in their camp, *Ap.* i. 48-49; their relation to Josephus, i. 50-51; unknown to Greeks until a late date, i. 66; their generosity to conquered nations (except Egyptians), ii. 40-41; Cleopatra's crimes against them, ii. 57; privileges bestowed by their emperors on the Jews of Alexandria, ii. 62; safeguard privileges of Alexandrian Jews, ii. 72; their magnanimity in not compelling Jews to erect statues of emperors, ii. 73; honours paid to them by Jews, ii. 75; subjugate Egyptians, ii. 125-126; Jews remain their allies as they declare war on all kings of the world, ii. 134

Roman (2) army, newly recruited from Syria, *A.* xiv. 449; told by Antigonus not to give kingship to Herod, xiv. 403; their march on Judaea led by Petronius, xviii. 262; etc.

Roman (3) burial, given to Tiberius by his successor Gaius, *A.* xviii. 236

Roman (4) bustle, Herod wary of it, *A.* xviii. 245

Roman (5) camp, holds Josephus prisoner, *Ap.* i. 48-49

Roman (6) citizens, Lucius Lentulus respects religion of Jews who have this status, *A.* xiv. 228; people of Delos not to draft Jews who have this status, xiv. 232; religion of Jews of Ephesus who have this status not to be hindered, xiv. 234; Dositheus wishes to exempt from military service Jews who have this status, xiv. 237; Jews of Ephesus who have this status exempted

GENERAL INDEX

- from military obligation, xiv. 240; Vinicianus (MSS. Minucianus) most noble of them, xix. 52
- Roman (7) citizenship, given to Antipater, *A.* xiv. 137; given to Josephus, *V.* 423; given to various nations, *Ap.* ii. 40; refused to Egyptians, ii. 41
- Roman (8) cohorts, aid Herod in fight against Antigonus, *A.* xiv. 410
- Roman (9) consuls, on Hyrcanus' assuming royal power, *A.* xiv. 4; etc.
- Roman (10) emperors, testimonials to Jews by them, *Ap.* ii. 62-63; give charge of Nile and of entire province (?) to Jews, ii. 64; statues of them not erected by Jews, ii. 73; honours paid to them by Jews, ii. 76-77
- Roman (11) empire, ruled by Augustus and Agrippa, *A.* xv. 361; given to Gaius by his great-uncle Tiberius, xviii. 215, 219; its subjects dedicate temples to Gaius, xviii. 258
- Roman (12) freedman, raises pseudo-Alexander, *A.* xvii. 324
- Roman (13) garrison, visited before a festival by temple treasurers, *A.* xv. 408
- Roman (14) general(s), one of them, Ventidius, sent from Syria to restrain Parthians, *A.* xiv. 392; form friendship with Antipater, xiv. 164
- Roman (15) government, *A.* xv. 92; xvi. 60
- Roman (16) governor, desired by relatives of Antipas, *A.* xvii. 227; etc.
- Roman (17) interests, protected by Marsus, governor of Syria, *A.* xix. 341
- Roman (18) language. See Latin
- Roman (19) legion(s), under command of Pompey, *A.* xiv. 48, 79; taken by Herod to Ptolemais, xiv. 452; Alexandra persuades Joseph to flee to one for refuge, xv. 72; transferred from Syria to Caesarea and Sebaste, xix. 365
- Roman (20) officials, taken as councillors by Agrippa, *A.* xvi. 30; etc.
- Roman (21) patricians, watch Palatine games, *A.* xix. 75
- Roman (22) people. See Romans
- Roman (23) power, protects Herod, *A.* xvi. 401; etc.
- Roman (24) province. See Com-magene, etc.
- Roman (25) Senate. See Senate, Roman
- Roman (26) senator. See Quirinius, etc.
- Roman (27) throne, Nero ungrateful to mother for procuring it for him, *A.* xx. 153
- Roman (28) war, delayed by Herod, *A.* xv. 108; etc.
- Roman (29) yoke, *A.* xviii. 120
- Rome, *B.* i. 23, 157, 168, 171, 173, 183, 279, 281, 343, 414, 427, 432, 435, 445, 452, 455-456, 481, 496, 510, 536, 554, 573-574, 586, 592, 602-604, 606-607, 614, 623, 625, 633, 641, 661, ii. 1, 18, 22, 80, 101, 103, 105, 178, 204, 244-245, 253, 333, iv. 500, 549, 585-588, 592, 606, 631, 634, 645, 652, 656, 658, vi. 357; vii. 36, 63, 68, 71, 85, 119, 238, 240, 243, 447, 449, *A.* xii. 389; place whence Demetrius and Nicanor had escaped, xii. 402; makes treaty with Judas, xii. 415, 416; xiii. 164; gifts from Jews set up in temple of Jupiter Capitolinus there, xiv. 36, xiv. 79, 82, 90, 92; Aristobulus imprisoned there, xiv. 96-97, xiv. 104, 123, 142, 144, 185, 214, 270, 307; Herod set sail thither, xiv. 376; i. reached by Herod, xiv. 379, xiv. 465; declares Antigonus an enemy, xiv. 469; xiv. 487, 489; statue thereof erected in Caesarea, xv. 339; xv. 349, 407; Herod visits sons there, xvi. 6; M. Vipsanius Agrippa returns there after ten years in Asia, xvi. 86-87; Herod

GENERAL INDEX

goes there to press charges against his sons, xvi. 90-91; xvi. 106; its gladiatorial shows imitated by Herod, xvi. 137; treasures from there sent by Julia to Caesarea, xvi. 139; xvi. 243; Alexander accused of planning to flee there after he should kill Herod, xvi. 249, 251, 253; xvi. 270-271, 273, 276, 282, 286, 294, 299, 326, 331-332; mission of Nicolas to Augustus there, xvi. 335-336; xvi. 340; opinion of Herod's friends there about his sons, xvi. 370-372; xvii. 6; Antipas and Archelaus are brought up there, xvii. 20-21; xvii. 52, 57, 60, 67, 79-80, 84, 96, 103, 133; Herod wishes to send his son Antipater there, but sends envoys, xvii. 144-146; xvii. 182, 208; visit of Archelaus there, xvii. 222; visit of Antipas there, xvii. 224-227; delegation of Jews to Augustus there, xvii. 299-300; Jews welcome false Alexander there, xvii. 328, 330; xvii. 343, 345; xviii. 31, 35; the Parthian king Phraates sends his children there, xviii. 42, 46, 52; scandal in temple of Isis there, xviii. 65; expulsion of Jews from there, xviii. 80-81, 83; Pilate sent there, xviii. 89; xviii. 109-111, 126, 139, 143; Agrippa leaves from there, xviii. 146; xviii. 150; money owed by Agrippa there, xviii. 158; xviii. 179; arrival of Gaius Caligula there, xviii. 236; Agrippa wishes to return there, xviii. 238; xviii. 241; Herod the tetrarch goes there, xviii. 244-247; xviii. 283, 289; favours Petronius over Gaius Caligula, xviii. 306; insolence of Gaius toward citizens there, xix. 2; beautified by Gaius with spoils from Greece, xix. 7-8; xix. 193; Palatine first part thereof to be settled, xix. 223; scene of treaty between Agrippa and Claudius, xix.

275; Agrippa son of Agrippa brought up there, xix. 360; arrival there of Jewish delegates petitioning for custody of high priest's vestments, xx. 9; brothers of Izates sent there as hostages, xx. 37; Ananias sent there, xx. 131; xx. 134-135; Domitius Ahenobarbus prominent there, xx. 148; xx. 161; Pompey sends Aristobulus and his children in bonds there, xx. 244; visited by Josephus (c. 61), V. 13 ff.; priests sent there by Felix to render an account to Nero, 13; reached by Josephus (c. 61), 14; Jewish revolt therefrom, 17 ff.; 408; Titus returns there after quelling Jewish revolt, 422; Josephus' residence there after the war, 423; *Ap. i.* 50; not mentioned by Herodotus or Thucydides, though powerful long before their time, i. 66

Romelias (Bibl. Remaliah), father of Pekah, *A. ix.* 234

Romphon (var. Raphon), city in Palestine near the stream over which Timotheus led his army against Jews, *A. xii.* 341

Rooboth (Bibl. Rehoboth), well dug by Isaac, *A. i.* 262

Rosh. See Aros

"royal plain" (Valley of Kings), valley near Jerusalem, *A. i.* 179; (Valley of Kings) vii. 243

Roxane, daughter of Herod and Phaedra, *B. i.* 563; *A. xvii.* 21

Rubel (1) (Bibl. Reuben), born to Leah and Jacob, *A. i.* 304; brings mandrakes to his mother, i. 307; tries to save Joseph from being killed by his brothers, ii. 21-31; puts Joseph in a pit, ii. 31; finds Joseph gone from pit when he returns, ii. 32-34; entreats Joseph to sell him and his brothers corn, ii. 100-105; rebukes brothers for regretting Joseph's fate when it was already too late, ii. 107-108; offers his own sons as hostages for Benjamin's safety,

GENERAL INDEX

- ii. 113; rebukes brothers when they compare their fate to Joseph's, ii. 137; his sons, ii. 178
- Rubel (2) (Reubenites; Bibl. Reuben), tribe of, *A.* iv. 19; awarded its portion of land, iv. 166; v. 3; erects altar, v. 100; as territory, vi. 99; (Reubenites) their land ravaged by Syria, ix. 159
- Rubrius Gallus, Roman general, sent by Vespasian to punish Sarmatians for invading Moesia, *B.* vii. 92
- Rufus (1), Roman cavalry commander, *B.* ii. 52, 74; *A.* xvii. 266; greets Varus, xvii. 294
- Rufus (2), consul when Claudius allows Jews to keep high priest's vestments, *A.* xx. 14
- Rufus (3) of Egypt, soldier in Roman army, captures the youth Eleazar in siege of Machaerus, *B.* vii. 199
- Rufus (4), Annius, Roman procurator of Judaea, *A.* xviii. 32-33
- Ruma (1) (Bibl. Reumah), Nahor's concubine, *A.* i. 153
- Ruma (2), Galilaean village, home of Jewish heroes Netiras and Philip, *B.* iii. 233
- Rumah. See Abuma
- Rumus. See Reus
- Ruth, wife of Mahlon, *A.* v. 319; follows Naomi, v. 322; gleanes in fields of Boaz, v. 323-327; sleeps at Boaz's feet, v. 328; v. 332; marries Boaz, v. 335; v. 337
- Rutilius, Quintus, Roman quaestor, *A.* xiv. 219
- Rydda. See Arydda
- SAAB. See Saba (2)
- Saar(as) (Bibl. Shaul), son of Simeon, *A.* ii. 178
- Saba (1), capital of Ethiopia, besieged by Moses, *A.* ii. 249-253
- Saba (2) (var. Saab), town in Galilee, home of the Jewish hero Eleazar ben Sameas, *B.* iii. 229
- Saba (3), Hebrew month. See Abba
- Sabactas (Bibl. Sabteca), son of Cush, *A.* i. 134
- Sabactenians, African people founded by Sabactas (Sabteca), *A.* i. 134
- Sabaeans (1), nation founded by Sabas (Seba), *A.* i. 134
- Sabaeans (2), nation founded by Sabaens (Sheba), son of Raamah, *A.* i. 135
- Sabaes (Bibl. Sheba), son of Raamah, founder of Sabaeans, *A.* i. 135
- Sabaiaas (var. Kesabaiaos; Bibl. Shammah), son of Agee, one of David's warriors, bravest of the Hebrews at Siagon (Jawbone), *A.* vii. 309
- Sabaiaos (Bibl. Sheba), son of Bichri, incites Israelites against David, *A.* vii. 273; vii. 281, 283; pursued by Joab, vii. 286, 288; his death, vii. 290, 292
- Sabakin(es) (Bibl. Sheba), son of Shuah, grandson of Abraham and Keturah, *A.* i. 238
- Sabas (Bibl. Seba), son of Cush, grandson of Ham, founder of Sabaeans, *A.* i. 134
- Sabathenians, Ethiopian nation founded by Sabathes (Sabtah), *A.* i. 134
- Sabathes (Bibl. Sabtah), son of Cush, founder of Sabathenians, *A.* i. 134
- Sabatine tribe, Roman tribe, *A.* xiv. 229, 239
- Sabbaeus, spokesman for Samaritans, *A.* xiii. 75, 78-79
- Sab(b)as (1). See Sambabas
- Sabba(s) (2), Sons of. See Baba, Sons of
- Sabbath, Pompey takes advantage of it in his siege of Jerusalem, *B.* i. 146; Eleazar's party tricks and massacres Romans in Jerusalem on it, ii. 456; Jews fight successfully on it (in 66), ii. 517; John of Gischala imposes upon Titus to respect it, iv. 99-103; Antiochus the renegade aboli-

GENERAL INDEX

shes its observance in Antioch and other cities, vii. 52-53; lends its name to the "Sabbatical" river, which works one day out of seven, vii. 99; Jews slain on it by Caesarean rabble, in beginning of war with Romans, vii. 362-363; its meaning ("rest") and reason why Jews rest on it, *A.* i. 33; its observance required in Decalogue, iii. 91; iii. 143; sacrifices on it, iii. 237; the shew-bread baked on its eve, iii. 255-256; Ptolemy seizes Jerusalem on it, xii. 4; Jews attacked by Antiochus Epiphanes' soldiers on it, xii. 274-275; Jews fight back on it, xii. 276-278; Jews under Jonathan fight against Bacchides on it, xiii. 12; Demetrius permits Jews to be exempt from labour on it, xiii. 52; xiii. 252; Ptolemy Lathyrus attacks Asochis on it, xiii. 337; Jews permitted by Law to defend themselves on it only against those who begin battle, xiv. 63-64; Jews may not bear arms or march thereon, according to Alexander, envoy of the high priest Hyrcanus, xiv. 226; letter of magistrates of Laodicea to Gaius Rabirius confirming Jews' right to observe it, xiv. 241-242; letter of Publius Servilius Galba to Miletus confirming Jews' right to observe it, xiv. 245-246; Jews at Halicarnassus relieved of fighting on it, xiv. 258; Jews at Ephesus allowed to observe it, xiv. 263-264; Jewish observance thereof respected by Augustus, xvi. 163; Agrippa orders Ephesians not to compel Jews to appear in court thereon, xvi. 168; Jews fight on it under Anilaus and Asinaeus, xviii. 319; Anilaus fights on it, xviii. 354; soldiers dismissed at Tarichaeae to go to their homes thereon, *V.* 159; bearing arms thereon

prohibited by Jewish law, however urgent the apparent necessity, 161; reverence for it by delegation from Jerusalem, 275; meeting in prayer-house thereon, 277 ff.; midday meal thereon breaks off meeting in synagogue at Tiberias, 279; Agatharchides on Jewish observance thereof, *Ap.* i. 209-212; Jews do not bear arms thereon but pray in temples until evening, i. 209; its etymology, according to Apion, ii. 20-21; Apion's etymology of it refuted by Josephus, ii. 26-27; its laws prescribed by Moses, ii. 174; reading of Law thereon, ii. 175; Jewish law regarding it, ii. 234; adoption of it by non-Jews, ii. 282

Sabbatical (1) River, between Arcea and Raphanea in Syria, visited by Titus, *B.* vii. 96-99;

Sabbatical (2) year, *B.* i. 60; according to Jewish law, *A.* iii. 280-281; xii. 378; xiii. 234; Julius Caesar excludes Jews from tax thereon, xiv. 202, 206, 475; observance of it causes Jews additional troubles in time of Herod, xv. 7

sabbaton (=Sabbath) its etymology, according to Apion, *Ap.* ii. 21; Hebrew word for cessation from all work, not derived from Egyptian *sabbo*, ii. 27

Sabbion, formerly Alexandra's friend, reveals to Herod Alexandra's plan to escape, *A.* xv. 47

sabbo, Egyptian word for disease of the groin, source of word "Sabbath" according to Apion, *Ap.* ii. 21; not source of *sabbaton*, according to Josephus, ii. 27

Sabia (Bibl. Zibiah), mother of Joash, *A.* ix. 157

Sabines, given citizenship by Romans, *Ap.* ii. 40

Sabinus (1), procurator of Syria, takes charge of Herod's palace in Jerusalem, *B.* ii. 16-19; ii. 23, 25; his searching for royal

GENERAL INDEX

- treasures causes insurrection of Jews, ii. 41-48; burns porticoes of the temple and pillages treasury, ii. 49-50; besieged in the palace, ii. 51-54; relieved by Varus, ii. 66; ii. 75; his designs on Herod's property, A. xvii. 221-222; brings charges against Archelaus, xvii. 227; his designs upon Judaea, xvii. 229; harasses Jews, xvii. 252-254; Jews revolt against him, xvii. 255-256; fights Jews and destroys temple porticoes, xvii. 257-263; takes money from sacred funds of temple, xvii. 264; besieged in temple, xvii. 265, 268; asks Varus to aid him, xvii. 286; leaves Jerusalem xvii. 294
- Sabinus (2), Flavius, brother of Vespasian, B. iv. 598; storms Roman Capitol but is caught and executed by Vitellius, iv. 645-649
- Sabinus (3) the Syrian, bravely scales wall against Jews, B. vi. 54-67
- Sabinus (4), leads German body-guard in avenging Emperor Gaius Caligula, A. xix. 122
- Sabinus (5), Domitius. See Domitius (2)
- Sabinus (6), Cornelius. See Cornelius (1)
- Sabolatha. See Arablatha
- Sabreches (var. Sobacches; Bibl. Sibbechai), the Hittite, fights bravely for David against Philistines, A. vii. 301
- Sabtah. See Sabathes
- Sabteca. See Sabactas
- Sabuchadas (var. Sabuzanes; Bibl. Harbonah), eunuch of Esther, A. xi. 261; accuses Haman, xi. 266
- Sabuzanes. See Sabuchadas
- Sacae, Scythian people, help Artabanus secure the throne of Parthia, A. xviii. 100; xx. 91
- Sacchaeus, deserts plot of deputation from Jerusalem and of John of Gischala and reports to Josephus, V. 239
- Sacchias (var. Sedekias; Bibl. Zedekiah), king of Judah, (Zedekiah; Grk. Sedekias), B. v. 391; A. x. 102; warned by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, x. 103-106; forms alliance with Egypt, x. 108-110; deceived by false prophets, x. 111; x. 116, 135; captured by Babylonians and blinded, x. 136-141; x. 145-146; taken to Babylonia, x. 149-150; his death, x. 154; x. 172, 186, 188 "Sacred books." See Scriptures, Holy
- sacrifices, manner and time of being offered, A. iii. 224-257; offered for emperors by Jews, Ap. ii. 77; hours of, for Jewish priests, ii. 105; by Jews, denounced by Apion, ii. 137; by Greeks and Macedonians, ii. 138; nature of those offered by Jews, ii. 195-198
- Saddok (var. Saddouk[os]) the Pharisee, founder of Fourth Philosophy, cause of troubles which overtook Jews, A. xviii. 4-10
- Saddouk(os). See Saddok
- Sadducees, Jewish sect, B. ii. 119; believe in free will, ii. 164-165; boorish, ii. 166; are one of three Jewish schools of thought, A. xiii. 171; their attitude towards Fate, xiii. 173; joined by Hyrcanus, xiii. 293, 296; differ from Pharisees, xiii. 297-298; are one of the three ancient Jewish philosophies, xviii. 11; their doctrines, xviii. 16-17; adhered to by Ananus the high priest, xx. 199; one of the three sects of the Jews, V. 10; Josephus submits to hard training to join them, 11
- Sadok (1) (Bibl. Zadok), son of Ahitub, high priest, pays homage to David, A. vii. 58; named high priest by David, vii. 110; remains in Jerusalem when David flees, vii. 200-201; vii. 222, 249; father of Achimaaz, vii. 245; vii. 260, 293; opposes Adonijah, vii. 346-347, 352; anoints Solomon

GENERAL INDEX

- king, vii. 354-358; watches (with high priest Ebyathar) David apportion tasks to Levites and priests, vii. 366; vii. 382; holds high priesthood alone, viii. 11; viii. 12; made high priest alone, viii. 16; first in the temple, x. 152
- Sadok (2), Jew, father of Ananias, *B. ii.* 451, 628
- Sadrakes (part of corrupt division of Bibl. Shethar-boznai), Samaritan, written to by King Darius, *A. xi.* 118
- Saeira (Bibl. Seir), Esau's abode, named after his shaggy hair, *A. i.* 336; inhabited by Esau, ii. 1
- Salabatha. See Arablatha
- Salamatha. See Arablatha
- Salamis, island near Athens, site of Xerxes' defeat, *B. ii.* 358
- Salampsio, daughter of Herod, married to Phasael, *A. xvi.* 194, 196; xviii. 130; her children, xviii. 131; her descendants, xviii. 138
- Salas (Bibl. Shelah), son of Judah, *A. ii.* 178
- Salathielos (Bibl. Shealtiel), father of Zerubbabel, *A. xi.* 73
- Saleph (Bibl. Sheleph), son of Joktan, *A. i.* 147
- Salina. See Alexandra (1)
- Salitis, first Hycsos king, rules Egypt, *Ap. i.* 77-79
- Sallumos (1) (Bibl. Shallum), husband of Hulda, *A. x.* 59
- Sallumos (2), high priest, son of Odaias, *A. x.* 153
- Salmanassares. See Salmanasses
- Salmanasses (var. Salmanassares; Bibl. Shalmaneser), king of Assyria, defeats Israel, *A. ix.* 259; exiles ten tribes of Israel, ix. 277-279; ix. 283-287; x. 184; xi. 19, 85
- Salome (1), daughter of Antipater, sister of Herod, *B. i.* 181, (438), 441, 443, 446, 475, 477; denounces Alexander and Aristobulus to Herod, i. 478-479; i. 483, 486-487, 498, 534-535, 538, 545, 552-553; forced to marry, i. 566; i. 569-571, 573; Antipater's plot against her discovered, i. 641-646; i. 660, 666; ii. 15, 20, 24, 26; her part of Herod's kingdom, ii. 98; her death, ii. 167; *A. xiv.* 121; accuses Mariamme of infidelity to Herod, xv. 80-81; intensifies Herod's doubts about Mariamme, xv. 213, 223, 231; married to Costobarus, xv. 254; divorces Costobarus, xv. 259-260; envious of Herod's sons, xvi. 8; her daughter married to Aristobulus the son of Herod, xvi. 11; stirs up Herod's distrust of his sons, xvi. 66, 68-77; her hatred for Glaphyra, xvi. 193; her intrigues against the sons of Mariamme, xvi. 201-205; incites Alexander against his father Herod, xvi. 206; distrusted by Herod, xvi. 213-219; courted by Syllaes, xvi. 221-225; accused of licentiousness by Pheroras, xvi. 226-227; accused by Alexander, xvi. 256; courted by Syllaes, xvi. 275; informs on Aristobulus to Herod, xvi. 322; her marriage to Alexas, xvii. 9-10; mother of Berenice, xvii. 12; opposes Pheroras and Antipater, xvii. 36-40; reports Pharisees' opposition to Herod, xvii. 44; informs against Antipater, xvii. 93; plot of Antipater against her discovered, xvii. 137-142; beneficiary of Herod's will, xvii. 147; Herod's final instructions to her, xvii. 175; Herod's bequests to her, xvii. 189; refuses to carry out Herod's funeral plans, xvii. 193-194; accompanies Archelaus to Rome, xvii. 220; encourages Antipas to seek throne, xvii. 224; her son Antipater brings charges against Archelaus, xvii. 230; given royal palace at Ascalon by Augustus, xvii. 321; her death, xviii. 31; xviii. 130; mother of Berenice, xviii. 133

GENERAL INDEX

Salome (2), daughter of Herod and Elpis, *B. i.* 563; *A. xvii.* 21
 Salome (3), daughter of Herodias and Herod, *A. xviii.* 136; married to Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, *xviii.* 137
 Salome (4). See Alexandra (1)
 Sama (var. Souma; Bibl. Shimeah), brother of David, father of Jonathan, *A. vii.* 178, 304
 Samachos, daughter of Abennerigus, becomes wife of Izates, *A. xx.* 23
 Samaga (Samoga), Syrian town, captured by John Hyrcanus, *B. i.* 63; *A. xiii.* 255
 Samaias (1) (Bibl. Shemaiah), Hebrew prophet, *A. viii.* 256
 Samaias (2) (var. Samaios, Sameas), rebukes Sanhedrin for its cowardice toward Herod, *A. xiv.* 172-174; spared by Herod in his murder of Sanhedrin, *xiv.* 175-176; disciple of Pollion the Pharisee, honoured by Herod, *xv.* 3; *xv.* 4 (var.); Herod tries to persuade him to swear loyalty to him, *xv.* 370
 Samaios. See Samaias (2)
 Samal (Bibl. Shammah), son of Jesse, *A. vi.* 161
 Samaraeus (Bibl. Zemarite), son of Canaan, *A. i.* 139
 Samareital. See Samaritans
 Samaria (1) (Somareon; Bibl. Shomron), city in northern Palestine, captured by John Hyrcanus, *B. i.* 64-65; freed by Pompey, *i.* 156; rebuilt by Gabinius, *i.* 166; *i.* 213, 229, 299, 302-303; Herod returns thither to fight Antigonus, *i.* 314; *i.* 333, 344, 396; *ii.* 69, 234, 247; same as Somareon, capital of Israel under Omri, *A. viii.* 312-313; capital under Ahab, *viii.* 316; *viii.* 364, 387, 398-399; Ahab buried there, *viii.* 416; capital under Ahaziah, *ix.* 18; *ix.* 46; Elisha leads Ben-hadad's men there, *ix.* 57; Ben-hadad besieges Jehoram there, *ix.* 61-62; the four lepers therefrom, *ix.* 74, 79, 81; *ix.* 125, 130; priests

of Baal slain there by Jehu, *ix.* 133-134, 138; purged of strange rites by Jehu, *ix.* 138; Jehu buried there, *ix.* 160; Jehoahaz reigns there, *ix.* 173; Joash reigns there, *ix.* 177; Joash buried there, *ix.* 185; *ix.* 202; Jeroboam reigns there, *ix.* 205; Jeroboam buried there, *ix.* 215; *ix.* 229; Menahem buried there, *ix.* 233; *ix.* 247-248; *ix.* 251; besieged by Shalmaneser, *ix.* 277-278; settled by people from Cuthah, *ix.* 279; settled by Cuthaeans, *ix.* 288; Israel driven from there, *x.* 183; *xi.* 16; Persians and Medes settled there by Shalmaneser, *xi.* 19; its people send letter to Cambyses, *xi.* 21, 26; its tribute to be furnished to Jews by Samaritans, *xi.* 118-119; Addaios (Asaph) eparch there, *xi.* 167; Sanballat sent there as satrap by Darius III, *xi.* 302; near Mt. Gerizim, *xi.* 310; taken by Antiochus the Great, *xii.* 133, 136; given to Cleopatra as dowry, *xii.* 154; *xii.* 168, 175; its taxes controlled by Joseph the Tobiad, *xii.* 224; *xii.* 287; *xiii.* 50; besieged by Hyrcanus, *xiii.* 275-279; destroyed by Hyrcanus, *xiii.* 280-281; *xiii.* 396; *xiv.* 75, 88; damage there repaired by Herod, *xiv.* 284; supplies Herod with provisions, *xiv.* 408; joins Herod in fight with Antigonus, *xiv.* 411; Herod leaves his relatives there, *xiv.* 413; *xiv.* 431, 437, 457; scene of marriage between Herod and Mariamme, *xiv.* 467; added to Herod's realm, *xv.* 217; called Sebaste, *xv.* 246; fortified by Herod, *xv.* 292, 296-297; spared by Varus, *xvii.* 289; given to Agrippa I by Claudius, *xix.* 274, 351; *xx.* 118; reached by Quadratus, *xx.* 129; Josephus writes his friends there to provide safe convoy through it for his

GENERAL INDEX

- counter-embassy to Jerusalem, V. 269
- Samaria (2) (Samaritis), district in northern Palestine, *B. i.* 403; *ii.* 96, 232; *iii.* 37, 48-50, 309; *iv.* 449; *v.* 50; (Samaritis), *A. vii.* 103; Jews taken from there by Ptolemy Soter and brought to Egypt, *xii.* 7; loses three districts to Judaea, *xiii.* 125, 127; Herod goes to Jerusalem from there, *xiv.* 468; added to Jewish territory free of tribute by Alexander the Great, *Ap. ii.* 43
- Samaritan(s) (Samaritans, Samaritai), *B. i.* 562; *ii.* 111; battle with Galilaeans, *ii.* 232-244; their trial at Rome, *ii.* 245; attacked by Romans, *iii.* 307-315; *A. ix.* 61, 126; called Chutaiol (Cuthim) in Hebrew, transported from Chutha, in Persia, to Samaria and learn to worship God, *ix.* 288-291; originally from Persia and Media, source of their name Samaritans, *x.* 184; *xi.* 61; offer to help build the temple, *xi.* 84; denounce the Jews, *xi.* 88; write to Darius accusing Jews, *xi.* 97; related to Persians, regard Jews with hostility, *xi.* 114; accused by Jews before Darius, *xi.* 116-119; hear of building of walls of Jerusalem, *xi.* 174; of Cuthaeans race, *xi.* 303; court Alexander, *xi.* 340-345; joined by Jewish apostates, *xi.* 347; quarrel with Jews in Egypt, *xii.* 10; *xii.* 156; appeal to Antiochus Epiphanes, *xii.* 257-261; petition granted by Antiochus, *xii.* 262-264; their quarrel with Alexandrian Jews in time of Ptolemy Philometor, *xiii.* 74-79; attacked by Hyrcanus, *xiii.* 275-277; one of them becomes a wife of Herod, *xvii.* 20; *xvii.* 69; their district assigned to Archelaus by Augustus, *xvii.* 319; they and Jews bring charges against Archelaus before Augustus, *xvii.* 342; scatter human bones in porticoes of the temple, *xviii.* 30; their tumult put down by Pilate, *xviii.* 85-87; their case against Pilate brought before Vitellius, *xviii.* 88-89; one of them lends money to Agrippa, *xviii.* 167; Cumanus fails to act in their quarrel with the Jews, *xx.* 118-119, 121-122; appeal to governor of Syria in their quarrel with Jews, *xx.* 125-130; present their quarrel with the Jews before Claudius, *xx.* 131-132, 134-135; Claudius decides against them, *xx.* 136
- Samaritis. See Samaria (2)
- Samaron (1) (Bibl. Shimron), son of Issachar, *A. ii.* 178
- Samaron (2), Mount (Bibl. Zemaraim), highland in Palestine, near Jericho, *A. viii.* 274
- Sambabas (var. Sambas, Sab[b]as, Sambalas; Bibl. Sanballat), eparch of the Samaritans, written to by Persian king Darius, *A. xi.* 118
- Sambalas. See Sambabas
- Sambas. See Sambabas
- Sameas (1), father of Eleazar the Jewish hero, *B. iii.* 229
- Sameas (2). See Samaias (2)
- Samenians (var. Galieni, Galilaeans, Galaadenians, Gamini), an Arab tribe, *A. xiii.* 371
- Samoga. See Samaga
- Samos, island in the Aegean Sea, *B. i.* 425; *A. xvi.* 23, 62; Pythagoras, sage of, *Ap. i.* 162
- Samosata, city near the Euphrates, *B. i.* 321-322, 327; *vii.* 224, 230; besieged by Antony, *A. xiv.* 439, 441, 445
- Sampho (Sappho), village near Emmaus, (Sappho) *B. ii.* 70; *A. xvii.* 290
- Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa, *A. xviii.* 135; entertained by Agrippa I at Tiberias, *xix.* 338
- Samson (Bibl. Shimshon), his birth, *A. v.* 285; propounds riddle to people of Timnah, *v.* 289; tells wife secret of riddle, *v.* 291; renounces wife, *v.* 294;

GENERAL INDEX

- destroys crops of Philistines, v. 295-296; kills Philistines with jawbone of ass, v. 297, 300; v. 301, 303; escapes from Gaza, v. 304-305; v. 307-308, 310; reveals secret of strength to Delilah, v. 312; his death, v. 314-316; v. 318
- Samuel (1), Hebrew prophet, *A.* v. 340; his birth, son of Elkanah and Hannah, v. 346; brought up in temple, v. 347; God's revelation to him, v. 348-351; gathers people at Mizpah, vi. 19-22; leads Hebrews against Philistines, vi. 24-25; leads Hebrews to victory over Philistines, vi. 28; defeats Philistines, vi. 30; as judge, vi. 31; asked to give Israelites a king, vi. 35-36; warns people of the evils of monarchy, vi. 40; agrees to choose a king, vi. 43-44; meets Saul, vi. 49-51; anoints Saul king, vi. 53-57; vi. 58; assembles people to present them with king, vi. 60; returns home after anointing Saul, vi. 67; vi. 77; again proclaims Saul king, vi. 83; protests against election of a king, vi. 86, 88, 92; prophesies to Hebrews, vi. 94; vi. 100, 103, 105; reproaches Saul for performing sacrifice, vi. 101; sends Saul to exterminate Amalekites, vi. 131; prophesies Saul's doom at Gilgal, vi. 143-146, 151-152; orders Amalekite king Agag killed, vi. 154-155; anoints David as king, vi. 156-157, 161, 164; vi. 166; shelters David, vi. 220-223; his death, vi. 292-294; his soul summoned by witch of Endor, vi. 332-336; vi. 378; vii. 27, 53, 72
- Samuel (2), father of Phanni the high priest, *B.* iv. 155
- Samuis (var. Samuissos, Sumuis, Simueis; Bibl. Shimei), son of Gera, relative of Saul, abuses David, *A.* vii. 207, 210; vii. 263; begs David's pardon, vii. 264; forgiven by David, vii. 266; opposes Adonijah, vii. 346; Solomon urged to punish him, vii. 387; executed, viii. 17-18, 20
- Samuissos. See Samuis
- Sanaballetes (Bibl. Sanballat), satrap of Samaria, *A.* xi. 302; marries daughter to Manasseh, xi. 303; xi. 309-312, 315, 321, 324-325, 342, 345; xiii. 256
- Sanabassaros (Abassaros, Sanabassares; Bibl. Sheshbazzar), (Abassaros) Jewish leader in time of Cyrus, *A.* xi. 11; (Sanabassaros) xi. 93; (Sanabassares) eparch and governor of Syria and Phoenicia, assigned as supervisor of restoration of the temple, xi. 101
- Sanabassares. See Sanabassaros
- Sanagar (Bibl. Shamgar), son of Anath, *A.* v. 197
- Sanballat (1). See Sambabas
- Sanballat (2). See Sanaballetes
- Sanhedrin (Council, Synhedrion), Jewish body of judges, (Synhedrion) hears charges against Herod, *A.* xiv. 167-168, 170-172; (Synhedrion) its members killed by Herod, xiv. 175; (Synhedrion) hears charges against Herod, xiv. 177-180; (Council) shown letter of Hyrcanus to Malchus, xv. 173; convened by high priest Ananus, xx. 200, 202; allows Levite singers to wear linen as do priests, xx. 216-217; written to by Josephus for instructions in 66, *V.* 62
- Sapha (Bibl. Shaphan), Hebrew scribe in time of King Josiah, *A.* x. 55, 58
- Sapha(n). See Saphein
- Saphas (Bibl. Sheba), son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
- Saphat. See Sapphias
- Saphates (1) (Bibl. Shaphat), father of Elisha, *A.* viii. 353; ix. 33
- Saphates (2) (Bibl. Jehoshaphat), governor under Solomon, *A.* viii. 37
- Saphatha (Bibl. Zephathah), val-

GENERAL INDEX

- ley near Jerusalem, *A.* viii. 293
- Saphatias (Bibl. Shephetaiah), son of David and Abital, *A.* vii. 21
- Saphein (var. Saphin, Sapha[n]; Bibl. Sophim), place near Jerusalem, *A.* xi. 329 (see also Scopus)
- Saphin. See Saphein
- Saphon. See Asophon
- Sapinnius (Sapphinus, Sappinus; var. Sappinas), friend of Herod, (Sapphinus) *B.* i. 280; (Sappinus) *A.* xiv. 378; accused by Alexander, *A.* xvi. 257
- Sapphas. See Sapphias
- Sapphias (Sapphas, Saphat), father of Jesus (12) (the ring-leader of the party of the sailors and destitute class), (Sapphas) *B.* ii. 566; ii. 599; (Saphat) iii. 450; *V.* 66, 134
- Sapphinus. See Sapinnius
- Sappho. See Sampho
- Sapphora (Bibl. Zipporah), daughter of Reuel, wife of Moses, *A.* ii. 277; iii. 63
- Sappinas. See Sapinnius
- Sappinus. See Sapinnius
- Sarabasan (Sarabazanes; Bibl. Shethar-boznai), Persian satrap in Syria, *A.* xi. 12; (Sarabazanes) xi. 89; (Sarabazanes) written to by Darius, xi. 104
- Sarabazanes. See Sarabasan
- Sarad(os) (Bibl. Sered), son of Zebulun, *A.* ii. 179
- Sarah. See Sarra
- Saraio (var. Sebeos, Sebaio, Sareos; Bibl. Seraiah), high priest, *A.* x. 149-150
- Saram. See Sarasa
- Saramalla, richest Syrian of his time, *B.* i. 259; *A.* xiv. 345; envoy of Herod to Phraates, xv. 19
- Sarasa (Saram; Bibl. Zorah), city west of Jerusalem, native town and burial place of Samson, *A.* v. 317; viii. 246
- Sardinia, island in Tyrrhenian Sea, *A.* xviii. 84
- Sardis, city in Asia Minor, exempts Jews from military service, *A.* xiv. 232; its Jews receive privileges, xiv. 235; its decree favourable to Jews, xiv. 259; its people instructed to stop interfering with holy monies intended for the temple, xvi. 171
- Sareos (Bibl. Seraiah), Jewish leader of embassy to Gedaliah, *A.* x. 160
- Sareos. See Saraio
- Sarephtha (Bibl. Zarephath), city between Sidon and Tyre, *A.* viii. 320
- Sares (Bibl. Jezer), son of Naphthali, *A.* ii. 181
- Sariphaeus (Sepphoraues), father of Judas the scholar, (Sepphoraues) *B.* i. 648; *A.* xvii. 149
- Sarmatians, Scythian tribe, *B.* vii. 90, 92
- Sarra (Sarah), wife of Abraham, (Sarah) mother of Jews, *B.* v. 379; daughter of Haran, *A.* i. 151; i. 154; in Egypt, i. 162-165; gives Hagar to Abraham, i. 187-188; gives birth to Isaac, i. 191; i. 197-198; travels to Gerar, i. 207; has a son, i. 213; sends Hagar away, i. 215-217; dies, i. 236-237; Abraham buried near her, i. 256; i. 289
- Saruia (Zeruiah), sister of David, *A.* vi. 311; mother of Joab, vii. 11; vii. 45, 64, 232, 265
- Sarydda. See Arydda
- Sasellius. See Gellius (1) and (2)
- saton, Hebrew measure, *A.* ix. 85
- Satrapies, Upper, term used for area of Armenia, Media, Persia, etc., *A.* xii. 297; xiii. 184
- satrap, Persian provincial governors, fine paid to them by Jews for razing temples and altars erected by Alexander, *Ap.* i. 193
- Saturninus (1), Roman consul, *B.* i. 538, 541, 554, 577; governor of Syria, tries to mediate dispute between Herod and Arabs, *A.* xvi. 277, 280, 283, 344; advises Herod against condemning his sons to death, xvi. 368-369; courted by

GENERAL INDEX

- Antipater, xvii. 6-7; gives Ullatha as dwelling place to band of Babylonian Jews, xvii. 24; xvii. 57; relieved of governorship of Syria and succeeded by Quintilius Varus, xvii. 89
- Saturninus (2), husband of Paulina, noble Roman lady, *A.* xviii. 66
- Saturninus (3), husband of Fulvia the Jewish proselyte in Rome, *A.* xviii. 83
- Saturninus (4), Gnaeus Sentius, Roman consul, *B.* ii. 205; his speech in the Roman Senate after assassination of Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 166-185
- Saul (1), son of Kish, first Jewish king, *A.* vi. 46; seeks Samuel, vi. 47; meets Samuel, vi. 50-52; anointed by Samuel, vi. 54-57; vi. 58; chosen king by lots, vi. 62; hides when chosen as king, vi. 64-65; vi. 67; defeats the Ammanites, vi. 74-75, 80-81; vi. 82; again proclaimed king, vi. 83, 94; prepares for war against Philistines, vi. 95; vi. 98-99; performs sacrifice contrary to Samuel's injunction, vi. 100-101, 103; defeated by Philistines, vi. 105-106; father of Jonathan, vi. 107; vi. 112; victorious over the Philistines, vi. 115-116; invokes curse on any Hebrew who should partake of food before nightfall, vi. 118; builds altar, vi. 121; vi. 123, 126; his children and relatives, vi. 129-130; wipes out Amalekites, vi. 131, 134-135, 138; his conquests, vi. 140; incurs anger of God, vi. 141, 143-145; begs forgiveness, vi. 151-152; vi. 154, 156; takes David as his musician, vi. 166-169; vi. 170; challenged by Goliath, vi. 172, 174; vi. 175; allows David to fight Goliath, vi. 179, 181, 184; slays Philistines after Goliath's death, vi. 191; vi. 192; envious of David, vi. 193; sets conditions for David's marriage to Michal, vi. 196, 199-200, 203-204; plots against David's life, vi. 205; persuaded by Jonathan to do no wrong to David, vi. 209, 212; hurls spear at David, vi. 213-214; tries to capture David, vi. 215, 218; vi. 219-220; pursues David, vi. 221-223; vi. 224, 226; attacks Jonathan as David's accomplice, vi. 237-238; vi. 244-245, 247, 250; orders priests slain, vi. 255, 259-261; vi. 262, 268-269; attempts to capture David at Keilah, vi. 272-274; vi. 275, 277, 279; diverted by Philistines from pursuit of David, vi. 281-282; his life spared by David, vi. 282, 284-285; reconciled with David, vi. 290-291; vi. 294, 309; his life spared again by David, vi. 310-314, 316, 319; vi. 320; consults witch of Endor, vi. 327-337; fed by witch of Endor, vi. 339-340; eulogized by Josephus, vi. 343-350; vi. 352; his death in battle, vi. 368, 371-373; his burial, vi. 374, 376, 378; his death reported to David, vii. 1-6; his burial, vii. 8; vii. 9, 18; his son Ish-bosheth engaged in civil war with David, vii. 20; vii. 22-25, 32, 46, 48, 50, 53, 55-56, 79, 85, 87, 89, 111-112; his property given by David to Memphibosheth, vii. 114-115; vii. 117, 151, 199, 205-207, 263, 267; his family punished for his slaying of Gibeonites, vii. 294, 296; *x.* 143; *xi.* 112
- Saul (2), member of Jewish royal family, is sent to ask Agrippa II to crush Jewish revolt against Romans, *B.* ii. 418, 556, 558; brother of Costobar, *A.* xx. 214
- Saul (3), brother of Simon the renegade, *B.* ii. 469
- "Saul's hill" (Gabath Saul), village near Jerusalem, *B.* v. 51
- Scaurus, Roman general, *B.* i. 127-129, 132; becomes gover-

GENERAL INDEX

- nor of Syria, i. 157; invades Arabia, i. 159; relieved by Gabinius, i. 160; *A.* xiv. 29, 33, 37; becomes ruler of Syria, xiv. 79; reconciled with Aretas by Antipater, xiv. 80-81
- Scipio (1) Africanus, Roman general victorious over Hannibal, *B.* ii. 380
- Scipio (2), Q. Caecilius Metellus, father-in-law of Pompey and governor of Syria, *B.* i. 185, 195; executes Alexander the son of Aristobulus, *A.* xiv. 125; xiv. 140, 142, 185
- Scopas, general of Pompey, *A.* xii. 131-133, 136
- Scopus, mountain near Jerusalem, *B.* ii. 528, 542; v. 67, 106, 108; called "Lookout," *A.* xi. 329
- scribes, of the Jews not to be taxed by Persian satraps, according to King Xerxes' letter, *A.* xi. 128
- Scripture(s), Holy ("sacred books," Bible), Josephus' mastery of, *A.* xx. 261, 265; copy of them presented by Titus to Josephus, *V.* 418; the *Antiquities* based on them, *Ap.* i. 1; care bestowed on them, i. 29 ff.; consist of twenty-two books, i. 37-41; Jewish veneration for them, i. 42-43; the *Antiquities* based on them, i. 54; their chronology of destruction and reconstruction of the temple, in agreement with Berossus, i. 154; agree with books of Chaldeans and Tyrians on chronology of the temple, i. 160; unknown to Greek writers, i. 217-218; interpretation of them by Jewish deputies requisitioned by Ptolemy Philadelphus, ii. 45-47 (*cf.* also Law)
- Scythians, tribe inhabiting region of Black Sea, *B.* vii. 89-90, 244; formerly Magogians, *A.* i. 123; known to Greeks through navigators of the Black Sea, *Ap.* i. 64; their intolerance of foreign customs, ii. 269
- Scythopolis (Beth-shean, Bethesana, Bethsan, Bethsane, Bethshan; Bibl. Beth-shan), (Scythopolitans) city in Judaea, *B.* i. 65-66, 134; freed by Pompey, i. 156; rebuilt by Gabinius, i. 166; ii. 458; (Scythopolitans) their perfidy to Jewish allies, ii. 466-468; ii. 470-472, 477; iii. 37, 412, 446; iv. 54, 87, 453; vii. 364; formerly Bethesana, *A.* v. 83-84; formerly Bethsan, vi. 374, 376; city from which Joseph the Tobiad collected taxes, xii. 183; Greek name for Bethsane, xii. 348; Greek name for Bethsan, xiii. 188; xiii. 277, 280, 355, 396; xiv. 49, 75, 88; its natives compel their Jewish residents to fight against Jewish invaders, after which they massacre them, *V.* 26; scene of raids by Justus of Tiberias and his followers, 42; place to be protected by Neopolitanus, 121; on side of Agrippa, 349
- Seba (1). See Sabas
- Seba (2), son of David, *A.* vii. 70
- Sebaïos. See Saraios
- Sebaste (1), Samaritan city, founded by King Herod, besieged by Aristobulus and Antigonus, the sons of John Hyrcanus, *B.* i. 64-65; i. 118; built by Herod, i. 403; i. 551; ii. 97, 288, 292, 460; name for Samaria, *A.* xiii. 275, xv. 246; name given Samaria by Herod, xv. 293; adorned by Herod, xv. 296; built by Herod, xv. 342; Herod entertains Agrippa there, xvi. 13; Aristobulus and Alexander are killed there, xvi. 394; made subject to Archelaus by Augustus, xvii. 320; rejoices at death of Agrippa I, xix. 356, 361; rebuked by Fadus, xix. 365; xx. 176
- Sebaste (2), island off Cilicia in Asia Minor, formerly Elaeusa, *A.* xvi. 131
- Sebastenians, troops drafted in region of Sebaste (Samaria),

GENERAL INDEX

- B.* ii. 52, 58, 63, 74, 236; cavalry squadron, *A.* xx. 122
- Sebastos (Port of Augustus), port of Caesarea in Palestine built by Herod, (Port of Augustus) *B.* i. 613; *A.* xvii. 87
- Sebee, city in Gilead, *A.* v. 270
- Sebekos (Bibl. Shobach), commander of Syrian army, *A.* vii. 127; wounded by David, vii. 128
- Sebeos. See Saraïos
- secrets, disclosure of, forbidden by Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 207
- Sedekias (1) (Bibl. Zedekiah), false prophet, *A.* viii. 406, 408-410
- Sedekias (2). See Sacchias
- sedition, Alexandrian Jews accused of causing, *Ap.* ii. 68
- Sedraches. See Ananias (1)
- Sedrachos. See Ananias (1)
- Seē, father of Jesus the high priest, *A.* xvii. 341
- Seidos (var. Eilos, Macheilos; Bibl. Ahijah), father of Baasha, *A.* viii. 288
- Seinaeus (Bibl. Sinite), son of Canaan, *A.* i. 139
- Seiphar (Bibl. Shobi ben Nahash), ruler of Ammanitis, *A.* vii. 230
- Seir. See Saeira
- Seiris, land where pillar built by Seth's descendants is, *A.* i. 71
- Seisa (Susa; Bibl. Seraiah, Shavsha, Sheva), scribe to David, *A.* vii. 110; (Susa) vii. 293
- Sejanus, Roman prefect of praetorian cohorts, his plot against Emperor Tiberius exposed by Antonia, *A.* xviii. 181-182; his successor, xviii. 186; Herod the tetrarch said to be conspiring with him against Tiberius, xviii. 250
- Sekella (Sikella; Bibl. Ziklag), village near Gaza, *A.* vi. 322; sacked by Amalekites, vi. 356-357; vi. 362, 367; (Sikella) vii. 1, 7
- Selame, village in Lower Galilee, *B.* ii. 573; fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188
- Selampsas (most probably Shalmaneser), king of Assyria, *A.* ix. 284
- Selene. See Cleopatra (5), Selene
- Seles (Bibl. Shela), son of Arpachshad, *A.* i. 146, 150
- Seleuceia. See Seleucia (3)
- Seleucia (1), city in Syria, *A.* xiii. 221-223; Stratonice flees there, *Ap.* i. 207
- Seleucia (2) (Seleucians), city on Tigris River, *A.* xviii. 49; massacre of Jews there, xviii. 372-374; (Seleucians) terrify Jews, xviii. 377-378
- Seleucia (3) (Seleuceia), village in Gaulanitis, (Seleuceia) *B.* i. 105, ii. 574, iv. 2, 4; *A.* xiii. 393, 396; fortified by Josephus, *V.* 187; pickets on roads leading there put out by Sulla, Agrippa II's commander, 398
- Seleucid line, dynasty of Syrian kings, *B.* i. 99
- Seleucus (1) I Nicator, becomes ruler of Babylon after Alexander the Great, *A.* xii. 2; grants citizenship to Jews, xii. 119; xii. 125, 246, 363; xiii. 213, 267; founder of Seleucia, xviii. 372; founder of Antioch, grants citizenship to Jews, *Ap.* ii. 39
- Seleucus (2) II Callinicus, refuses to marry Stratonice, escaped wife of Macedonian king Demetrius II, *Ap.* i. 206-207
- Seleucus (3) III Soter, son of Antiochus the Great, reigns over Asia, *A.* xii. 223, 234
- Seleucus (4) IV Philopator, *A.* xii. 389
- Seleucus (5) VI Epiphanes Nicator, son of Antiochus Grypus, *A.* xiii. 366; defeated by Antiochus X, xiii. 367-369
- Seleukaros (Bibl. Sharezer), son of Sennacherib, *A.* x. 23
- Sella (Bibl. Zillah), wife of Lamech, *A.* i. 63
- Sellemos (Bibl. Shallum), slayer of and successor to Zachariah, King of Israel, *A.* ix. 228; his death, ix. 229
- Sellim(os) (Bibl. Shillem), son of Naphtali, *A.* ii. 181

GENERAL INDEX

- Sellius. See Gellius (1) and (2)
- Semachonitis. See Semechonitis
- Semechonitis (Semechonitis), Lake, north of Sea of Galilee, *B. iii.* 515; *iv.* 2-3; (Semechonitis) *A. v.* 199
- Semegaros, Babylonian assigned to sack of Jerusalem, *A. x.* 135
- Semelios (Bibl. Shimshai), Samaritan scribe, writes letter to Cambyses, *A. xi.* 22, 29
- Semiramis, Assyrian who, according to Greek historians, founded Babylon and erected its marvellous buildings, *Ap. i.* 142
- Sempronius (1), Gaius, Roman, of Falernian tribe, father of Gaius Sempronius, *A. xiii.* 260
- Sempronius (2), Gaius, Roman praetor, son of Gaius Sempronius, *A. xiii.* 260
- Sempronius (3) Atratinus, L. See Atratinus, L. Sempronius
- Senaar (Bibl. Shinar), plain where sons of Noah settled after flood, *A. i.* 110; place where sacred vessels of Zeus were brought, *i.* 119
- Senacheirimos (var. Senacheiros, Sennacheribos; Bibl. Sennacherib), king of Assyria, (*B. v.* 387); exacts tribute from King Hezekiah, *A. x.* 1-2, 6; his death foretold by Isaiah, *x.* 14; withdraws from Egypt, *x.* 18, 20-21; his end, *x.* 23
- Senacheiros. See Senacheirimos
- Senate, Roman, *B. i.* 174, 284, 298, 346; *ii.* 205-214; *iv.* 596, 600; *A. xii.* 416-417; *xiii.* 164-165; renews treaty with Hyrcanus, *xiii.* 259-260; restores cities to Jews, *xiii.* 261-262; renews treaty with Jews, *xiii.* 265-266; releases Aristobulus' children from captivity, *xiv.* 97; *xiv.* 123; honours Antipater and Hyrcanus, *xiv.* 144-148; passes decrees favourable to Jews, *xiv.* 189; confers high priesthood on Hyrcanus, *xiv.* 199; *xiv.* 207-208, 217-222, 233; makes treaty with Jews guaranteeing their rights against Antiochus the son of Antiochus, *xiv.* 249, 251-252; its decrees favourable to Jews, *xiv.* 252-253, 260, 264; *xiv.* 315; Herod presented to it, *xiv.* 384-385, 388; encourages Herod against Antigonus, *xiv.* 407; decrees that Herod be king, *xiv.* 469; *xiv.* 489; confers privileges on Jews, *xiv.* 207, 209-210, 212, 217, 219, 221, 233; grants rights to Ionian Jews, *xvi.* 48; honours Antipater, *xvi.* 53; *xix.* 2; engages in perfunctory investigation of murderers of Gaius Caligula, *xix.* 158; *xix.* 161; scene of Sentius Saturninus' tirade against tyrants, *xix.* 166; *xix.* 185; urges Claudius to submit to it, *xix.* 227-230; *xix.* 235; Claudius about to yield to it, *xix.* 238; urged by Agrippa I to send a deputation to Claudius to persuade him to lay down his office, *xix.* 239-244; its confusion recounted to Claudius by Agrippa, *xix.* 245; Claudius promises it to behave with propriety, *xix.* 246; meets in Temple of Jupiter Victor but is helpless in the face of the soldiers, *xix.* 248-263; *xix.* 264; Claudius is urged by Agrippa to spare its members, *xix.* 265-266; its decrees attest services of Jews to Julius Caesar against Egyptians, *Ap. ii.* 61; its testimonials to Jews, *ii.* 62
- Senate-house, scene of Julius Caesar's assassination, *A. xiv.* 270
- Sennabris (Ginnabris), village near Tarichaeae, *B. iii.* 448; (Ginnabris) *iv.* 455
- Sennacherib. See Senacheirimos
- Sennacheribos. See Senacheirimos
- Sentius (1), Gaius, father of Gaius Sentius (2), *A. xiv.* 229
- Sentius (2), Gaius, Roman present during promulgation of decree of Lentulus exempting Jews of Ephesus from military service, *A. xiv.* 229 (identified

GENERAL INDEX

- in Niese's index with Gaius Teutius the son of Galus, xiv. 239)
- Seph, city in Upper Galilee, *B. ii.* 573
- Sephar. See *Seria*
- Sephenias (Bibl. Zephaniah), priest second in rank to high priest Seraiah, *A. x.* 149
- Sepphoraëus. See *Sariphaeus*
- Sepphoris (Sepphorites), city in Galilee, *B. i.* 170, 304; *ii.* 56, 68, 511, 574, 629; its revolt, *ii.* 645-646; *iii.* 30-34, 59, 61, 129; *A. xiii.* 338; *xiv.* 91, 414; *xvii.* 271, 289; fortified by Herod Antipas, *xviii.* 27; pro-Roman leanings of its Jewish inhabitants, *V.* 30; intended by Herod the tetrarch, according to Justus, to be subordinate to Tiberias, 37; becomes capital of Galilee because of its submission to Rome, 38; hatred for it by Jews of Tiberias, 39; site of Josephus' headquarters in Galilee, 64; captured twice by Josephus, 82; destination of Josephus after departure from Tarichaeae, 103; its loyalty to Rome, its alarm at Josephus' arrival, 104; its Jewish inhabitants threatened, 111; one of three chief cities of Galilee, its inhabitants reject overtures of John of Gischala, 123-124; fortified by Josephus, 188; is ordered to send assistance to John of Gischala, 203; largest city in Galilee, whither delegation from Jerusalem withdraws, 232-233; its loyalty to Romans, 346-348; makes overtures to Cestius Gallus, is taken by Josephus and nearly destroyed by his soldiers, 373 ff.; detested by assembly at Asochis, 384; obtains help from Cestius Gallus, 394 ff.; is twenty furlongs from Garis, 395; its people salute Vespasian and are given a garrison under Placidus, 411
- Septuagint, commissioned by Ptolemy Philadelphus, *Ap. ii.* 45-47; see also *Aristeus*
- Seraiah (1). See *Saralos*
- Seraiah (2). See *Sareas*
- Seraiah (3). See *Seisa*
- Seraiah (4). See *Serebaïos*
- Serebaïos (Bibl. Seraiah), leader of Jewish exiles returning to Palestine from Babylonia, *A. xi.* 73
- Sered. See *Sarad(os)*
- Sergian, Roman tribe, *A. xiv.* 220
- Sergius, Publius. See *Serrius, Publius*
- Seria (Bibl. Sephar), land (probably in north-western China) inhabited by sons of Joktan, *A. i.* 147
- Seron, governor of Coele-Syria, defeated by Judas the Macabees, *A. xii.* 288, 292
- Serpents' pool, place near Jerusalem, *B. v.* 108
- Serranus, Sextus Atilius. See *Atilius* (1) and (2)
- Serrites (Bibl. Geshurite, Gizrite), neighbours of the Philistines, *A. vi.* 323
- Serrius (var. *Sergius, Sestius*), Publius, present at decree of Roman Senate confirming Julius Caesar's decisions regarding the Jews, *A. xiv.* 220
- Serug, son of Reu, *A. i.* 148-149
- Servianus. See *Servilius* (1)
- Servidius. See *Servilius* (1)
- Servilius (1) (*Servianus*; var. *Servidius*), leader of Roman troops under Gabinius, (*Servianus*) *B. i.* 171; *A. xiv.* 92
- Servilius (2), Gaius, father of Gaius Servilius (3) Bracchus of Teretine tribe, *A. xiv.* 229, 238
- Servilius (3) Bracchus, Gaius, Roman military tribune of Teretine tribe, *A. xiv.* 229, 238
- Servilius (4), Publius, father of Publius Servilius (5) Galba (Roman proconsul), *A. xiv.* 244
- Servilius (5) Galba, Publius, Roman proconsul, his letter to Milesians bidding them to allow Jews to follow their customs, *A. xiv.* 244-246
- Servilius (6) Publius, father of

GENERAL INDEX

- Publius Servilius Strabo, *A.* xiv. 239
- Servilius (7) Strabo, Publius, son of Servilius (6), present at promulgation of decree of Lentulus exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service, *A.* xiv. 239
- Servius (var. Papinius) Sulpicius Quintus, Roman of Lemonian tribe, present at promulgation of decree of Roman Senate confirming Julius Caesar's decisions regarding the Jews, *A.* xiv. 220
- Sesostris, mythical king of Egypt, *A.* viii. 253; said to have blinded Apion, *Ap.* ii. 132
- Sestius, Publius. See Serrius, Publius
- Seth (1), son of Adam, *A.* i. 68-69; in genealogy of Noah, i. 79, 83
- Seth (2), father of Ananus the high priest, *A.* xviii. 26
- Sethos(is) (1), Egyptian king, also called Rameses (II), son of Amenophis III, suppresses revolt against him by his brother Harmais, *Ap.* i. 98-102; known as Aegyptus, expels his brother Hermaeus (Harmais), i. 231; i. 245
- Sethos (2) (Josephus' error for Amenophis), son of Amenophis, flees upon attack of Jerusalem, *Ap.* i. 274
- Sethroite, Egyptian nome containing city of Auaris, *Ap.* i. 78
- Seventy, council of, Galilaeans, *V.* 79
- sexes, interchange of costumes of, forbidden by Jewish law, *A.* iv. 301
- Sextus Caesar, kinsman of Julius Caesar, governor of Syria, *B.* i. 205; interferes in Herod's trial, i. 211; i. 212; appoints Herod governor of Coele-Syria and Samaria, i. 213; his death, i. 216; *A.* xiv. 160, 170, 178, 180, 268-270
- Sextus Calvarius. See Calvarius, Sextus
- sexual relations, solely for procreation, according to Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 199; Jewish laws regarding them, ii. 234
- Shadrach. See Ananias (1)
- Shallum (1). See Sallumos (1)
- Shallum (2). See Sellemos
- Shalmaneser. See Salmanasses
- Shamgar. See Sanagar
- Shammah (1). See Sabaia
- Shammah (2). See Samal
- Shaphan. See Sapha
- Shaphat. See Saphates (1)
- Sharezer. See Seleukaros
- Shaul. See Saar(as)
- Shavsha. See Seisa
- Shealtiel. See Salathielos
- Sheba (1). See Sabaeus
- Sheba (2). See Sabaia
- Sheba (3). See Sabakin(es)
- Sheba (4). See Sabas
- Sheba (5). See Saphas
- Shebna. See Subanaia
- Shechaniah. See Achonios
- Shechem (1) (Sikim, Sikima, Sichem) (Shechemites, Siki-mites), city in Palestine, (Sichem) captured by John Hyrcanus, *B.* i. 63, 92; (Sikimites) *A.* i. 337; (Siki-mites) slain by Jacob's sons, i. 340; (Sikim) Canaanite city, i. 337, 342; (Sikima) place where Joseph's brothers tend their sheep, ii. 18; (Sikima) iv. 305; (Sikima) v. 69; (Sikima) declared city of refuge, v. 91; (Sikima) place where Joshua lives in his old age, v. 115; v. 233, 235; (Shechemites) expel Abimelech from city, v. 240; (Shechemites) v. 243; (Shechemites) their city and rock destroyed by Abimelech, v. 248 250-251; (Shechemites) v. 253; (Sikimites) vi. 140 (Josephus' error for Kenites); (Sikima) viii. 212; (Sikima) city where Jeroboam made his dwelling, viii. 225; xi. 340, 342, 345; (Shechemites) quarrel with Jews in Egypt, xii. 10; xii. 258, 262; captured by Hyrcanus, xiii. 255; xiii. 377
- Shechem (2). See Sychem

GENERAL INDEX

sheepbreeding of Hycsos, *Ap.* i. 82, 91
 shekel, Hebrew coin, *A.* iii. 194; vii. 332
 Shela. See Seles
 Shelah. See Salas
 Sheleph. See Saleph
 Shem, son of Noah, *A.* i. 109; his descendants, i. 143-147; i. 150
 Shemaiah. See Samaias (1)
 Shemeber. See Symmobor
 Shemer. See Somaros
 "Shepherds," the. See Hycsos
 Shephetaiah. See Saphatias
 Sheshbazzar. See Sanabasaros
 Shethar-boznai. See Sarabasan; Sadrakes; Buedon
 Sheva. See Seisa
 Shillem. See Sellim(os)
 Shiloh. See Silo (3)
 Shimeah. See Sama
 Shimei (1). See Samuis
 Shimei (2). See Sumuis (1)
 Shimron. See Samaron (1)
 Shimshai. See Semelios
 Shimshon. See Samson
 Shinab. See Synabanen
 Shinar. See Senaar
 Shishak. See Isokos
 Shobach. See Sebekos
 Shobi ben Nahash. See Seiphar
 Shomron. See Samaria (1)
 Shuah. See Sous
 Shunem. See Sune
 Shuni. See Sounis
 Siagon. See Jawbone
 Siba (Bibl. Ziba), overseer of property given to Memphibosheth by David, *A.* vii. 115-116; servant of Memphibosheth, vii. 205; Saul's freedman, vii. 263; Memphibosheth's steward, vii. 267-268, 271
 Sibatos (Bibl. Aiah), father of Rizpah (Saul's concubine), *A.* vii. 23
 Sibbechai. See Sabreches
 Sibyl, mentions tower of Babel, *A.* i. 118
sicarii, Jewish assassins, their rise, *B.* ii. 254-257; ii. 425; iv. 400-405, 516; vii. 253, 254-262, 275, 297, 311, 410-419, 437,

444; origin of their name, *A.* xx. 186; destroyed by Albinus, xx. 204; kidnap secretary of El-eazar the son of Ananias, xx. 208
 Sichem. See Shechem
 Sicily (Sicilian), *A.* iii. 321; xix. 205; histories of it by Timaeus, Antiochus, Philistus, and Callias, *Ap.* i. 17
 Sidetes. See Antiochus (7)
 Sidon (1) (Sidonians), Phoenician city, admits Pacorus the Parthian, *B.* i. 249; i. 361, 422, 539; ii. 101, 479, 504; *A.* i. 138, 191; its relation to territory of Asher, v. 85; v. 89, 178; send cedar-trees to David, vii. 335; boundary of territory governed by Ahinadab, viii. 36; their help in cutting trees for the temple requested by Solomon, viii. 52, Solomon marries their women, viii. 191; viii. 317, 320; ix. 138, 285; bring cedar wood from Lebanon to Jerusalem, xi. 78; xi. 317, 344; xii. 258, 260, 262; attack Jews, xii. 331; xiii. 329; xiv. 190; Caesar's decrees about Jews inscribed there, xiv. 197; xiv. 203, 206; its Jews given privileges by Antony, xiv. 323; admits Pacorus the Parthian, xiv. 333; Antony refuses to give it to Cleopatra, xv. 95; xvi. 361; xvii. 324; its quarrel with Damascus, xviii. 153
 Sidon (2). See Sidonius
 Sidonius (Bibl. Sidon), son of Canaan, founder of Phoenician city of Sidon, *A.* i. 138
 Sigoph, town in Galilee, *B.* ii. 573
 Sihon, king of Amorites, *A.* iv. 86; is slain, iv. 93; iv. 96
 Sikella (1), place in Judaea, *A.* vi. 310-311
 Sikella (2). See Sekella
 Sikim. See Shechem
 Sikima. See Shechem
 Sikimites. See Shechem
 Silanus (1) (var. Silvanus), Roman praetor, receives order from M. Vipsanius Agrippa, *A.* xvi. 168

GENERAL INDEX

- Silanus (2), Roman governor of Syria, aids Vonones against Artabanus, *A.* xviii. 52
- Silas (1), Jewish commander of the fortress of Lysias in Lebanon, *A.* xiv. 40
- Silas (2), friend of Agrippa I, *A.* xviii. 204; appointed commander of the army by Agrippa, xix. 299; dismissed for his presumption, xix. 317-320; declines Agrippa's offer to release him from prison, xix. 321-325; slain by Ariston, xix. 353
- Silas (3) the Babylonian, deserter to Jews from Agrippa's army, *B.* ii. 520; iii. 11, 19
- Silas (4), Josephus' commander in Tiberias, *B.* ii. 616; warns Josephus of impending sedition at Tiberias, *V.* 89-90; sends letter to Josephus urging him to come at once, 272
- Silo (1), Roman commander under Ventidius, *B.* i. 289-294, 297-299, 302, 309; *A.* xiv. 393; supports Herod, xiv. 394-395; xiv. 397; joins Herod in besieging Antigonus in Jerusalem, xiv. 400, 403; proves an unreliable ally, xiv. 406-408, 412; rejoins Herod, xiv. 418; joins Ventidius against Parthians, xiv. 420-421
- Silo (2), Antonius, Roman commander at Tarichaeae under Vespasian, *B.* iii. 486
- Silo (3) (Bibl. Shiloh), city in Palestine where tabernacle is erected, *A.* v. 68; v. 70; place where Joshua addresses the people, v. 72; v. 79, 150, 170, 343, 357; viii. 206, 267
- Siloam (Valley of the Fountain), pool in Jerusalem, *B.* ii. 340; v. 140, 145, 252, 410, 505; vi. 363, 401
- Silva, Flavius, Roman commander at Masada, *B.* vii. 252, 275-279, 304-315, (407)
- Silvanus (1), Pompeius, Roman consul, *A.* xx. 14
- Silvanus (2). See Silanus
- Simeon (1). See Symeon (1)
- Simeon (2) (Symeon), tribe of, *A.* iv. 141; its territory, v. 82; aids Judah in fight against Canaanites, v. 120; wars on Canaanites, v. 128; pays homage to David, vii. 56
- Simon (1) I, high priest, son of Onias I and father of Onias II, surnamed the Just, *A.* xii. 43, 157-158
- Simon (2) II, son of Onias II and father of Onias III, *B.* vii. 423; *A.* xii. 224, 229, 238; his three sons become high priests, xix. 298
- Simon (3), son of Mattathias and brother of Judas Maccabaeus, repulses Trypho, *B.* i. 49; his military successes and his appointment as high priest, i. 50-53; his death, i. 54; i. 61; called Thatis, *A.* xii. 266; commended by his father for his understanding, xii. 283; invades Galilee, xii. 322, 334; leads fight in Galilee, xii. 350; xii. 419; buries Judas, xii. 432; flees from Bacchides, xiii. 8; avenges murder of his brother John, xiii. 18-19, 22; fights Bacchides, xiii. 28-29; helps Jonathan defeat Apollonius, xiii. 91, 95, 97; appointed commander of army by Antiochus VI, xiii. 146; captures garrison of Bethsur from Demetrius, xiii. 155-156; strengthens fortresses of Judaea, xiii. 180; with Jonathan fortifies Jerusalem, xiii. 181; fortifies fortresses of Judaea, xiii. 183; encourages the Jews after Jonathan's capture, xiii. 197-201; gives hostages for Jonathan's release, xiii. 203-207; buries Jonathan's bones, xiii. 210; erects monument to his father and brothers, xiii. 211-212; liberates Judaea from Seleucid rule, xiii. 213; honoured by Jews, xiii. 214; subdues hostile cities, xiii. 215; razes citadel of Jerusalem, xiii. 217; makes alliance with Antiochus VII, xiii.

GENERAL INDEX

- 223-224; attacked by Antiochus VII, xiii. 225-226; killed by his son-in-law Ptolemy, xiii. 228; xiii. 236; succeeds Jonathan as high priest, xx. 239; high priest, father of high priest Hyrcanus, V. 3; brother of Jonathan the high priest, 4
- Simon (4), son of Dositheus, sent as envoy to Rome, A. xiii. 260
- Simon (5), surnamed Psellus ("the Stammerer"), Josephus' great-grandfather's grandfather, V. 3
- Simon (6), son of Boethus, high priest, Herod marries his daughter (Mariamme), A. xv. 320-321; becomes high priest, xv. 322; relieved of high priesthood by Herod, xvii. 78; his daughter as mother of Herod the tetrarch, xviii. 109; father-in-law of Herod the Great, xviii. 136
- Simon (7), one of Herod's slaves, usurps power, B. ii. 57-59, A. xvii. 273-277
- Simon (8), son of Camith, appointed high priest, A. xviii. 34
- Simon (9), son of Boethus, surnamed Cantheras, appointed high priest by Agrippa I, A. xix. 297-298, 313
- Simon (10), very religious Jew from Jerusalem, denounces Agrippa I as unclean, Agrippa's magnanimity toward him, A. xix. 332-334
- Simon (11), son of Judas the Galilaean, crucified, A. xx. 102
- Simon (12), father of Joseph (Jewish commander at Jericho), B. ii. 567
- Simon (13), father of Joseph surnamed Kabi the high priest, A. xx. 196 (perhaps to be identified with Simon [12], father of Joseph)
- Simon (14), son of Gamaliel, native of Jerusalem, of illustrious family, Pharisee, urges high priests to remove Josephus from command of Galilee, V. 190 ff., 216; popular indignation at Jerusalem against him for seeking to expel Josephus from Galilee, 309 (see also Symeon [2])
- Simon (15), son of Jonathan, sent by supporters of John of Gischala to undermine Josephus' popularity, B. ii. 628, V. 197; is deluded and seized by Josephus, 324-326; Josephus promises him a safe escort to Jerusalem, 330; is dismissed by Josephus to Jerusalem, 332
- Simon (16), leading citizen of Gabara, instigates Gabara to join John of Gischala, V. 124
- Simon (17), brother of John of Gischala, sent by John to Jerusalem to induce national assembly to remove Josephus from command of Galilee, V. 190; successfully bribes Ananias to expel Josephus from command in Galilee, 195; accompanies deputation to seek removal of Josephus from command in Galilee, 201
- Simon (18), Josephus' bodyguard, urges him to commit suicide when Jews of Tarichaeae seek to slay him, V. 137
- Simon (19), son of Saul, Jewish renegade, his heroic death, B. ii. 469-476
- Simon (20), an Essene, interprets Archelaus' dream, B. ii. 113, A. xvii. 346-347
- Simon (21), son of Ananias, heads delegation to Florus, B. ii. 418
- Simon (22), father of Eleazar, chosen general by Jews against the Romans, B. ii. 564; iv. 225 (see also Gion)
- Simon (23), son of Caathas (or of Acatelas, Cathlas, Thaceas), Idumaeen general, B. iv. 235; his abusive reply to Jesus the chief priest, iv. 271-282; v. 249; vi. 148
- Simon (24), son of Gioras, Jewish military leader against Romans, B. ii. 521, 652; iv. 353; joins the brigands of Masada, repels attack of the Zealots, devastates Idumaea, releases

GENERAL INDEX

- his wife from captivity, iv. 503-544; iv. 556, 558, 564; in Jerusalem, iv. 573-584; v. 11-12, 21, 23, 104, 169, 248, 252, 266-267, 278, 304, 309, 322, 358, 423, 440, 455, 473; murders Matthias, his former patron, and others, discovers plot to surrender Jerusalem, v. 527-540; vi. 72, 92, 114, 148, 191, 227-229, 326, 360, 377, 380, 433; vii. 25; is captured, vii. 26-36; vii. 118; his death, vii. 154; vii. 265
- Simon (25), son of Arinus, one of Zealot chiefs, *B.* v. 250; vi. 92, 148
- Simon (26), son of Hosaias, brave Jewish hero, in party of Simon the son of Gioras, *B.* vi. 148
- Simon (27), son of Esron, joins party of Eleazar the son of Simon, *B.* v. 6
- Simon (28). See Atomus
- Simon (29) (Bibl. Maon or, perhaps, Jeshimon), name of a wilderness in Judah, *A.* vi. 280
- Simonias, village on frontier of Galilee, *V.* 115
- Simonides, surnamed Agrippa, younger son of Josephus by his third wife (who came from Crete), *V.* 427
- Simueis. See Samuis
- Sin (perhaps Wilderness of Zin is meant), mountain where Miriam is buried, *A.* iv. 78
- Sinai, mountain where Moses saw burning bush, *A.* ii. 264; ii. 283-284, 291, 323, 349; iii. 1; Hebrews reach it, iii. 62; ascended by Moses, iii. 75-76; iii. 95, 100, 212, 222, 286; Hebrews depart from there, iii. 295; iv. 43; viii. 104; Elijah makes his abode there in a cave, viii. 349; mountain between Egypt and Arabia ascended by Moses, *Ap.* ii. 25
- Sinakes, cognomen of Mithridates, governor of Parthians. See Mithridates (2)
- singers of hymns. See hymns, singers of
- Sinite. See Seinaeus
- Sinope, city in Pontus in Asia Minor, where Herod meets Agrippa, *A.* xvi. 21
- Sisares (Bibl. Sisera), Canaanite general, *A.* v. 199, 204; flees from battle, v. 207
- Sisenna (1), Roman general, *B.* i. 171; *A.* xiv. 92
- Sisenna (2), father of Jonathan, who is sent by John of Gischala to Jerusalem, *V.* 190
- Sisera. See Sisares
- Sisines (Bibl. Tatnai), governor of Syria and Phoenicia, *A.* xi. 12, 89; decides to continue building of the temple, xi. 95; his letter read by Darius, xi. 98; written to by Darius, xi. 104; learns king's wishes, xi. 105
- Sisyphus, mythological figure allegedly punished in Hades, *B.* ii. 156
- Sitnah. See Stena
- slavery (slaves), Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 273; penalty prescribed by Jewish law for abuses of them, *Ap.* ii. 215
- Sleep*, book by Clearchus, is quoted, *Ap.* i. 176-182
- So. See Soas
- Soaemus (1), powerful Arab in Petra, *B.* i. 574; *A.* xvii. 54
- Soaemus (2), king of Emesa, *B.* ii. 481, 483, 500; iii. 68; vii. 226
- Soar(os) (Bibl. Zohar), son of Simeon, *A.* ii. 178
- Soas (Bibl. So), king of Egypt, *A.* ix. 277
- Soba (Bibl. Zobah), kingdom north-east of Palestine, *A.* vi. 129
- Sobacches. See Sabreches
- Socho. See Sochus
- Sochoh. See Sochus
- Sochus (Socho; Bibl. Sochoh, Soco), town in south-western Palestine, *A.* vi. 170; (Socho) viii. 246
- Soco. See Sochus
- Socrates, Greek philosopher, mentioned as genius by Apion, *Ap.* ii. 135; charges against him by Athenians, ii. 263-264

GENERAL INDEX

Sodom (Sodomites), city near Dead Sea, *B.* iv. 453, 483-485; v. 566; Lot settles near there, *A.* i. 170; i. 171; their war with Assyrians, i. 172-175; freed by Abraham from captivity, i. 176-179; i. 182; incur God's anger, i. 194-196; burned, i. 198-203; i. 206; on border of territory of Judah, v. 81

Soemus (1), father of Ptolemy the ruler of Syria, *A.* xiv. 129

Soemus (2), tetrarch in Lebanon, ancestor of Varus (probably identical with Soemus [1]), *V.* 52

Soemus (3) the Ituraean, placed in charge of Herod's wife Mariamme and her mother Alexandra by Herod, *A.* xv. 185; his favour courted by Mariamme, xv. 204-207, 216; accused of intimacy with Mariamme, xv. 227-229

Soganae, village in Lower Galilee, fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188

Soganaea (Sogane), village in Gaulanitis, *B.* ii. 574; iv. 2, 4; (Sogane) its Jews capture Gischala and are then defeated by John of Gischala, *V.* 44-45; (Sogane) fortified by Josephus, 187; (Sogane) Josephus sends counter-embassy to Jerusalem from there, 265 ff.

Sogane. See Soganaea

Sohaemus, brother of Azizus, succeeds him as overlord of Emesa, *A.* xx. 158

Solomon, son of David, Hebrew king, *B.* v. 137, 143, 185; vi. 269; *A.* v. 362; vii. 70; kingdom promised to him by God in vision to Nathan, vii. 93; vii. 106; his birth, vii. 158; vii. 190, 244; instructed concerning the building of the temple, vii. 337-342; plotted against by Adonijah, vii. 347-348, 350, 352; is promised kingdom by David, vii. 353; is anointed king, vii. 355; vii. 356-357; forgives Adonijah, vii. 360-362; army ordered by

David to attend him, vii. 368; commended by David to the people, vii. 372-373; is given plans of the temple, vii. 375-376; prayed for by David, vii. 381; anointed again, vii. 382; receives David's dying charge, vii. 383; buries David, vii. 392; his accession as king, viii. 2; Adonijah seeks from him permission to marry Abishag, viii. 4, 6, 8; orders Joab killed, viii. 13, 15; confines Shimei in Jerusalem, viii. 18; marries daughter of Pharaoh, viii. 21; asks God for wisdom, viii. 23-25; judges dispute between two women, viii. 26-34; father of Basmath, viii. 36; his chariots, viii. 41; his great wisdom and proverbs, viii. 42-49; receives greetings from king of Tyre, viii. 50; requests trees from Tyre, viii. 54; sends gifts to king of Tyre, viii. 57-58; builds the temple, viii. 61-62, 76, 95; prays at dedication of the temple, viii. 107; is blessed by people, viii. 124; description of his palace, viii. 133-140; his exchange of gifts with Hiram, viii. 141-143; poses riddles to and receives them from Hiram, viii. 143, 146, 148-149; marries Pharaoh's daughter, viii. 152; viii. 155, 159; reduces Canaanites to slavery, viii. 160; builds fleet, viii. 164; visited by Queen of Egypt and Ethiopa (Sheba), viii. 165, 168, 175; receives costly gifts from kings everywhere, viii. 182; his foreign wives, viii. 193; punished by God, viii. 198; rebelled against by Hadad, viii. 199; suffers for unlawful acts, viii. 203; suffers rebellion of Hadad, viii. 204; rebelled against by Jeroboam, viii. 205; punished by God by having his kingdom split, viii. 207-208; rebelled against by Jeroboam, viii. 209-210; his death, viii. 211-212; viii. 222, 246, 259, 278, 287;

GENERAL INDEX

- ix. 196, 272; x. 145, 152; xv. 385; how he built the temple, xv. 398; his coffin almost broken open by Herod, xvi. 181; xx. 221; in his day high priests served for life, xx. 228, 230; xx. 231; builds the temple in Jerusalem 143 years before foundation of Carthage, *Ap.* i. 108; his friendship with Hiram, king of Tyre, i. 109-111; his cleverness in solving problems sent to him by Hiram, i. 111; cited by Dios, sends riddles to Hiram, fails to solve riddles of Abdemun of Tyre, i. 114-115, 120; excludes images from the temple, ii. 12; friend of Hiram, builds the temple in Jerusalem, ii. 19; subjugates many nations, ii. 132
- Solomon's pool, on boundary of first (old) wall around Jerusalem, *B.* v. 145
- Solon, Athenian lawgiver, much more recent than Moses, *Ap.* ii. 154
- Solophantes (Bibl. Zelophehad), notable member of tribe of Manasseh, leaves no male heir but only daughters, *A.* iv. 174
- Solyma (1), ancient name for Jerusalem and temple, *B.* vi. 438; *A.* i. 180; vii. 67
- Solyma (2), village in Gaulanitis, boundary of revolt against Agrippa II, *V.* 187
- Solymian hills, inhabited by Phoenicians, according to Choe-rilus, *Ap.* i. 173-174
- Solymites, inhabitants of Jerusalem, pillage Egyptians, *Ap.* i. 248-250
- Solymius, brother of Joseph the Tobiad, *A.* xii. 186
- Somareon (Bibl. Someron), city in Palestine, called Samaria by the Greeks, residence of Omri king of Israel, *A.* viii. 312
- Somatos (Bibl. Shemer), sells site of city of Someron, *A.* viii. 312
- Someron. See Somareon
- Somnaisas. See Subanaïos
- Somora, city bordering on Petra the capital of Arabia, *B.* iv. 454
- Sopatrus, envoy of high priest Hyrcanus, *A.* xiv. 241
- Sophakes, barbarians, take name from Sophon the grandson of Heracles and of the daughter of Aphranes, *A.* i. 241
- Sopheir (Bibl. Ophir), land belonging to India, now called Land of Gold, *A.* viii. 164; viii. 176
- Soplene (Bibl. Zobah), Armenian state, *A.* vii. 99; viii. 204, 259
- Sophim. See Sapheim
- Sophon, son of Didorus and grandson of Heracles, *A.* i. 241
- Sophous (Bibl. Zepho), son of Esau, *A.* ii. 5
- sorcery, ridiculed by Josephus, *V.* 149-150
- Sosas, father of James the Idumaean general, *B.* iv. 235; v. 249; vi. 92, 148, 380
- Sosibius of Tarentum, commander of bodyguard of King Ptolemy Philadelphus, seconds efforts of Aristaeus, *A.* xii. 18, 25
- Sospater, son of Philip, envoy of Jews to Rome, *A.* xiv. 249
- Sossius, appointed governor of Syria, *B.* i. 19; i. 327; joins Herod at Jerusalem, i. 345-357; v. 398, 408-409; vi. 436; *A.* xiv. 176; placed in charge of Syria by Antony, xiv. 447; joins forces with Herod, xiv. 468-469; Antigonius surrenders to him, xiv. 481; is restrained by Herod from plundering Jerusalem, xiv. 484-486; captures Jerusalem on the day of the Fast, xiv. 487; takes Antigonius to Rome, xiv. 488; captures Jerusalem, xv. 1; xx. 246
- Soter (1). See Antiochus (1) and (7)
- Soter (2), surname of Seleucus (3), *A.* xii. 223
- Soter (3), surname of Ptolemy (1) the son of Lagus, *A.* xii. 3, 11
- soul (1), belief in its immortality by Essenes, *B.* ii. 154-158; Josephus' view, iii. 372-375;

GENERAL INDEX

- view of Titus, vi. 46-48;
Eleazar's view, vii. 340-341
- soul (2) and body, view of Jewish law on, *Ap.* ii. 203
- Souma. See Sama
- Sounis (Bibl. Shuni), son of Gad, *A.* ii. 182
- Souos (Bibl. Shuah), son of Abraham and Keturah, *A.* i. 238
- Spain, *B.* ii. 183; iv. 494
- Sparta. See Lacedaemon
- Spartans. See Lacedaemonians
- Spasini Charax (Charax Spasini), place between mouths of Tigris and Euphrates, later name for region of Mesanaeans, *A.* i. 145; xx. 22, 34
- stadium, at Tiberias, *V.* 92, 331
- "Stammerer." See Simon (5)
- statues, lack of in the temple in Jerusalem, *Ap.* i. 199; those of emperors not erected by Jews, ii. 73; Greeks delight in making them, ii. 74
- Stelestinian, Roman tribe, *A.* xiv. 220
- Stella, Arruntius. See Arruntius (3) Stella
- Stena (Bibl. Sitnah), name of well dug by Isaac, signifies "Hatred," *A.* i. 262
- Stephen, slave of Emperor Claudius, *B.* ii. 228; *A.* xx. 113
- Stoecheus, freedman of Agrippa I, *A.* xviii. 204
- Stoics, compared with Pharisees, *V.* 12; similar to Moses in their view of God's nature, *Ap.* ii. 168
- Strabo (1) of Cappadocia, Greek geographer and historian, *A.* xiii. 286-287, 319, 347; xiv. 35, 68, 104, 111, 114, 118, 138-139; confirms Josephus' account of Antigonus' execution, xv. 9-10; cited on motive of Antiochus Epiphanes in plundering the temple in Jerusalem, *Ap.* ii. 84
- Strabo (2), Publius Servilius. See Servilius (6) and (7) Strabo, Publius
- Straton (1), ruler of Beroea in Syria, *A.* xiii. 384
- Straton (2), son of Theodotus, envoy of Jews, *A.* xiv. 248
- Strato's (Straton's) Tower (1), earlier name of Caesarea, *B.* i. 79, 156; annexed to Herod's kingdom, i. 396; i. 408; ii. 97; *A.* xiii. 312, 324, 326, 395; xiv. 76; added to Herod's realm, xv. 217; fortified by Herod, xv. 293; rebuilt by Herod as Caesarea, xv. 331; made subject to Archelaus by Augustus, xvii. 320; xix. 343; xx. 173
- Strato's (Straton's) Tower (2), in Jerusalem, *B.* i. 77; scene of Antigonus' death, i. 80; *A.* xiii. 309, 313
- Stratonice, deserts her husband Demetrius king of Macedonia, and leads revolution against him at Antioch, is stopped by a dream from escaping, *Ap.* i. 206-208
- Stronghold, hill upon which upper city of Jerusalem lies, later called the upper agora, *B.* v. 137
- "Strong(stone)" (Bibl. Ebenezer), landmark near Jerusalem set up by Samuel in Beth-car in commemoration of victory over Philistines, *A.* vi. 28
- Struthion, pool in Jerusalem, *B.* v. 467
- Suba (Bibl. Zoba), invited by Ammanites to become their ally, *A.* vii. 121 (Josephus' apparent mistake of a place-name for a personal name)
- Subanaïos (var. Somnaïos; Bibl. Shebna), in charge of records sent to Assyrians by King Hezekiah, *A.* x. 5
- Succoth. See "Booths"
- Sudaïos, high priest, son of Phideas and father of Juelos, *A.* x. 153
- Sulla (1), Roman dictator, father of Faustus Cornelius, *B.* i. 149; *A.* xiv. 69, 114
- Sulla (2), captain of Agrippa II's bodyguard, in command of troops against Josephus near Julias, *V.* 398; his force is ambushed by Josephus' troops,

GENERAL INDEX

- 401; heartened by news of Josephus' fall from a horse; 405
- Sulpicius Quintus, Servius. See Servius Sulpicius Quintus
- Sumuis (1) (Bibl. Shimei), governor of territory of Benjamin under Solomon, *A.* viii. 37
- Sumuis (2). See Samuis
- sun, regarded as god by Athenians, *Ap.* ii. 265
- sundials, erected by Moses in Heliopolis to replace obelisks, according to Apion, *Ap.* ii. 11
- Sune (Bibl. Shunem), city in Judaea, *A.* vi. 327
- Sunian deme, in Athens, *A.* xiv. 152
- Sur (Sures; Bibl. Zur), a Medianite king, *A.* iv. 141; (Sures) iv. 161
- Sures (1), son of Abraham and Keturah, *A.* i. 241
- Sures (2). See Sur
- Suri, father of Joab, *A.* vii. 11
- Susa (1), metropolis of Persia, *A.* x. 269, 272; Nehemiah receives news from Jerusalem while there, xi. 159; feast held there by Ahasuerus, xi. 187; Mordecai moves thither, xi. 204; haste made there to destroy Jews, xi. 220; xi. 225; its Jews to be gathered by Mordecai, xi. 228; crucifixion before its gates, xi. 280; its Jews, xi. 284; xi. 288; its Jews keep fourteenth and fifteenth of Dystros as festival, xi. 292
- Susa (2). See Seisa
- Susakos. See Isokos
- Sycamina, port south of promontory of Carmel in Palestine, *A.* xiii. 332
- Sychem (Bibl. Shechem), son of King Hamor, ravishes Dinah the daughter of Jacob, *A.* i. 337-338; is slain, together with all other males of his town, by Simeon and Levi, (i. 340)
- Syene, city in Egypt (modern Assuan), *B.* iv. 608, 610
- Syllaeus, Arab governor of Arabia, *B.* i. 487, 534, 566; his intrigues, i. 574-577; i. 583, 605, 633; courts Salome, *A.* xvi. 220, 225; (xvi. 223, 226;) gives refuge to rebels from Trachonitis, xvi. 275, 279, 280, 282; appeals to Augustus on behalf of the Arabs, xvi. 286-294; tries to usurp power from Aretas, xvi. 295-296; his hope of marrying Salome, xvi. 322; accused by Nicolas, xvi. 336-340, 343-350; condemned to death by Augustus, xvi. 351-353; Salome's desire for him, xvii. 10; (xvii. 54;) accused by Antipater before Augustus, xvii. 54-55; implicated in Pheroras' death, xvii. 63; accused by Antipater, xvii. 81; Salome's desire for him, xvii. 139
- Symeon (1) (Bibl. Simeon), born to Jacob and Leah, *A.* i. 304; slays the Shechemites, i. 339-340; retained as a hostage by Joseph, ii. 110; ii. 111-112, 117; rejoins his brothers, ii. 121; ii. 126; his sons, ii. 178
- Symeon (2), tribe of. See Simeon, tribe of
- Symeon (3), son of Gamaliel, outstanding Jewish leader, urges people to punish Zealots, *B.* iv. 159 (probably identical with Simon [13] son of Gamaliel)
- Symeon (4), son of Asamoniaios and father of Joannes, a Jewish priest, *A.* xii. 265
- Symmobor (Bibl. Shemeber), one of five kings of Sodom, *A.* i. 171
- Synabanes (Bibl. Shinab), one of five kings of Sodom, *A.* i. 171
- synagogue of Tiberias, meeting of council there, *V.* 277 ff.; meeting of citizens on Sunday there, 280; Josephus enters there with breastplate and sword, 293
- Synhedrion. See Sanhedrin
- Syphas, son of Aregetes, of royal blood, arrested by Zealots, *B.* iv. 141
- Syria (Syrian[s]) (see also Coele-Syria), *B.* i. 31, 46, 62, 88, 127,

GENERAL INDEX

131, 133, 157, 160, 176, 179-180, 183, 188, 194, 201, 204-205, 218, 224-225, 236, 239, 248, 259, 288, 324, 327, 346, 360, 394, 398-399, 425, 433, 538, 543, 554, 577, 617; ii. 16, 39-40, 91, 97, 186, 239; they oppose Jews at Caesarea, ii. 266-267; ii. 268, 280, 458, 462-463; general rising there against the Jews, ii. 477-478; ii. 506, 591, 625; iii. 7-8, 29, 35, 57, 66; slingers from there repel Jewish assaults, iii. 211; iii. 416; iv. 32, 38, 501, 609, 620, 662; v. 1, 42, 384, 520, 550-551, 556; vi. 54, 317; vii. 18, 43, 46, 59, 96, 220, 367, 423; occupied by Ham and his sons, A. i. 130; (Syrians) Greek name for Aramaeans, i. 144; ravaged by Assyrians, i. 174; ii. 32; vi. 244, 254; fight along with Philistines against David, vii. 74; their king defeated by David, vii. 100-101, 104; vii. 124-125; join Ammanites against David, vii. 127; ruled by Solomon, viii. 39; Solomon founds a city there, viii. 154; its king receives a chariot from Solomon, viii. 189; viii. 203-204, 260, 262; Hazael appointed king of Damascus there, viii. 352; its king, Ben-hadad, besieges Ahab, viii. 363-364, 368, 374; defeated by Ahab, viii. 377-378; defeated again by Ahab, viii. 382-385, 388; Ahab and Jehoshaphat ally against it, viii. 398-401, 403; their victory over Ahab prophesied, viii. 404; Ahab goes out against them, viii. 409; oppose Ahab, viii. 411; defeat Ahab, viii. 413, 416; alliance of Ahab and Jehoshaphat against Ben-hadad its king, ix. 1; their plot against Jehoram foiled, ix. 51; trapped by Elisha, ix. 57-59; attack Jehoram, ix. 61; flee before four lepers, ix. 76, 79, 82; ix. 92; ruled by Hazael, ix. 93;

attacked by Jehoram of Israel, ix. 105-106; wars on Israelites, ix. 159; exact tribute from Joash, ix. 170-171; defeats Jehoahaz, king of Israel, ix. 174; their defeat by Joash prophesied by Elisha, ix. 179, 181; defeated by Jeroboam, ix. 206-207; with Israel attacks Judah, ix. 244-245; ix. 246; defeated by Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, ix. 252-254; their gods worshipped by Ahaz, ix. 255; invaded by Assyrians, ix. 283; x. 82; occupied by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 84, 86; x. 110, 149-150, 222; xi. 12; sends letter to Cambyses, xi. 21-22; xi. 60, 88; Sheshbazzar its eparch and governor, xi. 101; xi. 122; its treasurers written to by Xerxes, xi. 127; xi. 129; Addaios its eparch, xi. 167; its nations hear of building of walls of Jerusalem, xi. 180; xi. 317, 332; taken over by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, after Alexander the Great, xii. 3; script of Jews similar to their (Aramaic) writing, xii. 15; xii. 28; governed by Mucianus, xii. 120; xii. 169; angered at Ptolemy Epiphanes' favourable reception of Joseph the Tobiad, xii. 174; Joseph the Tobiad collects taxes there, xii. 180, 182; celebrates birth of son to Ptolemy Epiphanes, xii. 196; Joseph the Tobiad collects money there, xii. 201; xii. 212; its taxes controlled by Joseph the Tobiad, xii. 224; xii. 234; routed by Judas the Maccabee, xii. 292; xii. 299, 385, 389, 408; invaded by Alexander Balas, xiii. 35; xiii. 58; ruled by Alexander Balas, xiii. 80; xiii. 103, 116, 144, 148, 154, 186, 213 (*bis*); ruled by Demetrius, xiii. 253; invaded by Hyrcanus, xiii. 254; hostile to Demetrius, xiii. 267; ruled by Antiochus Grypus, xiii. 270; xiii. 272, 275, 329,

GENERAL INDEX

351, 367, 369, 371, 374; ruled over by Philip Epiphanes Philadelphus, xiii. 386; xiii. 395, 397, 419-420; xiv. 29, 34, 40, 48; their cities restored, xiv. 77; xiv. 79; governed by Gabinius, xiv. 82; xiv. 100-101; governed by Cassius, xiv. 119; xiv. 123, 129-130, 137, 156; overrun by bandits, xiv. 159; admire Herod, xiv. 160; xiv. 170, 209, 268; taken over by Cassius, xiv. 271; xiv. 279, 294, 297; meeting of Antony and Cleopatra there, xiv. 324; occupied by Pacorus, xiv. 330; xiv. 345, 392, 420; entrusted to Sossius, xiv. 447; xiv. 449; aids Herod in war with Antigonus, xiv. 469; parts of it given to Cleopatra by Antony, xv. 88, 91; xv. 198; aided by Herod during drought, xv. 311; visited by Augustus, xv. 354; xv. 359-360; governed by Cassius Longinus, xv. 406; xvi. 141; benefactions conferred on it by Herod, xvi. 146; xvi. 148, 270, 280, 289, 344; (xvi. 357, 361;) xvii. 6, 24, 89, 132, 221, 250, 286, 303; Jews urge union with it, xvii. 314; gains part of Archelaus' kingdom, xvii. 320; gains Archelaus' territory, xvii. 355; arrival of Quirinius there, xviii. 1-2; sides with Vonones against Artabanus, xviii. 52; xviii. 88; receives tetrarchy of Philip as annex, xviii. 108; xviii. 115; governed by Flaccus, xviii. 150; Petronius appointed its legate, xviii. 261-262; one of them reveals Mithridates' plan to Anilaus, xviii. 355; unite with Greeks to massacre Jews in Seleucia, xviii. 372, 374-375, 378; edict issued by Claudius on behalf of its Jews, xix. 279; xix. 301; Marsus becomes its governor, xix. 316, 326; xix. 340, 365; Longinus appointed its governor, xx. 1; xx. 125; people from there quarrel with

Jews at Caesarea, xx. 173; xx. 175; people from there obtain rescript from Nero cancelling Jewish rights in Caesarea, xx. 183-184; xx. 259; massacre their Jewish residents, V. 25; 30; people from there in Caesarea lead Varus to hope for the throne of the Jews, and he ingratiates himself with them through killing many Jews, 52-53; Philip son of Jacimus urged to lead Jews of Ecbatana against people from there in Caesarea, 59; spoils of its inhabitants of Galilee appropriated by Josephus, 81; 341, 347; Cestius Gallus its governor, 373; 410; destination of Hycsos after leaving Egypt, *Ap.* i. 89; conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, i. 133; taken prisoner by Nebuchadnezzar, conducted to Babylonia, i. 137, 143; its inhabitants in Palestine learn practice of circumcision from Egyptians, i. 169; practice of circumcision by those living on banks of rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, i. 170; practice of circumcision by those in Palestine, i. 171; Dead Sea more extensive than lakes there, i. 174; Jews its philosophers, i. 179; Ptolemy son of Lagus becomes its master, i. 186; its disturbed condition leads Jews to migrate to Egypt and Phoenicia after Alexander's death, i. 194; Stratonice goes there from Macedonia, i. 206; Hieronymus its governor, i. 213; Hycsos pursued to its frontiers, i. 251; Hycsos and lepers pursued by Egyptian king Amenophis to its frontiers, i. 266; invaders from Jerusalem driven back to it by Amenophis king of Egypt, i. 276-277; Jews driven there by Ramesses of Egypt, i. 292, 300; Jews of Alexandria came from there, according to Apion, ii. 33;

GENERAL INDEX

- conquered by Ptolemy Euergetes, ii. 48
- Syria, Lower, *A.* xii. 119
- Syria, Upper, Solomon advances into it, *A.* viii. 153; xiii. 223
- Syros (1), Greek island in the Aegean Sea, birthplace of Pherecydes, *Ap.* i. 14
- Syros (2) (Bibl. Aram Beth-Rehob, Aram Naharaim; Josephus has mistaken an ethnic for a personal name), king of Mesopotamia, *A.* vii. 121; wages war with David, vii. 124
- Syrtes, African tribe, *B.* ii. 381
- TAAU (Bibl. Tahash), son of Nahor, *A.* i. 153
- Tabai (Bibl. Tebah), son of Nahor, *A.* i. 153
- tabernacle, Jewish, building of, *A.* iii. 102-114; its exterior, iii. 115-121; its interior, iii. 122-124; its curtains, iii. 123-133; its ark, iii. 134-138; table there, iii. 139-143; its candelabrum, iii. 144-146; its altars, iii. 147-150; its symbolism, iii. 179-183; erected by Moses, has no images, *Ap.* ii. 12
- Tabernacles, Jewish holiday, *B.* i. 73; ii. 515; vi. 300; regulations in Torah concerning it, *A.* iii. 244-247; iv. 209; viii. 100; celebrated in the new temple, viii. 123; viii. 225; (viii. 230;) celebrated by Zerubbabel, xi. 77; celebrated by Jews returning from Babylonia to Jerusalem, xi. 154; xiii. 46, 241, 372; xv. 50
- Tabor (Itabyrion), Mount, town and mountain in Palestine, *B.* i. 177; (Mt. Itabyrion) ii. 573; iv. 1; captured by Vespasian, iv. 54-61; (Mt. Itabyrion) on border of Issachar's territory, *A.* v. 84; (Mt. Itabyrion) v. 203; (Mt. Itabyrion) its governor under Solomon, viii. 37; xiii. 396; xiv. 102; village in Lower Galilee, fortified by Josephus, *V.* 188
- Tachmonite. See Achemaïos
- Tadmor. See Thadamora
- Taganas (perhaps Bibl. Tatnai), eparch of the Samaritans, written to by King Darius, *A.* xi. 118
- Tahash. See Taau
- Tahpenes. See Thaphine
- Talmal. See Tholomaïos
- Tamar (1). See Thamara (1)
- Tamar (2). See Thamara (2)
- Tanais, river (the modern Don), *B.* vii. 244; furthest point in Asia where sons of Japheth settled, *A.* i. 122
- Tanis (Bibl. Zoan), city in Egypt, *B.* iv. 660; *A.* i. 170
- Tantalus, mythological figure, said to undergo punishment in Hades, *B.* ii. 156
- Taos (var. Daos), Apollonius. See Apollonius (2) Taos
- Tappuah. See Tochoa
- Tarentum, city in Italy, *B.* i. 609; *A.* xii. 18; xvii. 85
- Tarichaeae (Tarichaeans), city in Lower Galilee, *B.* i. 180; ii. 252, 573, 596-597, 599, 602, 606, 608-609, 634-635, 641; iii. 445, 457; taken by Romans, iii. 462-504; iii. 532; iv. 1-2; *A.* xiv. 120; given to Agrippa II by Nero, xx. 159; refuge reached by Josephus after escape from Tiberias, *V.* 96-97; place to which highwaymen of Dabaritta bring goods plundered from wife of Ptolemy, Agrippa II's overseer, 127; its Jewish inhabitants urge Josephus' bodyguards to leave him, 132 ff.; its people express gratitude to Josephus, 143; house of Agrippa II's noble vassals there assaulted by some Tarichaeans, 151; fortified by Josephus, 156; Josephus sees Roman cavalry on road to it, 157; Josephus' soldiers there dismissed to go to their homes for Sabbath, 159; its people not permitted by Josephus to sack Tiberias, 162; friends of Josephus posted at gates there, 163; ten leaders of Tiberias kept under arrest there by Josephus, 168-

GENERAL INDEX

- 169; Josephus arrives there after ruse at Tiberias, 174; fortified by Josephus, 188; Josephus leaves Tiberias for it, 276, 304; Josephus removed there from Cepharnocus after his fall from a horse, 404; reinforcements shipped from there reach Julius, 406
- Tarshish (1). See Tarsus
- Tarshish (2). See Tharsos
- Tarsus (1) (Bibl. Tarshish), capital of Cilicia in Asia Minor, *B. vii.* 238; *A. i.* 127; Jonah sets sail thither, *ix.* 208
- Tarsus (2), Sea of (probably to be identified with Tartessos in Spain, not with Tarsus in Cilicia, as does Josephus here), place where Solomon has many ships stationed, *A. viii.* 181
- Tartan. See Tharata
- Tartarus, Greek gods (Titans) chained there, *Ap. ii.* 240
- Tatnai (1). See Sisines
- Tatnai (2). See Taganas
- Taurians, inhabitants of what is now Crimea, *B. ii.* 366
- Taurus, mountain in Asia Minor inhabited by sons of Japheth, *A. i.* 122; *xi.* 314
- taxation, Josephus' property exempt from it, *V.* 429
- Tebah. See Tabai
- Tedetius (1) (var. Titius), Lucius, father of Publius Tedetius (2), of Pollian tribe in Rome, *A. xiv.* 220
- Tedetius (2) (var. Titius), Publius, of Pollian tribe, Roman senator, present when decree is promulgated confirming Julius Caesar's decisions regarding the Jews, *A. xiv.* 220
- Tekoa. See Thekoue
- Tekoah. See Thekoue
- Tema. See Thaiman
- Teman. See Theman(os)
- Temenus, one of the Heracleidae, ancestor of Glaphyra, wife of Alexander the son of Herod, *B. i.* 476
- temple of the Jews, in Jerusalem, building of (description and measurements), *A. viii.* 63-98; its musicians and servants exempted by Xerxes from taxation, *xi.* 128; its musicians and servants come to Ezra, *xi.* 134; murder of Jeshua committed there by Johanan, his brother, *xi.* 299; description of its Royal Portico, *xv.* 411-416; description of its Second Court, *xv.* 417-419; golden eagle built by Herod over great gate thereof, *xvii.* 151; Herod's efforts in constructing it, *xvii.* 162; disturbance there during Passover, *xvii.* 213-218; slaughter there by Archelaus, *xvii.* 236-237, 239-240; fight between Romans and Jews there at Pentecost, *xvii.* 255; its porticoes destroyed by Romans, *xvii.* 259-263; slaughter there at Pentecost under Archelaus, *xvii.* 313; its completion, *xx.* 219-222; used as asylum by Josephus, *V.* 20; left by Josephus after death of Menahem, 21; Sepphoris fails to aid siege thereof, 348; used as prison, entered by Josephus with Titus' permission, 419; built by Solomon 143 years before founding of Carthage, according to Tyrian archives, *Ap. i.* 108, 126; burning thereof, *i.* 132; burning and re-erection thereof, according to Berosus, *i.* 145; devastation and re-erection thereof, according to Scripture, *i.* 154; agreement in its chronology among Scripture, Chaldaeans, and Tyrian books, *i.* 160; description of it by Hecataeus of Abdera quoted, *i.* 198-199; built by Jews, according to Manetho, *i.* 228; Apion on rites there, *ii.* 7; erected by Solomon, has no images, *ii.* 12; built by Solomon 612 years after Exodus, *ii.* 19; Apion's calumnies about ritual there, *ii.* 79-120; despoiled by Antiochus Epiphanes, *ii.* 80; occupied by successive conquerors, *ii.* 82; raided by Antiochus Epiphanes, *ii.* 83; plundered

GENERAL INDEX

- by Antiochus because of his impecuniosity, *ii.* 84; rules concerning admission to its courts, *ii.* 102-104; other rules concerning it, *ii.* 105-109; dimensions of its gates, *ii.* 119; purpose and description of sacrifices there, *ii.* 193-198
- temples (1) of Egyptians, razed by Persian invaders, *Ap.* *ii.* 129
- temples (2) of Greeks, old and new, *Ap.* *ii.* 254
- ten words (commandments). See Decalogue
- Tephthaeus. See Gephthaeus
- Terah. See Therrus
- Terebinths of Mamre. See Ogyges
- Terentius Rufus, commander of Roman forces which capture Simon ben Giora, *B.* *vii.* 31
- Teresh. See Theodestes
- Teretine tribe, Roman tribe, *A.* *xiv.* 220, 229, 238
- terpole* ("delight"), name of golden vine given as gift by Aristobulus to Pompey, *A.* *xiv.* 35
- Tertius (1), Aulus Furius. See Furius (2)
- Tertius (2), Aulus Furius. See Furius (3)
- Tethmosis (Thoummosis), son of Mispthagmouthis, (Thoummosis) besieges Hycsos, concludes treaty with them, *Ap.* *i.* 88; expels Hycsos from Egypt, *i.* 94, 231, 241; king of Egypt during Jewish exodus, *ii.* 16
- Teutius (1), Gaius, father of Gaius Teutius (2), of Aemilian tribe, *A.* *xiv.* 238
- Teutius (2), Gaius, of Aemilian tribe, Roman military tribune (identified by Niese's index with Gaius Sentius), *A.* *xiv.* 238
- Thaceas. See Cathlas
- Thadal (Bibl. Tidal), Assyrian commander, *A.* *i.* 173
- Thadamora (Bibl. Tadmor), city in Upper Syria built by Solomon, called Palmyra by the Greeks, *A.* *viii.* 154
- Thaenos (var. Thauenos, Thannos; Bibl. Rechab), son of Rimmon and slayer of Ish-bosheth, *A.* *vii.* 46
- Thaglathphallasar(es) (Bibl. Tiglath-Pileser), king of Assyria, *A.* *ix.* 235; (Thaglathphallasaes) bribed by Ahaz to attack Israel, *ix.* 252
- Thaiman (Bibl. Tema), son of Ishmael, *A.* *i.* 220
- Thainos (Bibl. Toi), king of Hamath, makes alliance with David, *A.* *vii.* 108
- Thales, among first Greek astronomers and theologians, *Ap.* *i.* 14
- Thamaniaios (Bibl. Tibni), candidate of one party in Israel for kingship, is killed to allow Omri to rule, *A.* *viii.* 311
- Thamara (1) (Bibl. Tamar), daughter of David, *A.* *vii.* 70, 162, 178
- Thamara (2) (Thamare; Bibl. Tamar), daughter of Absalom, *A.* *vii.* 243; (Thamare) mother of Maachah, *viii.* 249
- Thamare. See Thamara (2)
- Thamna (1) (Bibl. Timnath-serah), city in Judaea, *B.* *ii.* 567; *iii.* 55; *iv.* 444; Joshua is buried there, *A.* *v.* 119; *xiv.* 275 (perhaps to be identified with Thamna [2])
- Thamna (2) (Bibl. Timnah) (Thamnites), Philistine town, *A.* *v.* 286; (Thamnites) *v.* 289; *v.* 296 (perhaps to be identified with Thamna [1])
- Thamnae (Bibl. Timna), concubine of Eliphaz, *A.* *ii.* 5
- Thamnatha (prob. Bibl. Timnath-serah), city in Judaea, fortified by Bacchides, *A.* *xiii.* 15
- Thannos. See Thaenos
- Thaphine (Bibl. Tahpenes), sister of wife of Pharaoh, wife of Hadad, *A.* *viii.* 201
- Thapsa (Bibl. Tiphseh), city in Palestine, *A.* *ix.* 229, 231
- Tharabatha. See Arabatha (2)
- Tharata (Bibl. Tartan), Assyrian commanding officer, *A.* *x.* 4
- Tharbis, daughter of Ethiopian king, marries Moses, *A.* *ii.* 252

GENERAL INDEX

- Thargelion, Delian month, *A.* xiv. 231
- Tharsale. See Tharse
- Tharse (var. Tharsale; Bibl. Tirzah), city in kingdom of Israel, *A.* viii. 299; Baasha buried there, viii. 307; captured by Omri, viii. 310; viii. 312; ix. 229
- Tharsians, name given to his subjects by Tharsos, son of Javan, is ancient name of Cilicia, according to Josephus, *A.* i. 127
- Tharsikes (Bibl. Tirhakah), king of Ethiopia, comes to aid Egyptians, *A.* x. 17
- Tharsos (Bibl. Tarshish), son of Javan, *A.* i. 127
- Thathis. See Thatis
- Thatis (var. Thathis, Matthis), nickname of Simon the son of Mattathias, *A.* xii. 266
- Thaumastus, slave of Gaius Caligula, freed by him, *A.* xviii. 192, 194
- Thaunos. See Thaenos
- Thea Musa. See Thesmus
- theatres, tortures and deaths of Jewish prisoners there, *Ap.* i. 43
- Thebae. See Thebes (2)
- Thebaid. See Thebes (1)
- Thebes (1) (Thebaid), city in Egypt, *B.* vii. 416; (Thebaid) *A.* xi. 345; (Thebaid) its kings revolt against Hycsos, *Ap.* i. 85
- Thebes (2) (Thebae; Bibl. Thebez), town north-east of Shechem, besieged by Abimelech, *A.* v. 251; (Thebae) vii. 142
- Thebes (3), city in Greece, reviled by author of *Tripoliticus*, *Ap.* i. 221; homosexuality rampant there, ii. 273
- Thebez. See Thebes (2)
- Thebuthi, father of the priest Jesus (deliverer of sacred treasures of the temple to Titus), *B.* vi. 387
- theft, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 271-272; *Ap.* ii. 208; penalty for it prescribed by Jewish law, ii. 216
- Theires (Bibl. Tiras), son of Japheth, *A.* i. 125
- Theirians, nation founded by Theires, called Thracians by Greeks, *A.* i. 125
- Thekel*, one of the words (meaning "weight") written on Belshazzar's wall, *A.* x. 244
- Thekoa. See Thekoue
- Thekoe. See Thekoue
- Thekoue (Thekoa, Thekoe; Bibl. Tekoa, Tekoah), city near Bethlehem in Palestine, *B.* iv. 518; (Thekoe) fortified by Rehoboam, *A.* viii. 246; (Thekoa) ix. 12; (Tekoa) village investigated by Cerealius and Josephus as a suitable place for camp for Titus, *V.* 420
- Thella, village near Jordan River, *B.* iii. 40
- Theman(os) (Bibl. Teman), son of Eliphaz, *A.* ii. 5
- Themasios. See Rabezakos
- Theobel (Bibl. Tubal), son of Japheth, *A.* i. 124
- Theobelians, people founded by Theobel, later called Iberians, *A.* i. 124
- theocracy, Jewish constitution a, *Ap.* ii. 165-167
- Theocritos, Greek equivalent of Dan, *A.* i. 305
- Theodectes, Greek tragic poet, afflicted with cataracts when about to mention Biblical matters in one of his dramas, *A.* xii. 113
- Theodestes (var. Theodosites; Bibl. Teresh), plots against Ahasuerus, *A.* xi. 207; mentioned in records, xi. 249
- Theodorus (1), son of Zeno(n), owner of precious possessions in Amathus beyond the Jordan, which were captured by Alexander Jannaeus, *B.* i. 86-87, 89, 104; *A.* xiii. 356, 374
- Theodorus (2), father of Alexander the envoy of the high priest Hyrcanus to Rome, *A.* xiv. 222, 226, 307
- Theodorus (3), Jewish legate of Hyrcanus, *A.* xiv. 252, 254
- Theodorus (4). See Diodorus (2)

GENERAL INDEX

Theodosites. See Theodestes
 Theodosius (1), spokesman for Samaritans, *A.* xiii. 75, 78-79
 Theodosius (2). See Theodotus (1)
 Theodotus (1) (var. Theodosius, Dionysius), Athenian, son of Diodorus, of Sunian deme, presents motion to honour Hyrcanus, *A.* xiv. 152
 Theodotus (2), father of Straton the envoy of Hyrcanus to the Romans, *A.* xiv. 248
 Theodotus (3), writer in Greek (probably a Samaritan), testifies to antiquity of Jews, *Ap.* i. 216
 Theophilus (1), father of Matthias (appointed high priest by Herod), *A.* xvii. 78
 Theophilus (2), brother of Jonathan, made high priest in his stead, *A.* xviii. 123; son of Ananus, removed from high priesthood, xix. 297; father of Matthias the high priest under whom the war against the Romans begins, xx. 223
 Theophilus (3), Greek writer, testifies to antiquity of Jews, *Ap.* i. 216
 Theophrastus, Greek philosopher, cites oath "Corban" of the Jews, *Ap.* i. 167
 Theopompus, Greek historian, *A.* xii. 112; not author of *Tripoliticus*, *Ap.* i. 221; reviles Athens, i. 221
 Theos (1). See Antiochus (2)
 Theos (2). See Antiochus (6)
 Thericleian cups, vessels restored to the temple in Jerusalem by Cyrus, *A.* xi. 15
 Thermodon, river near which Syrians practising circumcision dwell, *Ap.* i. 170
 Thermopylae, pass in Greece, site of brave Spartan stand against Persians, *B.* ii. 359
 Thermus, Lucius, Roman ambassador in Alexandria when Jewish general Onias attacks Alexandria, *Ap.* ii. 50
 Thermuthis, daughter of Pharaoh, *A.* ii. 224-225; adopts Moses

as her son, ii. 232; ii. 236, 243
 Therrus (Bibl. Terah), son of Nahor and father of Abraham, *A.* i. 148-152; migrates to Haran, i. 152; i. 252, 289
 Thesbone (Bibl. Tishbi), city in Galaditis, *A.* viii. 319
 Thesmusa, slave girl, mother of Phraataces, Parthian king, Phraates falls in love with her, *A.* xviii. 40, 42 (perhaps called Thea Musa after she became queen)
 Theudas, false prophet, executed by Fadus, *A.* xx. 97-98
 Theudion (1), Antipater's uncle, *B.* i. 592; implicated in plot against Herod, *A.* xvii. 70, 73
 Theudion (2), father of Tryphon the Jewish envoy to the emperor Claudius, *A.* xx. 14
 Thisri (var. Athyri, Thoire; Heb. Tishri), Hebrew month when people gathered to view the temple, *A.* viii. 100
 Thmosis, Egyptian king, son of Mephramouthosis, *Ap.* i. 95
 Thmuis, city in Egypt, *B.* iv. 659
 Thoire. See Thisri
 Tholomaeus, Jewish arch-brigand, put to death by Fadus, *A.* xx. 1
 Tholomaïos (Bibl. Talmal), king of Geshur, father of Maacah, *A.* vii. 21; (vii. 180)
 Thona. See Thone
 Thone (Athone, Thona), city in Moab, *A.* xiii. 397; seized by Alexander Jannaeus, xiv. 18
 Thoulas (Bibl. Tola), son of Issachar, *A.* ii. 178
 Thoummosis. See Thethmosis
 Thrace (Thracians), form contingent of Herod's guards, *B.* i. 672; ii. 368; *A.* i. 125; ix. 17; (Thracians) at Herod's funeral, xvii. 198; (Thracians) known to Greeks as near neighbours, *Ap.* i. 64; (Thracians) their doctrines appropriated by Pythagoras, i. 165
 Thrakidas, nickname of Alexander Jannaeus, *A.* xiii. 383
 Thresa. See Rhesa

GENERAL INDEX

thrinkos, Greek word for parapet (see *geision*), *A.* viii. 95

Thucydides, Greek historian, accused of error by critics, his reputation for accuracy, *Ap.* i. 18; does not mention Rome, i. 66

Thugramaeans, people founded by Thugrames (Togarmah), called Phrygians by Greeks, *A.* i. 126

Thugrames (Bibl. Togarmah), son of Gomer, founder of Thugramaeans (called Phrygians by Greeks), *A.* i. 126

thymelikoi, (probably) actors and musicians, offered prizes by Herod, *A.* xv. 270

Tiber, river in Italy into which statue of Isis is cast, *A.* xviii. 79

Tiberias (1), city in Galilee, *B.* ii. 168, 193, 252, 573, 599, 606, 608, 614, 616, 618, 629; its revolt, ii. 632-646; iii. 38, 131, 135, 142; revolts, iii. 445-461; iii. 462, 464, 537-538; iv. 11; built by Herod the tetrarch, *A.* xviii. 36-38; Agrippa I given a position there as commissioner of markets by Herod the tetrarch, xviii. 149; Jews there appeal to Petronius not to set up image in the temple, xviii. 269-270, 279; Agrippa I entertains certain kings there, xix. 338; given to Agrippa II by Nero, xx. 159; Jewish factions there in 66, *V.* 31 ff.; intended by Herod the tetrarch, according to Justus, to be superior to Sepphoris, 37; 43, 64, 67-68; captured four times by Josephus, 82; hot baths there, intended visit there by John of Gischala, 85-86; John promotes sedition there, Josephus recalled there but flees for his life to Tarichaeae, 87-107; 120, 123-124, 129, 134, 143-144; Josephus quells revolt there by a ruse, the sham fleet, 155, 157, 163-175, 179; 186; fortified by Josephus, 188; 203; Jonathan's embassy incites it to revolt, 271-286; 302; Josephus

attacks it successfully, 305-335; its responsibility for the revolt against Rome, 340-345; its anti-Roman stand, 349 ff.; 368; makes overtures to Agrippa II, saved by Josephus from rage of the Galilaeans, 381-392; 410

Tiberias (2), Lake of. See Gennesar, Lake of

Tiberius (1) Alexander. See Alexander (24), Tiberius

Tiberius (2) Nero Caesar, Roman emperor, *B.* ii. 168; effigies of him introduced into Jerusalem by Pilate, ii. 169-174; jails Agrippa I, ii. 178-180; restores Tigranes to throne of Armenia, *A.* xv. 105; gives Jews custody of priestly robes, xv. 404-405; successor to Augustus, xviii. 33; Tiberias built in his honour by Herod the tetrarch, xviii. 36; refuses Vonones' request for Armenia, xviii. 51; punishes Mundus, xviii. 79-80; expels Jews from Rome, xviii. 83; his death, xviii. 89; tells Vitellius to negotiate treaty with Artabanus, xviii. 96-97, 101, 103; xviii. 106; annexes Philip's tetrarchy to Syria, xviii. 108; orders Vitellius to capture Aretas, xviii. 115; his death, xviii. 124, 126; father of Drusus, xviii. 143, 146; courted by Agrippa I, xviii. 161-162, 164-166, 168; his dilatory character, xviii. 169-179; saved by Antonia from Sejanus' plot, xviii. 180-182; examines Eutychus' charge against Agrippa and arrests Agrippa, xviii. 183-188; imprisons Agrippa, xviii. 202; his illness, xviii. 205; his proposal to choose his successor, xviii. 211-216; appoints Gaius Caligula to be his successor, xviii. 219-222; his death, xviii. 224-225; news of his death reaches Agrippa, xviii. 228, 231, 234; his burial, xviii. 236-237; conspired against by Sejanus, xviii. 250; displeased by Agrippa's atten-

GENERAL INDEX

- tions to Gaius, xviii. 292, 294 ; his relationship to Gaius, xix. 209
- Tiberius (3) Claudius Caesar. See Claudius
- Tiberius (4) Gemellus, son of Drusus the Younger, grandson of Tiberius Caesar, *A.* (xviii. 166 ;) xviii. 187-188, 191 ; sur-named Gemellus, xviii. 206 ; xviii. 213 ; not selected to suc-ceed Emperor Tiberius, xviii. 215, 219-221 ; put to death by Gaius, xviii. 223
- Tibni. See Thamanaios
- Tidal. See Thadal
- Tigellinus, Sophonius, appointed by Nero praetorian prefect, *B.* iv. 492
- Tiglath-Pileser. See Thaglath-phallasar(es)
- Tigranes (1), son of Glaphyra and of Alexander the son of Herod the Great, *B.* i. 552 ; *A.* xviii. 139-140
- Tigranes (2), king of Armenia, *B.* i. 116, 127, 363 ; *A.* xiii. 419-421 ; xiv. 29 ; father of Ar-tabazes, xv. 104
- Tigranes (3), son of Alexander (9) the son of Alexander, *A.* xviii. 140
- Tigranes (4) III, restored to Ar-menian throne, *A.* xv. 105
- Tigris (Bibl. Hiddekel), river in Mesopotamia, called Diglath, i.e. "narrowness," "rapidity" (in Aramaic), *A.* i. 39
- Timaeus, Greek historian, exposes mendacity of Ephorus, his own mendacity exposed by later writers, *Ap.* i. 16 ; as historian of Sicily disagrees with Antio-chus, Philistus, and Callias, i. 17 ; abuses Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, i. 221
- Timagenes, Greek historian, *A.* xiii. 319, 344 ; cited on Antio-chus' motive in plundering the temple in Jerusalem, *Ap.* ii. 84
- Timber Market, part of Jerusalem, *B.* ii. 530
- Time, personified, witness of excellence of Moses' laws, *Ap.* ii. 279-280 ; witness of Moses' merits, ii. 290
- Timidius, accuses Pompe dius to Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 33-34
- Timius of Cyprus, married to Alexandra the daughter of Phasael and Salampsio, *A.* xviii. 131
- Timna. See Thamnae
- Timnah. See Thamna (2)
- Timnath-serah (1). See Thamna (1)
- Timnath-serah (2). See Thamna-thm
- Timotheus, leader of Ammanites, *A.* xii. 329-330 ; besieges Jews in fortress of Dathema, xii. 337, 339 ; defeated by Judas the Maccabee, xii. 341, 343
- Tiphseh. See Thapsa
- Tiras. See Theires
- Tirathana, Samaritan village, *A.* xviii. 86, 88
- Tirhakah. See Tharsikes
- Tiridates, king of Armenia, brother of Vologeses, *B.* vii. 249 ; given Armenia, *A.* xx. 74
- Tiro, old soldier in Herod's army, expresses indignation at Herod's condemnation of his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, *B.* i. 544, 546 ; is accused by Trypho the barber, i. 547 ; is tortured, i. 548 ; is beaten to death at instigation of Herod, i. 550 ; rebukes Herod for his treatment of his sons, *A.* xvi. 375, 379-386 ; is accused of plot-ting to kill Herod, xvi. 387-391 ; is killed by the mob at Herod's instigation, xvi. 393
- Tirzah. See Tharse
- Tishbi. See Thesbone
- Tishri. See Thisri
- Tisithen, Egyptian name for Moses, *Ap.* i. 290
- Titans, mythological giant divini-ties, (var. *A.* vii. 71) ; chained in Tartarus (*Ap.* ii. 240) ; chained in prison (ii. 247)
- tithes, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 205, 241-243 ; *V.* 63, 80 ; *Ap.* i. 88
- Titius (1). See Tedetius
- Titius (2), governor of Syria,

GENERAL INDEX

- reconciled with Archelaus by Herod, *A.* xvi. 270
- Titus (1) Caesar, Roman commander at Jerusalem and emperor, attests to fact that civil strife ruined Jews, *B.* i. 10; i. 25, 27, 28, 29; iii. 8, 64, 110, 238; captures Japha, iii. 298-307; iii. 324, 396, 399, 408, 446; at Tarichaeae, iii. 471-504; iv. 32, 70-71, 87; at Gischala, iv. 92-120; iv. 130, 498, 501, 597, 627, 658; v. 1; advances on Jerusalem, v. 40-53; is cut off and his life imperilled, v. 54-66; saves legion, v. 81-97; v. 159; at Jerusalem, v. 106-135; v. 258, 281, 289, 292, 295, 303, 310, 316, 319-320, 324-325, 346, 356, 360, 408-409, 422, 446, 450, 455, 463, 486, 491, 519, 522, 530, 540, 553; vi. 33, 54, 82, 93, 118, 124, 130, 146, 163, 228, 230; holds staff meeting, vi. 236-243; vi. 249, 251, 254, 316, 321, 323, 327; his speech to John and Simon, vi. 328-350; vi. 352, 356, 362, 378, 380, 409, 418, 440; vii. 21, 23, 37, 63, 75, 96, 100, 104-105, 111, 119, 124, 128, 152, 308, 450; maintains Jewish privileges in Antioch, *A.* xii. 121-122, 128; xx. 144; captures the temple, xx. 250; author of *Commentaries* on Jewish War, *V.* 358; conducts Jewish war, 359; Josephus presents to him his account of the Jewish war, 361; affixes signature to Josephus' *History of the Jewish War* and orders its publication, 363; is sent to siege of Jerusalem, with Josephus accompanying him, 416; is constantly besought by Romans to punish Josephus as their betrayer, 416; represses Roman soldiers' outbursts against Josephus, 417; urges Josephus to take whatever he wishes from wreck of Jerusalem, 417; is requested by Josephus to free some Jews, gives Josephus some sacred books, 418; is petitioned by Josephus for his brother and fifty friends, permits Josephus to enter the temple, 419; sends Josephus to prospect whether Tekoa is suitable for a camp, 420; orders, upon Josephus' request, that three of Josephus' crucified friends be taken down, 420-421; gives Josephus parcel of ground in the plain to replace his lands in Jerusalem, 422; as emperor shows high esteem for Josephus, 428; keeps Josephus as prisoner under surveillance, *Ap.* i. 48; is sent, accompanied by Josephus, from Alexandria to siege of Jerusalem, i. 48; commander-in-chief in Jewish war, used as witness by Josephus for his account of Jewish war, i. 50; Josephus presents the volume of his *Jewish War* to him, i. 51; occupies the temple in Jerusalem, ii. 82
- Titus (2) Phrygius. See Phrygius, Titus
- Tityus, Greek mythological figure, *B.* ii. 156
- Tobias, father of Joseph the Tobiad, *A.* xii. 160
- Tobias, sons of (Tobiads), *B.* i. 31-32; support Menelaus, *A.* xii. 239-240
- Tochoa (Heb. Tappuah), city in Judaea, fortified by Bacchides, *A.* xiii. 15
- Togarmah. See Thugrames
- Toi. See Thainos
- Tola. See Thoulas
- Tomane. See Labina
- Tomiane. See Labina
- Tongius (1), Titus, Roman, father of Titus Tongius (2) of Crustumian tribe, *A.* xiv. 229
- Tongius (2), Titus, Roman of Crustumian tribe, present when Lentulus issues decree exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service, *A.* xiv. 229, 238
- toparchy, division of a political district, *B.* ii. 98, 167, 252, 509,

GENERAL INDEX

- 567, 652; iii. 48, 54-55; iv. 444, 504, 511, 551; A. viii. 35; xiii. 102; xvii. 25
- Trachon. See Trachonitis
- Trachonitis (Trachon) (Trachonites), region in Coele-Syria south of Damascus, added to Herod's realm, B. i. 398; i. 400; inherited by Philip, i. 668; its archers, ii. 58; ii. 95, 215, 247, 421; iii. 56, 510, 512, 542; founded by Uz, A. i. 145; xiii. 427; given to Herod by Augustus, xv. 343-345; on border of Zenodorus' territory, xv. 360; (Trachon) its people revolt against Herod, xvi. 130; rebels against Herod's rule, xvi. 271, 273; subdued by Herod, xvi. 276, 285; its people resort to brigandage, xvi. 292; its brigands flee to Arabia, xvi. 347; (Trachonites) Herod attempts to free himself from their danger to him by settling Babylonian Jews in Batanaea nearby, xvii. 23, 25-26; bequeathed by Herod as tetrarchy to Philip, xvii. 189; given to Philip by Augustus, xvii. 319; ruled by Philip the tetrarch, xviii. 106; xviii. 137; granted to Agrippa II, xx. 138; joins Varus, viceroy of Agrippa II, in attack on "Babylonian Jews" in Ecbatana, V. 54; forcible circumcision of two nobles from there is prevented by Josephus, 112-113
- Trajan, Roman commander of tenth legion, captures Japha, B. iii. 289-307; iii. 458, 485; iv. 450
- Tralles, city in Asia Minor, Jews' rights there reaffirmed, A. xiv. 242; xiv. 245
- Transjordan, A. xvii. 254
- Treasury, in Rome, depository of decrees of the Senate, A. xiv. 219, 221; at Palatine, xix. 223
- Trebellius Maximus, Roman, smashes image of Gaius Caligula in Sentius Saturninus' ring, A. xix. 185
- tribal chief. See phylarch
- Tripolis, city in Syria, aided by Herod, B. i. 422; A. xii. 389; xiii. 279; xiv. 39
- Tripoliticus*, pamphlet attacking Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, not written by Theopompus, Ap. i. 221
- Troglodytis (Troglodytes), name of Arabian shore of Red Sea, A. i. 239; bequeathed to descendants of Keturah, ii. 213; (Troglodytes) their women customarily take charge of flocks, ii. 259
- Trojan War, warriors in it were ignorant of writing, Ap. i. 11-12; nearly a thousand years later than Hycsos, i. 104
- Tromentina. See Menenian
- Trypho (1), Herod's barber, accuses Tiro of plotting to kill Herod, B. i. 547-548, A. xvi. 387; (xvi. 393)
- Trypho (2) (Tryphon), Diodotus, guardian of young Antiochus, B. i. 49-51; general of Alexander Balas, xiii. 131-132; xiii. 143-144, 147, 186; his plot against Jonathan, xiii. 187-190; captures Jonathan by treachery, xiii. 191-193; marches on Judaea, xiii. 196-197; xiii. 202; his treachery toward the Jews, xiii. 202-208; kills Jonathan, xiii. 209; kills Antiochus VI and claims throne, xiii. 218-222; defeated by Antiochus VII, xiii. 223; his death, xiii. 224; kills Jonathan the high priest, xx. 239
- Tryphon (1). See Trypho (2)
- Tryphon (2), jester of Ptolemy Epiphanes, A. xii. 212-213
- Tryphon (3), son of Theudion, Jewish envoy to Emperor Claudius, A. xx. 14
- Tubal. See Theobel
- Tubal-Cain. See Jubel
- Tullius Cicero, M. See Cicero, M.
- Tullius
- Tusculum, city in Italy, A. xviii. 179
- Tutimaeus, Egyptian king, over

GENERAL INDEX

- thrown by Hycsos invaders, *Ap.* i. 75
- Typhon, Egyptian god to whom city of Anaris is dedicated, *Ap.* i. 237
- Tyrannius Priscus. See Priscus (2)
- Tyrannus, officer of Herod, *B.* i. 527; Herod's bodyguard, *A.* xvi. 314; killed at Antipater's prompting, xvi. 327
- Tyre (1) (Tyrians), city in Phoenicia, *B.* i. 147, 231, 238, 245, 249, 275, 361, 422, 543; ii. 239, 459, 478, 504, 588; iii. 35, 38-39; iv. 105; sends gift of cedar wood to David, *A.* vii. 66, 335; their king sends greetings to Solomon, viii. 50; viii. 55, 57, 62; sends craftsmen to build the temple, viii. 76; Hiram its king, viii. 141-142; their records translated into Greek, viii. 144; Abdemon one of their citizens, viii. 149; viii. 163; Solomon marries their women, viii. 191; viii. 317; Jezebel builds temple to one of their gods, viii. 318; viii. 320; Ithobalos its king, viii. 324; worship Baal, ix. 138; their archives, ix. 283; ix. 285-286; their archives, ix. 287; besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, x. 228; xi. 317, 319-321, 325; attacks Jews, xii. 331; xiii. 154; Demetrius II put to death there, xiii. 268; xiv. 62, 120; Julius Caesar's decrees about Jews inscribed there, xiv. 197; xiv. 288, 290, 297-298, 305; commanded to restore possessions to Jews, xiv. 313; its Jews given privileges by Antony, xiv. 314; commanded by Antony to return Jewish possessions, xiv. 319; xiv. 327; exclude the Parthian Pacorus, xiv. 333; Antony refuses to give it to Cleopatra, xv. 95; xv. 169; xvi. 370; xviii. 150; xx. 125; its Jews capture Gischala in 66, but are then defeated by John of Gischala, *V.* 44-45; 372; Vespasian arrives there accompanied by Agrippa II, 407; reprimanded by Vespasian for insulting Agrippa II, 408; bitterest enemies of Jews among the Phoenicians, *Ap.* i. 70; its archives record that Solomon built the temple 143 years before foundation of Carthage, i. 107-108; Hiram its king, i. 109; temple of Zeus there, i. 113; evidence of Menander of Ephesus concerning its kings, i. 117; temple of Zeus there, i. 118; Philostratus mentions its siege, i. 144; besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, i. 156; its kings enumerated, i. 156-159; its siege begun by Nebuchadnezzar, i. 159; their books agree with Jewish Scripture and Chaldean books on chronology of the temple, i. 160; their laws prohibiting use of foreign oaths cited by Theophrastus, i. 167
- Tyre (2), city in Transjordan near Heshbon built by Hyrcanus, *A.* xii. 233
- Tyrian (1) coin, *B.* ii. 592
- Tyrian (2) purple, *A.* viii. 185
- "Tyrians (Tyre), Ladder of the," mountain range north of Ptolemais in Galilee, *B.* ii. 188; *A.* xiii. 146
- Tyropoeon. See Cheesemakers, Valley of
- Tyrrhenians, Italian people (Etruscans), given citizenship by Romans, *Ap.* ii. 40
- ULATHA, village in Syria, given to Herod, *A.* xv. 360; xvii. 25
- Unleavened Bread, Festival of. See Passover
- Upper City. See Jerusalem, topography
- Ur (1), Chaldaean city where Haran died, *A.* i. 151
- Ur (2) (Bibl. Hur), husband of Miriam, *A.* iii. 54
- Ures (1) (Bibl. Hur), Midianite king, *A.* iv. 161
- Ures (2) (Bibl. Ben Hur), governor of Ephraim under Solomon, *A.* viii. 35

GENERAL INDEX

Uri, father of Bezalel, *A.* iii. 105
 Uriah, husband of Bath-sheba, *A.* vii. 131; his death planned by David, vii. 134-140; his death reported to David, vii. 141, 144; vii. 146, 153-154, 391
 Urias (1), father of Hiram the Tyrian craftsman, *A.* viii. 76
 Urias (2), high priest, son of Jothamos, *A.* x. 153
 Urus (Bibl. Hul), son of Aram the son of Shem, founder of Armenia, *A.* i. 145
 Uses (Bibl. Uz), son of Aram the son of Shem, founder of Trachonitis and Damascus, *A.* i. 145
 usury, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 266
 Utica (Uticans, Itykaians), city in northern Africa, north-west of Carthage, (Itykaians) Hiram's successful campaign against them, *A.* viii. 146; successful campaign against it by Hiram, *Ap.* i. 119
 Ux (Bibl. Uz), son of Nahor, *A.* i. 153
 Uz (1). See Uses
 Uz (2). See Ux
 Uzal, son of Joktan, *A.* i. 147
 Uzzah. See Ozas
 Uzzi (1). See Jotham(os) (1)
 Uzzi (2). See Ozis
 Uzziah. See Ozias

VALE, the, region beginning at Carmel, won by tribe of Asher, *A.* v. 85

Valens, Fabius, general of Vitellius, *B.* iv. 547

Valerianus, decurion sent by Vespasian to Tiberias with peace proposals, *B.* iii. 448-452

Valerius (1) Asiaticus, Roman consul, *A.* xix. 102, 159; claimant to the empire after Gaius' death, xix. 252

Valerius (2). See Gratus (2)

Valerius (3). See Messala

Valerius (4), Lucius, father of Lucius Valerius (5) the praetor (or consul), *A.* xiv. 145

Valerius (5), Lucius, Roman praetor (or consul), *A.* xiv. 145

Valley of Antiochus. See Antiochus, Ravine (Valley) of
 "Valley of Blessing." See "Blessing, Valley of"

Valley of Cheesemakers. See Cheesemakers, Valley of

Valley of the Cilicians. See Cilicians, Valley of the

Valley of the Fountain. See Siloam

Valley of the Giants. See Giants, Valley of the

Valley of Kings. See "royal plain"

Vardanes, son of Artabanus, succeeds his father as king of Parthia, contemplates war against the Romans, *A.* xx. 69, 71; his death, xx. 73

Varro, Roman governor of Syria, *B.* i. 398; *A.* xv. 345

Varus (1), Quintilius, Roman governor of Syria, *B.* i. 20, 617-618, 620, 622, 625, 627-628, 636, 639-640; ii. 16-18, 25, 39-41, 45, 54; marches to aid Sabinus, ii. 66-75; quells Idumaeen revolt, ii. 76-79; ii. 80, 83; *A.* xvii. 89; hears Herod accuse Antipater, xvii. 91, 93, 118, 120; hears Antipater's defence, xvii. 127; his advice to Herod, xvii. 131-133; prevents Sabinus from taking Herod's property, xvii. 221-222, 229; puts down revolt in Judaea, xvii. 250-252; called to aid Sabinus in putting down revolt of Jews, xvii. 256, 268; comes to aid of Sabinus and subdues revolt, xvii. 286, 288-300; urges Philip to go to aid of Archelaus, xvii. 303; invades Judaea, *Ap.* i. 34

Varus (2) (Noarus), friend of Agrippa II, (Noarus: identified by Schürer with Varus) *B.* ii. 247; (Noarus) relative of King Soaemus of Emesa, *B.* ii. 481-483; viceroy of Agrippa, receives letter from Philip son of Jacimus, *V.* 48-49; slays envoys from Philip, 50, 52; slays many Jews to ingratiate

GENERAL INDEX

- himself with Syrians of Caesarea, 53; massacres "Babylonian Jews" in Ecbatana, 54 ff.; recalled by Agrippa, 61, 180
- Vashti. See Aste
- Ventidius, Roman general, *B. i.* 288-291, 309, 317; *A. xiv.* 392; supports Herod, *xiv.* 394-395; recalls Silo, *xiv.* 420-421; sends Machaeras to aid Herod, *xiv.* 434
- Veranius, Roman envoy from Senate to Claudius, *A. xix.* 234
- Vespasian, Roman commander in Judaea, later emperor, *B. i.* 21, 23; commander in Judaea, *iii.* 3-8; *iii.* 29-34, 59, 110, 115, 127; destroys Gabara, *iii.* 132-134; invests Jotapata, *iii.* 141-339; captures Josephus, *iii.* 344-398; his accession as emperor predicted by Josephus, *iii.* 399-408; quarters his troops for the winter in Caesarea and Scythopolis, *iii.* 409-413; takes Joppa, *iii.* 417-431; visits Agrippa, *iii.* 443-444; subdues Tiberias, *iii.* 445-461; captures Tarichaeae, *iii.* 462-504; destroys Jewish fleet in naval battle on Lake Gennesar, *iii.* 522-531; decides fate of rebels at Tarichaeae, *iii.* 532-542; at Gamala, *iv.* 11-53; at Mt. Tabor, *iv.* 54-61; at Gamala, *iv.* 62-83; *iv.* 87, 130, 218, 336; his reasons for not attacking Jerusalem, *iv.* 366-376; marches on Jerusalem and takes Gadara, *iv.* 410-418; *iv.* 419, 441-450, 477; isolates Jerusalem, *iv.* 486-490; *iv.* 491, 497-498; in Judaea, *iv.* 550-555; is exasperated at news of accession of Vitellius, *iv.* 588-604; in Egypt, *iv.* 616-617; general acclamation of his accession, *iv.* 618-622; frees Josephus, *iv.* 622-629; *iv.* 630, 636-637, 644, 655-657; *v.* 43, 69, 408-409; *vi.* 269, 313, 435; *vii.* 21-22, 46, 59; in Rome, *vii.* 63-74; *vii.* 75, 82, 92; his triumph in Rome, *vii.* 123-157; *vii.* 158-162, 216, 219, 239, 308, 420, 433, 450; demonstration of exorcism of demons held before him, *A. viii.* 46; maintains Jewish privileges in Antioch, *xii.* 121-122, 128; his generosity toward the Jews, *xii.* 128; appoints Alexander king of Cetus, *xviii.* 140; expels Sebasteni, *xix.* 366; emperor when Josephus' children are born, *V.* 5; author of *Commentaries*, telling of attack of Justus of Tiberias on Decapolis, appealed to by Decapolis to punish Justus, 342-343; his arrival with his army causes Justus to lay down his arms, pardons Justus upon intercession of Agrippa II, 352, 355; conducts Jewish war, 359; Josephus presents him account of Jewish war, 361; arrives at Tyre, accompanied by Agrippa II, 407; reprimands Tyrians for insulting Agrippa, 408; receives remonstrances from leaders of Decapolis against Justus of Tiberias at Ptolemais, 410; saluted by Sepphorites, 411; arrives in Galilee, 411; holds Josephus in honour, commands Josephus to marry one of the women taken captive at Caesarea, 414; is accompanied by Josephus to Alexandria, 415; treats Josephus with great consideration, gives him lodging, makes him Roman citizen, assigns him a pension, 423; condemns Jonathan, Jewish revolutionary leader in Cyrene, to death, 425; Titus succeeds him as emperor upon his death, 428; keeps Josephus as prisoner under surveillance, *Ap. i.* 48; commander-in-chief in Jewish war, used as witness by Josephus for his account of Jewish war, *i.* 50; Josephus presents the volume of his *Jewish War* to him, *i.* 51
- vessels, carrying of into the temple, prohibited, *Ap. ii.* 106

GENERAL INDEX

- Vesuvius, Mount, in Italy, its eruption (79), *A.* xx. 144
- Vetilianus, Sextus Cerealius. See Cerealius (1)
- Vettulenus. See Cerealius (1)
- Veturian tribe, Roman tribe, *A.* xiv. 229, 238
- Vetus, C. Antistius. See Antistius Vetus, C.
- Victor (Nicon), Roman engine of war, *B.* v. 299, 301
- Victoria (Nike), Roman goddess, *B.* vii. 151
- Vienna, city in Gaul, *B.* ii. 111; *A.* xvii. 344
- Vindex, C. Julius, prefect of Gallia Celtica, revolts against Nero, *B.* iv. 440
- Vinicianus, Annius. See Annius (3) Vinicianus
- Vinicius (var. Minucianus), Marcus, brother-in-law of Gaius Caligula, *A.* xix. 102; claimant to the empire after death of Gaius, xix. 251
- Vipsanius Agrippa, M. See Agrippa (1), Marcus Vipsanius
- virgins, Ahasuerus' search for most beautiful, *A.* xi. 196
- virtues, cardinal, made departments of religion by Moses, *Ap.* ii. 170
- Vita.* See Josephus (1), works: *Vita*
- Vitellius (1), Roman general and emperor, *B.* iv. 495, 546-547, 549, 586-588, 594, 596, 598, 606, 619, 632; Antonius Primus cuts his army to pieces and enters Rome, iv. 633-650; is butchered to death, iv. 651-655
- Vitellius (2), governor of Syria, *A.* xv. 405; ordered by Claudius to allow Jews to retain priestly robes, xv. 407; sends Pilate to Rome, xviii. 88-89; remits taxes and restores to Jews custody of priestly vestments, xviii. 90, 95; told by Tiberius to negotiate treaty with Parthian king Artabanus, xviii. 97, 99, 104; anticipated by Herod the tetrarch in reporting treaty with Artabanus to Tiberius, xviii. 104-105; commanded to capture the Arab king Aretas, xviii. 115; his expedition against Aretas halted by news of Tiberius' death, xviii. 120; gives up expedition against Aretas, xviii. 125-126; succeeded by Petronius, xviii. 261; allows Jews to keep priestly vestments, xx. 12
- Vitellius (3), Proclus, Roman centurion, *A.* xix. 307
- Vologeses. See Bologeses
- Volumnius (1), Roman procurator, *B.* i. 538, 542; governor of Syria, tries to mediate dispute between Herod and Arabs, *A.* xvi. 277, 280, 283; attempts to mediate between Herod and Syllaenus the Arab, xvi. 344; advises Herod to put his sons to death, xvi. 369
- Volumnius (2), military tribune, friend of Herod, *B.* i. 535; *A.* xvi. 332; delivers letters from Herod to Augustus, xvi. 354 (perhaps identical with Volumnius [1])
- Vonones, Parthian king, son of Phraates, conducts civil war with Artabanus, *A.* xviii. 46, 48-49, 51-52
- WAGES, Jewish law of, *A.* iv. 288
- war, provisions for, according to Jewish law, *A.* iv. 292-300
- water, abstention of Pythagoras from thirst-producing, *Ap.* i. 164
- Weeks. See Pentecost
- Well of the Oath. See Bersubai (1)
- Weeping Groves, place near Jerusalem, *A.* vii. 76
- Wilderness. See Sin
- witnesses, Jewish law on, *A.* iv. 219
- woman, inferiority of, according to Jewish law, *Ap.* ii. 201
- Women's (1) Court, in the temple in Jerusalem, *B.* v. 198-200, 204
- "Women's (2) towers," in Jerusalem, *B.* v. 55, 110
- wood-carrying, feast of, *B.* ii. 425

GENERAL INDEX

writing, Greek ignorance of, at time of Trojan War, *Ap.* i. 11
 Writings, four books of, in Jewish Scriptures, *Ap.* i. 40

XALOTH (var. *Exaloth*), village on southern frontier of Galilee, *B.* iii. 39; Josephus goes there to wait upon delegation from Jerusalem, *V.* 227

Xanthicus (*Xanthikos*), first month in Macedonian calendar, equivalent to Hebrew Nisan, *B.* iv. 577; *v.* 99, 567; *vi.* 290; *vii.* 401; *A.* i. 81; *ii.* 311; month when Jews left Egypt, *ii.* 318; tabernacle consecrated then, *iii.* 201; month when Passover is celebrated, *iii.* 248; month when Miriam died, *iv.* 78; *xi.* 109

Xanthikos. See *Xanthicus*

Xelios. See *Chasleus*

Xenander (var. *Menander*), father of *Eucles*, Athenian of *Aithalidean* deme, *A.* xiv. 150

Xenios. See *Chasleus*

Xerxes, Persian king, *B.* ii. 86, 358; succeeds *Darius* as king, *A.* xi. 120; friend of *Ezra*, *xi.* 121; his letter to satraps about Jews, *xi.* 123; *xi.* 135; *Nehemiah* his cup-bearer, *xi.* 159; twenty-fifth year of his reign, *xi.* 168; wall of Jerusalem completed in twenty-eighth year of his reign, *xi.* 179; *xi.* 183-184; succeeded by *Artaxerxes*, *Ap.* i. 40; his expedition against Greece includes Jews, *i.* 172-173

Xystus, place of exercise in Jerusalem connected with the temple by a bridge, *B.* ii. 344; *iv.* 581; *v.* 144; *vi.* 191, 325, 377; (*A.* xx. 189)

YEAR of Jubilee. See *Jubilee*, Year of

Young Caesar. See *Augustus*

ZABADIAS (Bibl. *Zebadiah*), appointed an officer by *Jehoshaphat*, *A.* ix. 6

Zabdi. See *Zebedee*

Zabeilus, Arab chieftain, *A.* xiii. 118

Zabidus, Idumaean who, according to *Apion*, dresses as *Apollo* and steals the ass's head from the temple, *Ap.* ii. 112-114

Zabron (Bibl. *Ezbon*), son of *Gad*, *A.* ii. 182

Zabuda (Bibl. *Zebudah*), mother of *Jehoiakim*, *A.* x. 83

Zabul (Bibl. *Zebul*), friend of *Abimelech*, *A.* v. 243-246

Zabulon (1) (Bibl. *Zebulun*), born to *Jacob* and *Leah*, *A.* i. 308; his sons, *ii.* 179

Zabulon (2) (Bibl. *Zebulun*), tribe of, its territory, *A.* v. 84; *Elon* a member thereof, *v.* 272; pays homage to *David*, *vii.* 58; many thereof converted to piety in days of *Hezekiah*, *ix.* 267

Zachariah. See *Zacharias* (5)

Zacharias (1), son of *Amphicalleus*, priest, Zealot leader, *B.* iv. 225

Zacharias (2), son of *Baris*, eminent Jew, given mock trial and murdered by Zealots, *B.* iv. 335-343

Zacharias (3) (Bibl. *Zechariah*), son of *Jehoiada* the high priest, *A.* ix. 168-169, 171

Zacharias (4) (Bibl. *Zichri*), general of the Israelites, *A.* ix. 247

Zacharias (5) (Bibl. *Zachariah*), son and successor to *Jeroboam*, king of Israel, *A.* ix. 215; his death, *ix.* 228-229

Zacharias (6), father of *Joseph* the commander under *Judas* the Maccabee, *A.* xli. 333, 350

Zadok. See *Sadok*

Zaleucus, lawgiver to *Locrians*, much more recent than *Moses*, *Ap.* ii. 154

Zalmunna. See *Zarmunes*

Zamaris, Babylonian founder of settlement of *Bathyraea*, *A.* xvii. 29

Zambrias (1) (Bibl. *Zimri*), chief of tribe of *Simeon*, *A.* iv. 141; defies *Moses*, *iv.* 145; killed by *Phinehas*, *iv.* 150-154; *iv.* 159

GENERAL INDEX

- Zambrias (2) (Bibl. Zimri), commander of horsemen under Elah king of Israel, slays Elah, *A.* viii. 307-308; becomes king of Israel, viii. 309; his death, viii. 310-311
- Zaraios (Bibl. Zerah), king of Ethiopia, attacks Asa, *A.* viii. 292; defeated by Asa, viii. 293
- Zarasa (var. Gazasa, Gazaga; Bibl. Zeresh), wife of Haman, *A.* xi. 245; advises Haman to crucify Mordecai, xi. 246
- Zarephath. See Sarephtha
- Zarmunes (Bibl. Zalmunna), chief of Midianites, *A.* v. 288
- Zealots, *B.* ii. 651; iv. 160-161, 302-310, 490, 514-558; v. 3, 5, 7, 101-103, 250, 358, 528; vi. 92, 148; vii. 268
- Zeb (Bibl. Zeeb), king of Midianites, killed by Israelites, *A.* v. 227
- Zebadiah. See Zabadias
- Zebah. See Zebes
- Zebedee (Bibl. Zabdi), father of Achan, *A.* v. 33
- Zebes (Bibl. Zebah), chief of Midianites, *A.* v. 228
- Zebeke (Bibl. Bezek) (Zebekeni-ans), city in Canaan, *A.* v. 121; (Zebekeni-ans) v. 121
- Zebinas, Alexander. See Alexander (3) Zebinas
- Zebudah. See Zabuda
- Zebul. See Zabul
- Zebulun. See Zabulon
- Zechariah (1), prophet, encourages Jews, *A.* xi. 96, 106
- Zechariah (2). See Zacharias (3)
- Zedekiah (1). See Sacchias
- Zedekiah (2). See Sedekias (1)
- Zeeb. See Zeb
- Zelophehad. See Solophantes
- Zelpha. See Zelhaph
- Zelhaph (Zelpha; Bibl. Zilpah), handmaid of Leah, concubine of Jacob, *A.* i. 303; (Zelpha) gives birth to two sons, i. 306; her children, ii. 182
- Zemaraim. See Samaron, Mt.
- Zemarite. See Samaraeus
- Zembran(es) (Bibl. Zimran), son of Abraham and Keturah, *A.* i. 238
- Zena. See Zeus
- Zeno (1). See Zenodorus
- Zeno (2) (Zenon), surnamed Cotulas (Cotylas), *B.* i. 60; despot of Philadelphia, father of Theodorus, i. 86; ruler of Philadelphia, surnamed Cotylas, *A.* xiii. 235; xiii. 356, 393
- Zeno (3), Greek Stoic philosopher, mentioned as genius by Apion, *Ap.* ii. 135
- Zenodorus (Zeno), leases domain of Lysanias, *B.* i. 398-399; his death, i. 400; (Zeno) ii. 95; loses his territory of Trachonitis to Herod, *A.* xv. 344-345, 349; stirs up Arabs against Herod, xv. 352, 355; his death, xv. 359; his territory given to Herod, xv. 363; Trachonitis taken from him and given to Herod, xvi. 271; a portion of his domain given to Philip by Augustus, xvii. 319
- Zenon. See Zeno (2)
- Zephaniah. See Sephenias
- Zephathah. See Saphatha
- Zepho. See Sophous
- Zephyrion, place in Cilicia in Asia Minor, *B.* i. 456
- Zerah (1). See Zaraios
- Zerah (2). See Ezele(os)
- Zeresh. See Zarasa
- Zerubbabel. See Zorobabelos
- Zeruiah. See Saruia
- Zetho. See Berzetho
- Zeugma, city on right bank of upper Euphrates in region of Samosata, *B.* vii. 105
- Zeus (Zena), Enyalios ("the Warlike"), his sacred vessels taken by priests from Tower of Babel to Senaar in Babylonia, *A.* i. 119; his temple in Tyre, viii. 145; his temple in Tyre adorned by Hiram, viii. 147; (Zena) accusative case of Zeus, identified by Aristaeus with Jewish God, xii. 22; (Zeus Hellenios) Samaritan temple to him, xii. 261, 263; ("Zeus"), statue, called Olympian, ordered brought to Rome by Gaius Caligula, xix. 8; Gaius Caligula's audacity towards

GENERAL INDEX

- him, *xix.* 11; temple of Olympian Zeus at Tyre, *Ap. i.* 113, 118; oath "by Zeus" used by Josephus, *i.* 255; as lawgiver, *ii.* 162; his tyranny, (*ii.* 241); depicted as bearded, (*ii.* 242); his immorality, his subservience to Fate, (*ii.* 245); his lack of restraint, (*ii.* 246); oath "by Zeus" used by Josephus, *ii.* 263 (see also Casian Zeus, Olympian Zeus, Jupiter Capitolinus)
- Zeuxis, one of Antiochus the Great's governors, *A. xii.* 147-148
- Zia (var. Mia), village near Philadelpia), *A. xx.* 2
- Ziba. See Siba
- Zibeon. See Eusebeon
- Zibiah. See Sabia
- Zichri. See Zacharias (4)
- Ziklag. See Sekella
- Zillah. See Sella
- Zilpah. See Zelphah
- Zimran. See Zembran(es)
- Zimri (1). See Zambrias (1)
- Zimri (2). See Zambrias (2)
- Zin. See Sin
- Ziph (Zipha, Ziphene) (Ziphites), city in southern Palestine, *A. vi.* 277; (Ziphites) betray David to Saul, *vi.* 280; *vi.* 295; (Ziphites) inform on David, *vi.* 310; (Ziphene) *vi.* 275; (Zipha) *viii.* 246
- Zipha. See Ziph
- Ziphene. See Ziph
- Ziphion. See Zophonias
- Ziphites. See Ziph
- Zipporah. See Sapphora
- Zizus. See Azizus (1)
- Zoan. See Tanis
- Zoar (1). See Zoara
- Zoar (2). See Zoor (1)
- Zoara (Zoor; Bibl. Zoar), city near Sodom, *B. iv.* 482; *A. xiii.* 397; *xiv.* 18
- Zoba. See Suba
- Zobah (1). See Soba
- Zobah (2). See Sophehe
- Zodiac, *B. v.* 214, 217
- Zodmielos (var. Zolimielos, Obdoilos; Bibl. Kadmiel), brother of Judas the son of Henadad, in charge of building the second temple in Jerusalem, *A. xi.* 79
- Zohar. See Soar(os)
- Zoilus, ruler of Dora, *A. xiii.* 324, 326, 329, 334-335
- Zolimielos. See Zodmielos
- Zoor (1) (Bibl. Zoar), place south-east of Dead Sea, where Lot took refuge, *A. i.* 204
- Zoor (2). See Zoara
- Zophonias (Bibl. Ziphion), son of Gad, *A. ii.* 182
- Zopyrion, Greek writer, testifies to antiquity of Jews, *Ap. i.* 216
- Zorah. See Sarasa
- Zorobabelos (Bibl. Zerubbabel), leader of Jews in rebuilding of the second temple, *A. xi.* 13-14; governor of Jewish captives, *xi.* 32; praises women and truth before King Darius, *xi.* 49; is honoured by Darius, *xi.* 57-59; obtains favours from Darius, *xi.* 64; leader of returning exiles, *xi.* 73; gathers people in Jerusalem, *xi.* 75; rejects offer of Samaritans to help build the temple, *xi.* 84, 86; *xi.* 90, 92, 95; envoy to Darius, *xi.* 116; cited in Darius' letter, *xi.* 118
- Zur. See Sur

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